







THE  
WESTMINSTER  
REVIEW

*JULY TO DECEMBER*  
(*INCLUSIVE*)  
1898.

"Truth can never be confirmed enough,  
Though doubts did ever sleep."

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SHAKESPEARE.

Wahrheitsliebe zeigt sich darin, daß man überall das Gute zu finden und zu schätzen weiß.

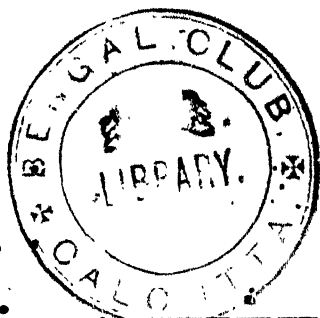
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THE

# WESTMINSTER REVIEW

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## THOUGHTS ON THE PASSING OF GLADSTONE.

THE world-wide expression of sympathy evoked by the news of Mr. Gladstone's death is one of those significant facts which sum up in vivid fashion the teaching of decades. No more remarkable tribute was ever paid to a statesman who had spent his life in one long struggle to reform a nation. The absolute disappearance of political divisions in the tribute paid to Mr. Gladstone's memory is a phenomenon which must arrest the attention of the most casual observer. That spontaneous outburst of admiration, which came echoing back from the uttermost parts of the earth, revealed to common view a unity of feeling which had hitherto hardly been realised. The tribute was something more than a recognition of Mr. Gladstone's services to his country and to the world: it was the apotheosis of the principles embodied in Mr. Gladstone's character and illustrated by his life's work. Had Mr. Gladstone died at any other period of his career it may safely be said that no such outburst would have been witnessed. The laurel wreath of reverent admiration would have been laid upon his tomb by a political party but not by the nation. This unprecedented tribute was only possible because Mr. Gladstone had completed his work, had fulfilled his mission, and it had been accepted as a portion of the national life by the generation which witnessed his death. The nineteenth century has seen the emancipation of the English people. One by one the shackles which hindered their free action have been struck off, and to-day they stand breast forward, a democracy confronting the world. To a great extent this has been the result of Mr. Gladstone's life work, for he, more than any other statesman of the

century, has represented the principles which have underlain the movement of the age. The homage of the democracy which had been enfranchised, the obeisance of the king before the lifeless body of the subject who had placed supreme power within his hands, was a pathetic but befitting termination to a strenuous life.

None of the scenes which attended the death and burial of the aged statesman was more impressive or more significant than the lying-in-state in Westminster Hall. It was there that King Demos paid his dumb but reverent tribute to the dead. The scene was one which engraved itself indelibly upon the mind and imagination of those who witnessed it. The very simplicity and absence of all show and ceremonial appealed powerfully to the imagination. Hour after hour the human stream poured, ceaseless, through the ancient hall, paying its last tribute to the man who for so many years had directed its course. Men, women, and children, all ages and all classes, composed that ever-moving throng. The working man in his working clothes, the merchant, the tradesman, and even the beggar in his rag, moved side by side with lords and ladies of the land. The democracy of England was passing before the lifeless body of him who had made its way smooth before it, and guided it to the promised land of political and religious freedom. This dumb, inarticulate stream of humanity was more significant in its very silence than all the eloquent tributes which came pouring in along

“The electric nerve, whose instantaneous thrill  
Makes next-door gossips of the antipodes.”

Reverently the throng entered the hall in which the dead statesman lay, the latest link in the long chain of historic memories connected with its ancient walls. The dim light which pervaded the place, the oaken rafters spanning the lofty roof, the marble statues gazing unmoved on the solemn scene added solemnity to the spectacle. An intense hush fell upon the people as they crossed the threshold, broken only by the unending sound, as of a waterfall, of the innumerable feet as they ascended the marble steps at the end of the hall. In the midst of this sea of humanity stood on high a simple oaken coffin, dwarfed almost to insignificance by the heroic dimensions of the building. No ornament of any kind, no flowers of any description marred the severe simplicity. The six flickering points of light upon the white wax candles burned continuously. No painter could have chosen a more impressive subject, no poet a more touching theme. The simple coffin, the moving multitude, and the booming of Big Ben, speaking of other scenes in which the dead man had swayed the policies of nations, were an affecting commentary on the text, *Sic transit gloria mundi*. In such fashion did the democracy of the island kingdom celebrate the passing of Gladstone.

## I. THE PAST.

Standing by the coffin containing the mortal remains of Mr. Gladstone and in the hall closely associated with our political life from the days of the Confessor, the thoughts instinctively wandered back over the long vista of the past. That simple oaken coffin was a vantage-point from which the onward march of the English race could be observed as from some lonely mountain crag commanding the plain below. To the younger men of the present generation Mr. Gladstone before he died had almost passed into the domain of history. His early life dates back to a time which is hardly conceivable at the present day. The progress of the nineteenth century cannot be measured by the mete-wand of years, for time and space have been annihilated by those twin deities of a material age, steam and electricity. That the new wine of awakened political consciousness which stirred in the veins of the mass of the people did not bring about ruin and anarchy in its destruction of the old bottles of oligarchical government is largely due to the consummate skill with which Mr. Gladstone guided its course and directed its energy.

What Mr. Gladstone's place in history will eventually be it is at present too soon to inquire. It may well be that as time separates us from his great deeds they may loom larger on the landscape of history than his contemporaries would have imagined. He will assuredly be numbered among those few Englishmen who, by their character and attainments, have been enabled to interpret to their fellows the spirit of the age in which they lived. The secret of Mr. Gladstone's power and the explanation of his success was due in a great measure to the fact that in many respects he was the most typical Englishman of the century.

"His magic was not far to seek—  
He was so human. Whether strong or weak,  
Far from his kind he neither sunk nor soared."

Mr. Gladstone was the average Englishman idealised. There was something in his character which appealed to all classes of his countrymen, for in it they found something which was akin to their own. He possessed their virtues and their defects, and he owed almost as much to the latter as to the former. Mr. Gladstone was a supreme example of the type of Englishman who appears at the moment of national crisis and leads his fellows, called forth from the mass of his countrymen because he is best able to translate into action the spirit which pervades the nation. He is more sensitive to the subtle forces which unconsciously influence the actions of masses of men. Mr. Gladstone early mastered the great facts of the social conditions of his time. He did not so early arrive at the knowledge

of how best to utilise that discernment of the essentials of progress. But being keenly attune to the spirit of the age, by his natural gifts he was able to perceive clearly and distinctly the next step to be taken. Mr. Gladstone was not a man who ignored the march through the wilderness which must precede the arrival at the promised land of political freedom. He was fully alive to the supreme importance of attending to each stage of the journey. The truest explanation of Mr. Gladstone's career was that given by Mr. Bright when he remarked that Mr. Gladstone "was always struggling towards the light." The light which he pursued was no mere will-o'-the-wisp, eluding the grasp of the pursuer when apparently within his reach: it was a fixed point drawing him onward as the magnetic pole attracts the needle.

By nature and temperament Mr. Gladstone was conservative, as all our greatest reformers have been. But he was a Conservative open to conviction, and when convinced that any institution was manifestly endangering the existence of the State he could be as relentless in demanding its removal as the most rabid of revolutionists. But between Mr. Gladstone and the revolutionist a great gulf was fixed. He always destroyed in order to preserve the present order of society: he did not destroy to revolutionise it.

"'Twas but the ruin of the bad—  
The wasting of the wrong and ill;  
Whate'er of good the old time had  
Was living still."

In this Mr. Gladstone was simply following the characteristic method of progress adopted by the English people for centuries. They have never become so wedded to any single institution that they were not willing to sacrifice it if its existence were clearly shown to endanger their welfare as a nation. The capacity of making jettison of institutions which have outgrown their usefulness has proved the best safety valve for popular feeling that could be devised, and has prevented it being stored up until it exploded in revolution. Mr. Gladstone always clung to the old until the last moment that it was possible to do so, and he acted only when the time for compromise was passed. But, when once that time had passed, he acted with vigour and decision. In this quality, too, he was a typical representative of the average Englishman.

This method of dealing with practical problems naturally laid Mr. Gladstone open to the charge of inconsistency. His life, regarded from year to year, would, no doubt, justify such an accusation. If looked at from the tomb in Westminster Abbey, the apparent inconsistency disappears, and we perceive that his conduct was always actuated by a desire to deal with each question from a righteous and moral point of view. The question of means was

always subordinated to the ends to be attained. Mr. Gladstone was singularly free from that besetting sin of the ordinary politician—the glorification of the means at the expense of the ends. To quote Macaulay's simile, “a man ought no more to be called an apostate because his opinions alter with the great body of his contemporaries than he ought to be called an Oriental traveller because he is always going round from west to east with the globe and everything that is on it.” Mr. Gladstone's supreme service to the democracy of England has been his ability to materialise their aspirations into practical concrete form, and to do it in such a fashion as to produce the maximum amount of good with the minimum of evil.

Mr. Gladstone is the latest of the apostles of freedom who have from century to century preached the gospel of progress. By a curious coincidence the evolution of the English race appears to move forward in cycles of centuries. The close of each succeeding century has witnessed the emergence of new ideas which during the next hundred years have embodied themselves in accepted facts. Looking back over the pages of history, we find that 1485, 1588, 1688, and 1784 are dates which stand out as milestones on the long path of our national progress. With the battle of Bosworth Field the power of the nobles was finally crushed, and feudalism, as a system of government, was banished to the lumber-room of worn-out political expedients. For a century all political power centred in the sovereign, and the monarch reigned supreme. The defeat of the Spanish Armada may be regarded as the culminating point of this epoch. New blood began to circulate in the veins of the nation, and the next century saw the shifting of the centre of political gravity from the monarch to the Parliament. The Revolution established constitutional monarchy in England, and autocracy followed feudalism into the oblivion of the past. For another century the government of the country was carried on under the guidance of the great Whig families. Political and religious liberty was established for certain favoured classes. The nation outgrew this form of oligarchical government, and, with the formation of Mr. Pitt's Ministry of 1783, new ideas and new aspirations began to make themselves felt. These became embodied in what eventually became known as the Liberal party, which inscribed on its banner Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform. Founded by the younger Pitt, fashioned by Canning, Grey, and Peel, it attained the full measure of its strength under Gladstone. He more than any other man personified the spirit of Liberalism, and did more than any other statesman to carry out its mission of emancipating the democracy of England. The principles which were the impelling force of Liberalism have steadily carried everything before them. Progress, if looked at in short periods, no doubt, has seemed like the mere swinging of the pendulum from action to reaction. But measure the distance traversed between the tomb of

the younger Pitt and that of Mr. Gladstone, and the advance is almost incredible. Long-established privileges, in which old abuses had entrenched themselves, have disappeared, swept away by the spirit of freedom.

“ The outworn rite, the old abuse,  
The pious fraud transparent grown ”

have been done away with, so that the new life of the nation can flow freely through all its institutions.

The list of the fetters struck from the limbs of English democracy within the lifetime of Mr. Gladstone, and largely through his instrumentality, is so remarkable that it is worth summarising here :

- 1824. Abolition of Restrictions on Combination.
- 1828. Abolition of the Test Acts.
- 1829. Emancipation of the Catholics.
- 1832. The Reform Bill.
- 1833. Abolition of Slavery.
- 1835. Reform of the Municipalities.
- 1836. Abolition of the Newspaper Tax.
- 1836. Reform of the Marriage Laws.
- 1837. Reform of the Penal Code.
- 1842-6. Reform of the Tariff and Abolition of the Corn Laws.
- 1849. Abolition of the Navigation Laws.
- 1861. Abolition of the Paper Duty.
- 1867. Household Suffrage Bill.
- 1868. Abolition of Compulsory Church Rates.
- 1869. Disestablishment of the Irish Church.
- 1871. Abolition of University Tests.
- 1871. Abolition of Purchase in the Army.
- 1872. Ballot Act.
- 1881. Irish Land Act.
- 1885. County Franchise Act.

Such is the record of Liberalism in the nineteenth century. All these reforms, it is true, were not carried by the Liberal party, but they were all the outcome of the spirit which animated it. Need we wonder then that, as the sand in the hour glass of the century runs low, an emancipated people should pay its tribute to those ideas of liberty which were exemplified in the life and character of William Ewart Gladstone?

## II. THE PRESENT.

“ We have not lost him all : he is not gone  
To the dumb herd of them that wholly die.”

Mr. Gladstone has left behind him a momentous legacy—a free democracy. To many, perhaps the majority, of the rising generation Mr. Gladstone has been a great name and a towering figure, but not

a living personality. They have grown to manhood, since he accomplished his great deeds, and have no very accurate knowledge of the herculean tasks he has performed during his long career. The following estimate by an American writer of Mr. Gladstone's personality, as viewed by an outsider, is worth quoting, for it sums up concisely the impression produced on the minds, not only of kindred people, but of many of Mr. Gladstone's countrymen to-day.

"For a long time Mr. Gladstone's name has in the United States been synonymous with the loftiest personal character and the highest moral purpose in statesmanship. He had never visited this country, and not many Americans have ever come under the glamour of his noble oratory. Nor have the people of the United States to any appreciable extent read or studied his published writings. Further than that, the specific achievements of his long career have never been matters of common information in the United States. But Gladstone has been venerated and loved because he has always seemed, to our serious-minded nation, to represent righteousness and Christian principle applied as the true test of every question that presented itself. Mr. Gladstone was loyal to his own country, but his sympathies were world-wide; and he was more concerned that his country's policies should be right than that they should gain unlimited mastery. He was the supreme statesman of the modern era of democracy. He was the greatest parliamentary leader and debater that any country has yet produced. He was the foremost personality of our time. His intellectual and moral attainments, together with his great influence over his fellow-citizens, give us the best possible evidence of the great qualities of the British race."

It is too early to attempt to estimate the effect produced on our national life by the long series of reforms carried by Mr. Gladstone. They have been revolutionary in results if not in form. Within Mr. Gladstone's lifetime the ultimate court of appeal has been entirely changed. The younger Pitt addressed all his eloquence to the task of convincing the House of Commons, as the representatives of the people of England; statesmen to-day speak directly to the people. One of the most striking results of this transformation is the ever-increasing importance of the daily press in the national life. The abolition of the newspaper tax and the paper duty probably did more to make subsequent reforms possible than any other enactment of this century. The great foe of Liberalism is ignorance, and the most effective method of combating that enemy is a free press. To-day the paper encroaches more and more upon the ground which used to be the peculiar preserve of the statesman. In the contest between the individual and the daily paper the individual is hopelessly handicapped. The politician, even though endowed by nature with the most powerful voice, can only make himself heard by a few hundreds of his fellow-men. On the other hand, the editor of the daily paper speaks to hundreds of thousands of his readers six days out of the seven. He is in close and intimate touch with the democracy, and in a much better position to influence it than the

most gifted member of the Commons' House of Parliament. Mr. Gladstone, whose mind always developed with the times, early recognised the new force. Many of his contemporaries were not so enlightened. Until recently it had been the fashion to scoff at the newspaper. Even at the present day, among the politicians of the older generation, it is not considered inappropriate to jibe at the daily press. The scoffer, however, anxiously scans his paper the next morning to see if his jibes have been reported at length or dismissed in a paragraph. The right of initiative is being assumed in an ever greater degree by the organs of the press. For a striking example of this revolution in our political life we need only compare the attitude of the Liberal papers and the Opposition leaders during the Greek War. The traditional position of the politician and the newspaper was completely reversed. Instead of leading the party, the nominal leaders humbly followed at a respectful distance behind public opinion.

If the newspaper is one of the most significant outcomes of Mr. Gladstone's labours, the Board School is another. The Education Act has been the greatest constructive measure carried by the Liberal party. It has not been in force for thirty years, but even now its influence is being felt. The head constable of one of the large cities of the kingdom, who had made a careful study of the condition of the people, once remarked to me that any judgment as to the working of the Education Act should be suspended until the second generation had been trained under its influence. Only then could we judge fairly its effect on the life of the masses of the people. One of the probable results may be briefly noted, as it will do much to alter the *personnel* of our politicians. England under Parliamentary Government has been almost exclusively governed by university-trained men, and the universities have been the close preserve of a very limited class of the community. The Board School is altering all that by placing the opportunities of education within the reach of the poorest, and the door is being opened to a new class of representatives who will profoundly influence the policy of the country.

The Board School and the daily paper are the most enduring monuments to the spirit of nineteenth-century Liberalism that the present day can show, and as long as they endure the memory of the great Liberal Minister will be treasured as a national heirloom.

### III. THE FUTURE.

As the tributes to the dead rang in our ears, their very unanimity seemed to suggest that with Mr. Gladstone's death one of the great epochs of English history had drawn to a close. The universal homage paid to the memory of Mr. Gladstone was the acceptance of

the great principles for which he fought. They belong no longer to one party alone: they have become the common property of all parties and all classes. Mr. Gladstone's prophetic words, which he uttered in 1866, have been completely fulfilled:

"You cannot fight against the future: time is on our side. The great social forces are against you: they are marshalled on our side. The banner which we carry, although it may perhaps at this moment droop over our sinking heads, will soar again and float in the light of heaven, and will be borne in the firm hands of the united people of these three kingdoms, not perhaps to an easy, but to a certain and not distant victory."

When the County Franchise Act of 1884 was passed that prophecy was fulfilled, and the mission of Liberalism was accomplished.

Then began a repetition of the history of a hundred years ago. We see to-day taking place an evolution in politics similar to that which transformed the Whig into the Liberal party. The century is nearing its close, and the time has arrived for the inauguration of a new epoch. The old principles of orthodox Liberalism are not suited to deal with the problems of the present generation. They were admirably adapted to the task of liberating a people, but are not suitable for dealing with the constructive problems of the future. The task Mr. Gladstone has left behind him is more beset with difficulties than the one he accomplished. To emancipate a people is more easy than to educate it in its duties and responsibilities. The safety of a democracy is in education, as the strength of autocracy is in ignorance. The mission of the Liberal party of the future, or whatever name it may assume, will be so to train the people of England that should a day come, as it surely will, when the principles of democracy and autocracy meet in a life-and-death struggle, there shall be no doubt which will be the victor in the conflict. King Demos must be taught how to wield the power which the Liberalism of the nineteenth century has placed within his hands. The watchword of the age which is drawing to a close has been Reform; the rallying cry of the new epoch will be Education.

If Mr. Gladstone's political life teaches one lesson more than another, it is that the Liberal party must be a continually progressive force in politics. Its mission is to perpetually "struggle towards the light." There can be no conservation of Liberal principles. As soon as Liberalism becomes fossilised it loses all the essential elements which make it a living force. The stagnant Liberalism of one generation becomes the Conservatism of the next. Those Liberals who boast that they observe the Liberal creed—unchanged and unchangeable—in its entirety, confess their inability to appreciate the fundamental spirit underlying the teaching of the Liberal party. No doubt we shall hear these men appealing to the memory of Mr. Gladstone as a supporter of their views, just as in the early

years of this century the forces of reaction appealed to the name of the younger Pitt when opposing the reforms which he had most at heart. The true successors and followers of Mr. Gladstone are those who will carry forward the banner of Progress, and not those who worship it as a fetish in the Temple of Tradition.

The watcher by the tomb of the Liberal leader can faintly discern through the mists of the future the reorganisation of the progressive forces, adapting themselves to the spirit of the time, and their onward march upon a fresh stage of national development. The name of the party may be changed, and the leaders unknown, but the spirit will be that which has animated the forces of progress from generation to generation, and which in the present century found its most perfect exemplification in the Grand Old Man, the emancipator of the people, the typical Englishman of the nineteenth century.

W. S.

## MEXICO AND THE HISPANO-AMERICAN CONFLICT.

How strong are the ties of race and consanguinity, and how powerful is the effect of heredity on nations, equally with individuals, the present conflict between a Latin and an Anglo-Saxon country may well serve to show.

That even the love of freedom—potent factor in the dominating passions of mankind, single or collective—may give place when it does not directly affect the individual, except as a principle, to this non-philosophical sentiment may by the same token be equally demonstrated.

Child of a stern and unloving parent, Mexico, in common with the remainder of that family which has inherited the soil of the fair new world, roused at length by the oppressions of the unnatural author of her being, and wearied of the long tyranny of priestcraft and sword, of extortion and cruelty, arose, and history records her justifiable parricide and independence.

A similar struggle is now going on in a fair land not far removed from her shores. A kindred people are fighting to free themselves from the dominion of the same cruel and unwise parent. A powerful nation of the Anglo-Saxon race has allied itself with and espoused the cause of the struggling sons of Cuba, whether entirely from motives of pure humanity, or whether partly from less disinterested sentiments, is at present beside the question.

How does Mexico, her own baptism of blood long since passed, behold the conflict? Are her sympathies with the oppressor or the oppressed, with her sometime parent or with her down-trodden sister and her northern neighbour?

The reply to these questions, and the reasons to be ascribed thereto, are dependent upon the sentiments which obtain among the different classes of her people, sentiments born of the powerful promptings of race tradition on the one hand, and of the innate love of freedom on the other.

Mexico, broadly speaking, may be divided into three classes—the Government, state and federal, including the army; the rich; and the poor. In other words, the administration of the nation, the proprietors of the land, and the tillers of the soil.

The first division, that of the Government, having declared its

strict neutrality with regard to the existing state of war, and its intention of enforcing such measures as are dependent thereupon, gives, of course, no expression to its sentiments or opinions, and is, moreover, acting sincerely and impartially to the end of the fulfilment of its protestations, with the good faith and honesty which characterise it.

The second consists of those in whose hands is the wealth of the country, the proprietors of the land, and upon whom there is, of course, no embargo as to the expression of private opinions. The abstract love of freedom and equality in them as a whole is not an active sentiment, nor could such be expected to exist in view of their surroundings. Tradition and circumstance have preserved a condition which is so far removed from the principles of republicanism and equality as to be, as far as the ownership of the land is concerned and the relation of master and servant, simply a species of feudal system.

On their enormous estates the proprietors hold almost unquestioned sway, and the hundreds of labourers, the tillers of the soil, who live and move and have their being thereon, are entirely dependent upon their will and pleasure.

The great accumulation of wealth by individuals, equally, or perhaps more so, in the republics of the new world as with those under other forms of government in the old, leads under present conditions to the same inevitable end of egotism and unjust domination.

A dominating and wealthy class are, then, naturally opposed to anything like rebellion, or the independence of those whom they consider beneath them, and it is hardly a matter for surprise, having in view these influences, that they have in general but little sympathy with the revolting Cubans, or, at least, view with comparative indifference a struggle similar to that by which their own fathers gained for them the rich inheritance which they now enjoy.

The third and numerically greatest class, consisting of the labourers, artisans, and tillers of the soil, are, of course, removed from the conditions acting upon their masters.

A people by no means lacking in intelligence and industry, they are, unfortunately, still suffering from the effects of the influence of the clergy, which, although its cause has to a great extent been removed, still bears fruit in the state of ignorance of which it is the result. The great mass of the workers on the land, cut off as they still are from sources of information, have but little idea of or interest in what is going on outside the little world hedged in by the confines of the particular domain of which they are the inhabitants. "Knowledge to their eyes her ample page" is but slow to unfold.

It may, then, be asked, "Where, or in what class, is the love of freedom which might have been supposed to exist in a nation who, after a long and bloody struggle, obtained her independence?" And

"Where is that voice of liberty which wreathed with laurel the brows of Juarez and Hidalgo?"

The sentiment exists, although it be somewhat dormant and overshadowed by other considerations.

It is an indisputable fact that in all civilised countries the great mainstay of justice and equity is the existence of a great middle class, whose sentiments form the potent factor known as "public opinion."

In any European country, or in the United States, it is the upper and refined stratum of that class which dominates, sooner or later, the actions of its Government; or if it be not always so, from the power of despotic rulers, the machinations of sordid politicians, or other circumstances, nevertheless it must be so in the future, when such temporary obstructions have been cleared away.

Such a class, although existing in Mexico to some degree and always growing in number and influence, is nevertheless not at present a power in the destinies or administration of the Republic. It is, perhaps, only here that any expressed sympathy with the cause of the unfortunate Cubans would be encountered, and among the lower classes in the cities, who, their intelligence sharpened by the keener struggle for life which the conditions of populous centres present, take more interest in, and have a greater knowledge of, outside affairs than their brethren in the country.

The most dominating influence, however, and that which sways the country as a whole, is that based directly upon race feelings and traditional ties of blood.

The strong antagonism that has always existed between the Anglo-Saxon and Latin races, and their struggle for supremacy on sea and land, have been powerful elements in the formation of the latter history of the world; but never has it been more pronounced, and it is doubtful if a greater pitch of hatred has ever existed between nations, than is apparent at the present time between Spain and the United States. The sentiment is, it must be observed, more active from the former to the latter. This is due principally to the Iberian character, and partly to the fact that the former nation considers itself, rightly or wrongly, the injured party in the present difficulty.

Be that as it may, the Spaniard is undoubtedly as good a hater as he is a cordial friend, and is capable of depths of odium and feeling which is certainly impossible to the American.

England and Spain are ancient enemies; but the Spaniard respects, if he does not love, the Englishman; whereas he has absolutely no such sentiments towards the American, but rather is his hatred mixed with a supreme contempt. He despises from the bottom of his sometimes narrow mind what he considers a collection of the dregs of the world.

Only those who know the Spanish character, and who have been

thrown much into his society, can comprehend how strong is this antipathy, which now has naturally broken out into open rancour and hostility.

Of course one of the factors of this condition has been the secret aid which the Americans have given, or allowed to be given, from their shores to the Cuban insurgents, and the open sympathy expressed by the country at large therefor, culminating in the present series of events.

"But," it may be here remarked, "Spain is not Mexico." True; but Mexico is Spain in many respects, and as far, in great degree, as race antipathy to the Americans is concerned.

There is no open expression of dislike, nor is there the least animosity displayed in their mutual dealings. On the contrary, American capital and enterprise are welcomed in Mexico as a powerful element in the development of her great natural riches. Moreover, the greatest protection is afforded to Americans, equally with other foreigners, and the unfailing courtesy of one of the politest nations on earth is invariably extended to the often non-appreciative members of the Northern Republic, who, overflowing their own boundaries, have peacefully invaded—not always to her benefit—the fair land of their Southern neighbour.

It may then be a matter for some surprise why a veiled sentiment should exist, and with what motive, against a neighbouring country upon whose form of government her own is modelled, and who, moreover, has evolved a "doctrine" for the "protection" of its own and neighbours' interests.

The answer, as far as the Mexicans are concerned, and laying aside for the moment the natural prejudices of race, is not difficult of encounter, nor is the cause far removed.

The Mexican Alsace-Lorraine, upon the far side of the Rio Grande, is yet too near, and the floating of the "Stars and Stripes" over the Castle of Chapultepec in her capital, and the treaty of Guadalupe, a too recent event of history for the cure of so deep a wound.

The Machiavellian policy which led to the unjust acquisition of Texas, California, and the rest of that vast territory of the West, the birthright of Mexico, has left a deep and abiding sense of injury in every class and of hatred against the pilferers, which generations will not extirpate.

Half a century has sufficed neither to forgive nor forget, and although to the passing American tourist or business-man in the cities the feeling may not be evident, to an Englishman, a disinterested observer and student of Mexico and her conditions, who has mixed with and learned the opinion of all classes of her society, the smouldering passion is rendered very palpable.

This, however, although undoubtedly the base of anti-American

feeling, is not the only cause thereof. The American character is entirely antagonistic—not intentionally, but naturally—to any assimilation of race or acquisition of sympathetic relations in a foreign land. The American in Mexico—and there is a considerable population, floating and otherwise—is there, of course, principally to make money. It would be manifestly unfair to the great Republic to say that these representatives are types of her best citizens, but unfortunately she is generally judged thereby.

The Mexican man of business is a gentleman in his office, as in his home; he possesses the qualities which indicate the man of refinement and education, and he resents their absence in others. He has inherited the character and culture in many ways of the European, and is in all respects a man of the world and of superior attainments.

The American in Mexico does not often fulfil these qualities. His education is not generally sufficient to afford him other subject for conversation than that of the immediate business in hand; and refinement he either considers an unnecessary appendage or has not been able to acquire it. He rarely speaks any language but his own, and that often imperfectly; and his manners and habits indicate at once to what status of society he belongs.

The Spanish element is remarkably strong, and Spaniards are, of course, far more numerous than Americans; in fact, some of the principal lines of business throughout the Republic are entirely in their hands. The great body of retail shopkeepers, such as the grocers, pawnbrokers, and drapers, are invariably Spaniards. As a class they cannot claim very much superiority over the Americans as regards refinement. They probably represent the lower or lower middle class of their native land, and are certainly not conspicuous for their manners or education. They are, however, a hard-working and useful class, and by the acquisition of wealth and assimilation with the Mexicans are constantly improving and adding to the number of worthy citizens of the country.

There is, of course, another and far superior class of Spaniard in Mexico, which, although very limited in number, is more representative of Spain.

The best element of the country is the upper and middle class of Mexicans. The descendants of the Spanish, they have become tempered and improved by their environment, and, while retaining the good qualities thereof, appear to have lost in great part those traits of pride and cruelty so characteristic of the progenitors of their race, and to have acquired a love of progress not to be found in Spain. The attachment to the mother country is nevertheless a remarkably strong feature in their moral composition. They point with pride to their Spanish ancestry, and naturally uphold the traditions of the Latin race.

The lower element, however, has but little love for the Spanish, who to them are represented by the grasping shopkeepers and their assistants.

Taken as a whole, the Mexican character is liberal and progressive, and the stranger who takes upon himself to criticise should not point too strongly to the faults in her society, but should rather endeavour to indicate the material and recent improvements therein, and to dwell upon her bright future rather than upon her past.

Such, then, are the conditions and sentiments prevailing in Mexico, and which influence the sympathies of her people with regard to the unfortunate conflict between Spain and the United States. The ties and traditions of race are seen to be stronger than the abstract love of liberty and equality. Not only in Mexico does this appear to be the case, but, with small exception, the same feeling obtains in the whole of the vast continent to the south.

Not a voice among the many Governments of limitless Latin-America was raised against the oppression of Spain in Cuba. No moral encouragement or support appears to have been given by that numerous and egotistical family who, having cast off one by one their own yoke, and by their own act showing the unrighteousness of the parent rule, nevertheless have stood aloof and watched the cruel castigations of decades fall upon their less fortunate sister of the Antilles, until, neglected by those of her own race whose duty it was to protect her, circumstance has allied her with the Anglo-Saxon, whose action they unite in condemning, and whose disinterestedness and humane motives they pretend to deny.

It would be, of course, as unreasonable to suggest that Mexico should have plunged herself, alone and unaided, into war, simply in Freedom's cause, on behalf of the Cubans against Spain, as to suppose that she should now, in the interests of the latter, make common cause therewith against the United States.

She has served a long and bitter apprenticeship to war and bloodshed, and is now enjoying peace and a stable government, with its accompanying effects of prosperity and progress. Charity in her case certainly begins at home, and it would be impossible to advocate that Mexico should now sustain any other position than that of neutrality. But a coalition of Latin-American republics on behalf of the Cubans at an earlier stage of the present conditions would have been far more in the natural order of things. Now, however, it is evident that their sympathy is generally with the cause of Spain.

Whatever sentiment, *pro* Cuban, that might have existed in Mexico, as throughout Spanish America, has been entirely alienated or overshadowed since the publication of the brusque American ultimatum.

The countries south of the Rio Grande see, or pretend to see, in

this and in the general attitude of their powerful neighbour to the north an aggressiveness and a desire for the acquisition of territory which fills them with alarm.

Whether there be any foundation for such an hypothesis is very doubtful. As far as conquest, other than commercial, is concerned, the Americans are probably satisfied, and their conscience by this time eased in their acquisition of the half of Mexico half a century ago.

In any case, South America, if she were to arouse from her lethargy and combine her forces, would be strong enough to take care of herself, her race, and interests, and protect them from any encroachments or interferences of the United States.

There can be but one true answer to a question of right and wrong, and to unprejudiced reason—whatever may have been the brutalities of language and ignorance of diplomatic usage committed by the representatives of the nation championing the cause of Cuba—the principles upon which their actions are founded are those of humanity and justice, and must go down to history as a factor in the advancement of civilisation and in the interests of eternal truth.

• LANIGER D. KOCEN.

## MODERN EDUCATION.

IN the November number of the *Nineteenth Century* there is an article on this subject, by Professor Mahaffy, which is worthy of careful perusal. It appears from a prefatory note that the author delivered an address at Mason College, Birmingham, on September 30, the newspaper reports of which were the subject of adverse criticism. But in the article we have the deliberate and carefully worded opinions of the author, and not the condensed report by a stranger of an extempore speech.

We may well consider at the outset to what extent the author's opinions on this subject are entitled to special weight; but much time need not be spent in inquiring whether his knowledge and experience entitle him to speak with authority. We learn from *Men and Women of the Time* that Dr. Mahaffy, having been educated in Germany, entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1856, became a Fellow there in 1864, an Honorary Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, in 1882, a Doctor in Divinity in 1886, Mus.D. in 1891, and D.C.L. in 1892; that he is Professor of Ancient History and Examiner and Lecturer in Classics, Philosophy, Music, and Modern Languages.

I must now admit that I have no such qualifications. I have no university degree, and what I write on this subject must depend upon such merits as it possesses. The battle is not always to the strong. I shall be thought foolish and presumptuous for entering into so unequal a contest, but no doubt young David's friends thought that of him when he challenged Goliath to single combat. Whilst I was reading the article I could not help collecting some smooth round pebbles suitable for slinging, and I cannot resist the temptation to try their effect.

Professor Mahaffy claims to speak as a specialist, and no doubt the claim is well founded. As such he is entitled to be heard, but I must at the outset protest against his evidence being accepted without cross-examination. A specialist may possess vast stores of technical knowledge, but if he has not common sense he is a very unsafe guide—perhaps the more unsafe because he has special knowledge; for while another man would say "I do not know," he says, "I *know*—follow me."

Neglect in this respect has proved fatal in other fields. Take sanitary matters. Half a century ago the sanitary specialist induced our large towns to spend millions in making their rivers into sewers.

"Rivers," said he, "are nature's drains: we cannot improve upon nature." Unfortunately, this little piece of sophistry answered its purpose. When it was too late, people realised that to drain a valley as nature made it is one thing, and to drain the same valley when thousands of human beings are crowded into every square mile of its surface, and carry on there all the processes necessary to the enjoyment of modern civilisation, is quite another. In the meantime the mischief was done: the municipalities having spent millions of money in making their rivers filthy sewers, are now being compelled to spend more millions in undoing the mischief.

But it may be said that this is not a case in point, so I will take another illustration which is not open to this objection. Some five and twenty years ago certain reforms were introduced into the army: amongst commissioned officers promotion had been mainly by purchase, while the ranks were filled from the lowest of the people; recruits were kidnapped when drunk, and made into soldiers by a system of brutality which would not now be tolerated in a gaol. All this was to be changed. Some other qualification besides money was to be required before an officer was promoted; and the condition of the rank and file was to be improved by the substitution of short for long service, and in other ways. What did the specialists say to all this? Thousands of officers on full pay, and perhaps as many on half-pay, were critics, and almost to a man condemned the changes in no measured terms. "This is the natural result of allowing people to meddle with things they do not understand." "Is not our army as good as the one which Wellington commanded at Waterloo?" "Instead of an efficient army, you will have one composed of useless boys, commanded by disgusted officers, whose places, when they retire, will be taken by counter-jumpers, who will beat the sons of gentlemen in the examination-room." I am old enough to have heard and smiled at such remarks, though I must confess that I was too much disgusted at the last remark to smile at it. It is fortunate that the advice of the specialist was not followed on that occasion. And it is, perhaps, only reasonable that the members of a profession should resent reforms which are needed because they (the members) are not so efficient as they should be. •

We hear little of these military grumblings now; and it is worth while to remark in passing that we used to hear a great deal about the excellence of Wellington's army; but I do not remember to have ever heard any sailor suggest that we should fight our next naval engagement with ships and guns such as those with which Nelson won his victories.

But it is time now to turn to the article before us and see whether it contains accurate statements of facts and legitimate conclusions from those facts.

It is sometimes dangerous to try to express, in a few words, the purport of an article sixteen pages long, but I think I may safely say that the article before us amounts to a complaint against recent changes—reforms some call them—in our educational machinery, and this under two main heads, as they affect—

- (1) Elementary education ;
- (2) Higher and University education.

But I cannot help first pointing out how unfortunate Professor Mahaffy is in his illustrations. At the outset he likens education to "the great tangle of a tropical forest," where many trees "sicken in the damp and gloomy shade produced by the spreading summits of those [trees] that have reached the sun." Who are these monarchs of the forest who cast such a deadly shadow if they are not those who possess "the best and most complete training we can give them—that is to say, the education of our great public schools and universities" ?

But perhaps these deadly trees represent the "Ministers of Education," the "whole department of clerks," and "the Boards and Councils managing, or attempting to manage, new foundations." Surely our author would not refer to them so disrespectfully as he does if he meant to liken them to the tallest trees in the forest—the only ones whose leaves feel the life-giving rays of the sun ! And he has omitted to tell us why gentlemen are unfitted to be members of School Boards—"because they are rich, or because they are Lords, or, worse still, because they are members of Parliament" ! How can the possession of wealth or the enjoyment of legislative functions disqualify gentlemen for membership of School Boards if it be true that our great universities "have been, and are, bound to be the places of training for those that are rich or have leisure to pursue a long and thorough general education" ? (!)

But perhaps the disqualification of those who are "Lords, or, worse still, members of Parliament" lies in the fact that they are not "educators," which probably means university graduates engaged in teaching. Surely, if the *teachers* are experts, the *managers* may well be selected from those who possess common sense, and know how to do business in a businesslike way. It has been found that businesslike men make the best railway directors, and may be trusted to leave the construction of their lines and the building of their engines to engineers and locomotive superintendents.

Now let us consider what Professor Mahaffy has to say about elementary education, and how far he proves that recent changes have been otherwise than beneficial.

I do not find that he claims special qualifications for speaking authoritatively on this subject, and any careful reader of the article will recognise the prudence of this abstention.

The idea of a complete system of education beginning with elementary schools and rising by steps to the universities, with facilities for passing from one step to another, is one which finds favour with many persons whose opinions are entitled to respect; it is, of course, open to Professor Mahaffy to sneer at this idea, and call it "a sort of Jacob's Ladder," but he should go on to advocate the introduction of *caste* into this country—"once a ploughboy always a ploughboy" should be his motto; and he should at least admit that these recent reforms in our educational system do but make it easier for a boy to rise to a higher sphere for which he is fitted; it was *always* open to him to do so, if he could. It would not have been a good thing for the world if George Stephenson had been compelled to spend all his life as a pitman. It is good for all that such men should be helped to rise; and if Professor Mahaffy thinks it bad, let us hope that those who rise will in future abstain as far as possible from coming "betwixt the wind and his nobility." I complain, in the first place, that our author treats as an evil that which I and many abler persons think a great good; and in the second, that he would make modern reforms responsible for the introduction of the system he objects to; but my third point is a more serious one, for it has reference, not to the opinions of the learned Professor—every one is entitled to his opinions—but to his accuracy. After the reference to "Jacob's Ladder," I read, "The wrong view seems to be fostered by a very misleading phrase—that the object of education is to *raise* our poorer population"; but, before he proceeds to prove that the phrase is wrong, he adds to it the words, "out of the station in which they are born." So the new system is wrong because it would raise people *out of their station*, and yet he does not pretend that that is what it does, but what many English people are silly enough to *think* it does!

I do not say that the Board School system is perfect; but I contend that it is much nearer perfection than we have any right to expect, considering the short time it has been in operation, and the opposition which its advocates have had to encounter from those who are interested in maintaining the old system.

And I say further, that it is not a wise thing to condemn the new system utterly because it is not perfect.

Also it is neither a wise nor a fair thing to condemn it for doing that which it does *not* do, or *attempt* to do. It may be that we try to teach too many things—that we do not give enough *technical* instruction; but it is not true that our system raises, or tries to raise, the poor "out of one walk into another, for which they have probably no aptitude." One would think that no thoughtful person could possibly confuse these two very different things—(a) Raising to a higher sphere the *few* who are fitted for it, and (b) raising *all*

from a lower to a higher sphere, whether they are fitted for such sphere or not ! And yet one can hardly read the article which we are considering without suspecting that the author believes that it is one of the objects of the modern system to *force* every ploughboy to become a farmer, every farmer a professor, and so on.

If a ploughboy can become a good professor, why should he not do so ? He must rise to, and keep his place, by his merit. He will not get pupils *because* he has been a ploughboy.

I contend, not only that our present system does not aim at raising its subjects to a higher sphere whether they have any aptitude for it or not, but that that is the thing of all others which it does *not* do, because it aims at teaching *all*. The members of a School Board may be supposed to say : " Every child in our district shall go to school, and we will, as far as we can, give him a sufficient knowledge of the three R's, &c." I purposely add "&c.," to indicate that I admit the truth of Dr. Mahaffy's contention that it is better to teach a ploughboy agricultural chemistry than French ; but to say that this is to encourage *all* ploughboys to become farmers is no wiser than it would be to say that to increase the pay of the soldier (as I hope we are going to do) is to encourage every private to become a sergeant, and every sergeant an officer !

May we not say that those who favour the spread of education regard that education from two points of view : technical—to make the ploughboy a better ploughboy, the professor a better professor ; and general—to make *both* wiser, better, and happier men ? The three R's may be counted under both heads ; or, rather, may be regarded as the one stem from which the two branches spring.

There are several other points to which I ought to refer ; but, lest I should make this article too long, I will confine myself to two in connection with elementary education. It is suggested that the ploughboy, having learnt to read, amuses himself with the *Police News*, and derives happiness from its perusal ; but it is doubtful " whether the happiness is of a proper sort." It may be that there is here a suggestion that this will do him harm. Let us admit that, for argument's sake, though, how much harm I cannot tell, for I am unacquainted with the journal in question. Nay, let us go further, and admit that, if we teach a hundred ploughboys to read, some of them will read what is useless, or even injurious, and others will read good books. Will the benefit which these derive exceed the injury which those will sustain ? If not, let us give up teaching ploughboys to read ; let us confine elementary education, as our author would confine higher education, to " those who are rich, or have leisure to pursue a long and thorough general education."

It seems to me that the reference to the *Police News* does not help us. As well might I suggest that Professor Mahaffy's undergraduate—the son, it may be, of a " Lord, or, worse still, of a

member of Parliament"—cuts a divinity lecture to go to Newmarket or drive tandem to Blenheim, and, on his return, lays down his *Æschylus* and searches in a halfpenny paper for the odds on certain horses!

I think I shall not do Professor Mahaffy an injustice if I say that he favours technical education, even for ploughboys; and I fail to see how it can be successfully imparted to those who can neither read, write, nor cipher.

The cry for technical instruction is heard on all sides. The German is beating us because he is better taught. And that is no new cry. Thirty years ago I heard a garrison instructor tell his class that an Englishman who lost himself in a German town, in spite of his having a map, would be properly directed by any street boy, who would not require to look at the map, from the usual standpoint. "In England," added the officer, "we have a splendid map, but it is little understood, and to our generals is absolutely unintelligible!"

We have made progress since then. Not only generals, but subalterns, and even volunteers, can read maps and make sketches; but we must not expect to progress too rapidly. It is unfair to speak of thirty years as if the Education Act had been passed so long. It is only twenty-eight years since it became law, and then schools had to be built and teachers trained. We should speak of twenty years, not thirty; and, such has been the opposition which educationists have had to encounter, that they should be satisfied if they can see ten years' progress in the twenty years.

I have claimed for education that it makes its pupils, not better workmen only, but better *men*. If that contention is well founded, there should be less crime now than twenty years ago, and such is, indeed, the case. Even our author admits it, though somewhat reluctantly—indeed, strictly speaking, he does not admit—he states it as the contention of an opponent—and, though he does not deny it, he appears to derive consolation from the fact that, even if education does "make crimes of violence appear disgusting, it may make crimes of subtlety even more attractive than they were."

And he makes merry over the contention of intelligent English Radicals as to the diminution of crime consequent on the increase of enlightenment. Absurd as it may seem, I believe that professional crime will almost, if not quite, disappear; but an intelligent person of either political party will not, if he understands the subject, give all the credit to education—reformatories, discharged prisoners' aid societies, and other agencies must have their share of the credit, and two things must be done which have been hardly attempted yet. The homes of the poorest people in our cities must be improved, and the checking of crime must be taken out of the hands of the specialist. It is now, or rather is supposed to be, in the hands of

the police. I do not blame the police for not checking it; but I do blame those who look to them to do what is not their work. A good chief constable is he who can say—"In my district so many crimes were committed, and in every case the guilty person was found and punished." I have been asked by the police not to molest certain criminals, who were really living under police protection—that is to say, their houses, for they had several, were licensed as common lodging-houses. This was a convenience to the detectives, who were able to look there first for any one who was "wanted." We must not look for the entire disappearance of the professional criminal until we have worked against him for some years on rational lines.

But if we cannot accept, without question, Professor Mahaffy's utterances with regard to elementary education—surely we ought to be able to do so when he writes about higher education. He himself tells us that we can do so—nay, that we *must* do so. "We must not take," he writes, "the opinion of any but experts." And again, "I can speak as a specialist." In other words, "the dinner is a good dinner and well cooked—the cook says so." I claim the right to form my own opinion, and to express it, though I do not pretend that I could myself cook so good a dinner.

But I desire to express these opinions with becoming modesty, having always understood that to do so is no sign of ignorance. Our author adopts a different plan: he not only insists that we should listen only to experts, of whom he is one, but he attributes the "present confusion" to the "interfering of amateurs with professionals, of politicians with pedagogues, of impostors with genuine men." This is bold, to use a mild term, but to me it is not convincing. I prefer to state my views only as my views, and to leave it to my readers to form their own conclusions.

Our author makes very clear to us his objections to recent changes in higher education. In "facing the jungle of modern education," he mentions first "old seats of learning pursuing a well-seasoned system." I think we may safely include in this expression not only the old universities, but the great public schools and the grammar schools, many of which are 300 years old. Inasmuch as most undergraduates go to college from one or other of these schools, it would be unreasonable to complain of harmony existing between their system of education and that adopted at the universities; and if that system remained unaltered for three centuries we cannot call the epithet "well-seasoned" inappropriate; but may not seasoning be sometimes overdone and give place to decay?

Let us now learn from an expert what the curriculum should include, and what it used to include, and what it would now include but for the "confusion" caused by the interference of "amateurs, politicians, and impostors."

"The whole of a proper university course in its earlier stages,"

says our Pedagogue, "is based on a competent knowledge of Latin, Greek, and pure mathematics," and, he adds, "so long as this was accepted, and nothing else taught, boys came up in such a state of preparation that the rest of an university education could be readily acquired." It is not stated what "the rest of an university education" is, or what it may include in its later stages. Certainly not French, German, drawing, physical geography, chemistry, geology, or English literature, which are "no part of a strictly university course."

I think I am doing no injustice in making these quotations, for later in the article I find this sentence: "In the olden days boys used to leave our public schools perfectly trained in the essentials already mentioned" (*i.e.*, Latin, Greek, and pure mathematics), "and yet ignorant of many things which they could afterwards easily acquire." This appears to me a most extraordinary statement to come from one who has been thirty years engaged in teaching. Let us consider for a moment what undergraduates do after they have taken their degrees. Some are noblemen, or gentlemen of wealth, or the heirs of those, who have to manage their estates, take part in public affairs, and, it may be, become statesmen; but many more enter professions. A few of these join the army; a larger number are called to the Bar; and probably the largest number of all take Orders. Now when are these gentlemen going to acquire, and how are they going to do so "easily," the "many things" of which they were "ignorant" before entering the university? Most of them are dependent largely, if not wholly, on their own exertions; and their energies and time must be devoted to acquiring technical knowledge and practising their professions. It is easy to state that all else but classics and pure mathematics may be acquired afterwards; but we are entitled to ask *when* and *how*?

Let us assume that a boy goes to school at eight years of age, and stays there until he is eighteen. We are told that during those important ten years he is to learn "Latin, Greek, and pure mathematics," and "nothing else"; and as it is admitted that other things are needed, he must either begin to learn those other things when he goes to the university or postpone their acquisition until he has taken his degree. I read the other day that the young King of Spain, though only twelve or fourteen years old, already speaks fluently three languages besides his own. How sadly must his education have been neglected! But I must pass to another point, which will, I think, even more conclusively show that the curriculum of our public schools should include other things besides classics and pure mathematics. Out of every hundred boys leaving public schools, how many pass on to an university? Is the number ten or twenty? I do not know, and it is not necessary to be accurate. Let us say a third. What is to become of the other

two-thirds? Can any one rationally contend that they have a fair start in life if they have "a competent knowledge of Latin, Greek, and pure mathematics," and nothing else? This is too absurd, and I need hardly give any proof of the absurdity, but I will give one.

The entrance examination to Woolwich is not a hard one, the Sandhurst examination is still easier, and neither is technical. And yet, how many boys who have been educated at public schools can pass into Sandhurst without the aid of a "crammer"?

Our author seems to contemplate the possibility of "our systems of education" being "at fault." I venture to assert, without fear of contradiction, that so long as an army crammer can make a living our "systems" are very seriously "at fault," "and are producing no effects commensurate with the efforts we employ."

Our author speaks with severity of "the system which crams boys with an examination knowledge of many subjects, to be laid aside and forgotten the day after the examination is over." And yet, incredible as it may seem, he speaks with favour of a system under which a boy may be educated at a cost of £200 or £300 a year, and yet be unable to pass into Sandhurst without the aid of a crammer!

But it is time now to pass to another branch of the subject. Professor Mahaffy advocates a system of great technical colleges and schools, but insists that the students thereat shall not be "puffed up with sham titles of B.A. or M.A." Surely he is aware that at Oxford and Cambridge a B.A. can become an M.A. without passing any examination!

Whilst I am writing this article I see among the degrees conferred at one of these universities that of M.A. conferred upon a gentleman in his absence; and, in the good old days, before the introduction of the reforms of which our author complains, the University of Cambridge conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity upon gentlemen who had never resided in the university or enjoyed the benefits of its teaching!

I think it is necessary to a proper understanding of the question that we should consider briefly the history of our older universities. It seems that the wily priest was the first to discover a great truth which is now known even to every scholar in our Board Schools. It is engraved at the top of his copy-book; and while, with head on one side and tongue in cheek, he laboriously forms his pothooks, he learns that "knowledge is power"! The oldest college in Cambridge—Peterhouse—was founded in the year 1257, and it is claimed for one at least of the colleges in Oxford that it has existed for 1000 years. Whether or not Oxford and Cambridge were seats of learning before the foundation of the oldest existing colleges I do not know, nor is it material to my purpose. It is sufficient for me that they existed in the fourteenth century. What, I ask, was then a good English

education? and for whom was it required? The titled and untitled aristocracy did not need a higher education; the middle classes hardly existed, and the poor, as such, need not be considered in this connection; but the clergy were a powerful body, and they needed education, for it was their stock-in-trade. The English Bible and Prayer-book did not exist; the Bible was written partly in Latin, partly in Greek; the works of the Fathers mainly, if not entirely, in the former language. A knowledge of these languages, then, was necessary for a priest, and he needed little else. The power of the priesthood may be gauged by the fact that it was possible for one man to be, at the same time, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor, and Prime Minister; and even to this day, when her Majesty's subjects are arranged in order of precedence, the first and third places are filled by priests, and evidence of the power of the clergy is still abundant. The head of almost every college was a priest; and, till lately, almost every Fellow was bound to take Orders within a certain number of years or resign his fellowship. The head masters of most of our public schools and grammar schools were bound to be in Orders, and when the colleges acquired advowsons their Fellows were transported to country livings. Thus the universities lost many of their ablest teachers, and the ranks of the clergy were filled by men who had no liking or aptitude for the work of a parish priest, but who had taken Orders solely for the purpose of obtaining a livelihood. To this day we speak of a benefice as a *living*, and it is impossible to say how much injury the Church has sustained by the practice to which I have referred.

The universities grant degrees in Divinity, Arts, Medicine, Law, Music, and Science, and it is worthy of note that, while any one—a priest included—may graduate in five of these, no one can graduate in *Divinity* until he has been ordained.

I must add a word with regard to the social position of undergraduates in early days. To this day the universities break-up—I beg pardon, the “men go down”—in June or July, and do not resume their studies until October. I have asked why this is, and the only answer which I have received is that in olden days they were required at home to work on the land. If this be true, I fear we must admit, not only that undergraduates were originally taken from the plough, but that they annually returned to their agricultural pursuits during their university career. But I may be told that, though this was so long ago, it is not so now in England. Professor Mahaffy refers specially to the Irish University, with which he has been for many years connected. I do not know whence the undergraduates of Trinity College, Dublin, are mainly drawn, but I remember, thirty years ago, being struck with the difference between the Roman Catholic priests whom I saw in the West of Ireland, and

their brethren in England, and the explanation given to me was that many a peasant would deprive himself and family almost of the necessities of life in order to qualify one son for the priesthood. If this be true, we need not go very far back to find a connection between the plough and the college! It is not I who complain of this connection. I have already said that if a ploughboy can become a professor I see no reason why he should not do so.

For centuries the universities have received from our public schools and grammar schools many students who could not have obtained university education but for the system of exhibitions and scholarships which has so long existed. Many a boy whose father was in humble circumstances has thus been enabled to obtain a higher education, which has been a benefit to himself and has enabled him to benefit others; and I maintain that if it was ever true that fitness for a higher life was "once confined to the richer classes," it has not been so for some centuries. But if, as I believe to be the case, our system of exhibitions and scholarships has been productive of much good, it has also had some evil results. Our Professor says that "in the olden days boys used to leave our public schools perfectly trained in the essentials already mentioned." If this is to be applied to *all* boys, I believe it to be absolutely untrue, and most misleading. How many boys who might have usefully followed some commercial pursuit if the school education had fitted them for such, having gained a sufficient knowledge of Latin and Greek, it may be by devoting to those subjects hours which would have been better spent in healthy recreation or the acquisition of knowledge which would be useful to them in after life, have gone with scholarships to Oxford or Cambridge, and, having become graduates, have taken Orders simply because no other calling was open to them? If we are to believe Professor Mahaffy, these boys left school "perfectly trained in the essentials already mentioned," and having graduated, they obtained "the best and most complete training we can give them—that is to say, the education of our great public schools and universities." We know this is not the case. Their university training was such that only one profession was open to them, and it did not qualify them for that.

The article before us is remarkable for two things—the number of startling statements which it contains, and the absence of any attempt to support those statements by evidence or argument. We are told that we are living in an age which professes "to open to the poor the prizes once confined to the richer classes." If these prizes were ever confined to the richer classes, they were not so at the outset, and have not been so for some centuries. Nor is it true that "the race for distinctions"—which, apparently, is the synonym for obtaining an university degree—"is, after all, practically confined to the rich." I readily accept the position of eminence ascribed to

Charles Darwin and John Ruskin, and it may be true that the parents of each "were able to provide him with a long and expensive training"; but this statement loses its value unless we are to assume that the same might be said of all, or most, of our great men.

Let me mention a few unquestionably great men of whom this cannot be said, who achieved distinction not by the assistance of their fathers' wealth, but in spite of their fathers' poverty: Socrates was a marble mason; Horace, the son of a slave. Ben Jonson, born in 1574, was taken from school to assist his stepfather, a bricklayer. Robert Burns, born in 1759, was the son of humble parents. William Cobbett, born in 1762, was a labourer; and Michael Faraday, born in 1791, was the son of a blacksmith. But it may be objected that none of these had a university degree. This is not a matter of great importance; for, if the possession of a university education is to be regarded as a means and not an end, it may fairly be assumed that a man who achieved distinction without the advantage of a university education would have been at least as eminent if he had had that advantage; but let the objection stand for all it is worth, the same objection cannot be urged against the following: Thomas Wolsey, born in 1471, Cardinal Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor, was the son of a butcher. Richard Porson, born in 1759, was the son of a village parish clerk. William Whewell, born in 1794, D.D., F.R.S., &c., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, was the son of a carpenter; and Henry Philpott, born in 1807, D.D. and Bishop of Worcester, was the son of a saddler.

This list might be augmented indefinitely.

It is to be regretted that our author never had the advantage of a commercial education, or he would have understood the meaning of selling by sample, and the difficulties which arise when the bulk is not equal to sample. When he mentions Darwin and Ruskin, he presumably mentions them as samples of great men. It may be unhesitatingly asserted that the bulk does not correspond with the sample, and that for one instance supporting Professor Mahaffy's theory half-a-dozen could be named whose career disproves his contention.

I gather that Professor Mahaffy is in favour of two independent systems of education. It is gratifying to learn that he is "disposed to abandon the principles which he held in former years," though he still believes that it is not possible to combine general education with special training. "What we want is a system of great technical colleges, as well as technical schools," but those who attend these latter, he appears to think, should not be allowed to graduate in arts. If training in classics and mathematics is "the best and most complete education we can give," why should not that education be open to any one, whatever his future career may be?

Are Oxford and Cambridge to be training places for priests and philosophers only? and must those universities be closed to all except the "rich," and "the class which has leisure to pursue abstract knowledge"? We are told, as we have already seen, that the whole of a proper university course is based upon a competent knowledge of classics and mathematics, and that without "a faculty of theology any university is miserably incomplete," but no reasons are assigned. We must accept the statements on the authority of our author. There are several points suggested by the article before us to which I would gladly refer but for the fear of making this paper too long—but one I must not pass over. I will briefly refer to it before I conclude.

Professor Mahaffy likens the admission of the poor (*i.e.*, those who have neither wealth nor leisure) to our universities, to the action of the later Roman Emperors in giving the franchise to a few of the neighbouring tribesmen, with the result that that which had been given to the few was seized by the many, and the Eternal City was sacked.

Taken by itself, this part of the article does not deserve a moment's consideration. Parables and illustrations are very useful, especially in making difficult points clear to the unlearned, but we should be careful to compare like things. One does not need an university education to see that in the case before us this care has not been bestowed.

In admitting the poor to our universities we are admitting a few only of those who are of our own flesh and blood (I hope I shall be pardoned for this!), who speak the same language, and owe allegiance to the same Government; and, as all have to pass a matriculation examination, we can regulate the number of admissions. Those who gained the Roman franchise, by the mistaken policy of the Roman Emperors, were *aliens*—savages, speaking strange tongues, and owing no allegiance to the Emperors. Why then, it may be asked, is it worth while to refer at all to this illustration? I answer—Because of the suggestion which it contains.

I have already referred to the outcry raised when it was proposed that an officer in the army should qualify for promotion otherwise than by his purse. Experience has shown that these outcries were wrong. The article before us deals in the same way with the idea of reform in education, and I contend that the suggestion that if the universities are thrown open gentlemen will be beaten in the race is even more unreasonable. The alleged evil is one that has existed for centuries, and the suggestion that gentlemen cannot hold their own is an insult to the class in whose interests our author professes to write.

In conclusion, let me say in a few words what the article before us seems to me to amount to. Neither more nor less than another

attempt, by an enemy of progress, to bolster up existing or coveted privileges by a system of protection.

I maintain that those in whose interests the article was apparently written can and will hold their own in any contest; but I may be wrong. If I am, and the privileged classes are, like the Romans, so enfeebled by luxury and evil habits, that they are beaten in the "race for distinction," they must accept the inevitable, and begin with shame to take a lower place. *Protection will not save them.*

It may be admitted at once that higher education has not recently made so much progress as it should have done, but this is not to be wondered at when we find such antipathy to progress amongst those who spend their lives "seeking to promote general culture." Why should we expect the food of the mind to remain unchanged any more than the food of the body? When our author goes to his club to refresh himself after the labours incident to the occupation of his professorial Chair he would stare if he had set before him such a repast as William the Conqueror enjoyed after the Battle of Hastings or as awaited King John when he had signed Magna Charta!

And I see no more reason why "a proper university course" in the nineteenth century should be limited to those subjects which were sufficient for a priest in the fourteenth.

A proper university course ought to include everything which an English gentleman should know. And if those who now govern our old seats of learning cannot, or will not, teach those subjects, they must give place to those who do not fear that an enlargement of the curriculum would bring again upon us "the horror and confusion of the Dark Ages"!

I cannot do better than close this paper by quoting a Consular Report from this week's *Punch*:

"Much of the commercial knowledge of Germany has been supplied by young Germans who have been employed as clerks in Great Britain, mostly as foreign correspondents. British clerks cannot be used as foreign correspondents, because not one in a thousand can correspond correctly in any foreign language." (Consular Report from Stettin, issued by Foreign Office.)

EDMUND WILSON.

## THE PART OF WOMEN IN LOCAL ADMINISTRATION :

### ENGLAND AND WALES.

It has been shown in earlier papers how important a part women have, in the past, taken in matters of local administration and government. Still, it may be urged with some truth that these were women of the privileged classes, and that the great body of untitled and unprivileged women furnished no examples of women acting as justices, high sheriffs, or filling other high public functions, seldom, indeed, having the rights of burgesses in our corporate towns. But this was equally true, at the time, of men—especially during the later period of the decline and decay of local government in England. What women had a right to complain of is, that whilst

“ Freedom broadened slowly down  
From precedent to precedent ”

in the case of men, women's claims to equal freedom and justice were either wilfully ignored or carelessly forgotten, and the filching away of their Parliamentary franchises deprived them of the best tools and weapons of freedom. Into the historical causes of this it is not here the place to enter ; but it seems probable that never were women in this country so politically powerless (using the word politically in its widest sense) as at the beginning and during the first half of the present century. The very idea of their taking part in judicial or administrative work seemed to be dying out of the public mind, and when they were permitted to fill useful, if humble, public offices, such as those of sexton or overseer, it was only after judicial decisions, following the earlier and worthier traditions, had affirmed their competency to do so.

Although the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, by its use of the words “ male person,” had extinguished for women every shred remaining of their ancient municipal electoral rights, yet the Poor-Law legislation of 1834, by making the ratepayers the electors of the Boards of Guardians constituted by that legislation, and the Public Health Act of 1848, by doing the same thing with regard to the Local Boards constituted thereunder, provided a considerable

body of women voters in matters of local administration outside municipal boroughs, and these prepared the way for the *restitution* to women in 1869 of the municipal vote. From this period may be fairly said to date the new era of the growing political freedom of women, and of the recognition of their equal claim to "life, liberty, and happiness."

It will be seen, however, that thus far electoral rights only have been considered. The question of the right of actually taking part in local administration was practically raised immediately after the passing of the Education Act of 1870, by the return in many large towns of women to the School Boards created under that Act. So deep was the popular feeling of the fitness of women to engage in educational administrative work that in many places the women candidates were returned at the head of the poll.

Although women appear to have been eligible as Poor-Law Guardians (following, that is, the older and juster interpretation of the law, which made no distinction of sex where qualifications were equal, and not that of certain recent judicial decisions), yet no attempt was made to secure the election of women in that capacity till after the passing of the Education Act. In 1875 the first woman, Miss Martha Marrington, was elected to a seat on the South Kensington Board of Guardians, and slowly but steadily the number of women guardians increased year by year. In 1881, for the first time, two married women were elected as guardians. In each case an appeal was made to the Local Government Board to set aside the election on the ground that a married woman was ineligible. In neither case would the Local Government Board, of which Mr. J. G. Dodson was then President, to whom the appeal was made, consent to treat marriage as a disqualification. In one case, that of Mrs. M'Ilquham, the election was set aside on the ground of an informality in the nomination. A new election was ordered. The lady was again returned, and has sat from that time to the present as a guardian on the Tewkesbury Board.

In the case of the early elections of women guardians there was considerable opposition to the idea. It is a curious fact that wherever male monopoly has long existed a great jealousy seems to have grown up against the introduction of women as fellow-workers. Only by this strange jealousy can the hostility which was shown to the earlier elections of women guardians be explained; and this jealousy exists to this day in many unenlightened parts of the country. Up to the time of the passing of the local government legislation of 1894 the only part which women took therein was as members of School Boards and as Poor-Law Guardians; although, following the interpretation of the law applied both in the case of women guardians and of women members of School Boards, there appears to have been no legal reason whatever against their election

as members of local Boards of Health. It must be remembered, however, that the number of women trained to affairs was at that time comparatively small; that the woman electorate was then relatively smaller in proportion to the total electorate than even now, although now it is but one-seventh; and that hostility on the part of the male monopolists of local administration was in the majority of cases to be expected.

It would seem, further, that women were also even then eligible as members of London vestries; although in the case of a lady, Mrs. Charles, who in 1885 was nominated as a candidate for the Vestry of Paddington, the Returning Officer refused the nomination on the ground that a woman could not be eligible.<sup>1</sup> This alleged "disability" was not finally removed until the Local Government (England and Wales) Act of 1894 expressly made women eligible to London vestries, as well as to the Parish Councils created by that Act, and established their right, irrespective of sex or marriage, to be eligible as Guardians or as Rural or Urban District Councillors. The actual position at present is that women are fully entitled to be elected members of any local administrative body throughout England and Wales, with the exception of Municipal and County Councils, their disability for which does not rest upon statutory but upon judge-made law, and such disability, it is to be hoped, will shortly be set aside.

The circumstances attending the passing of the Local Government Act are so illustrative of the method in which masculine legislators attempt to deal with questions affecting women, and of the necessity for women themselves to be continually on their watch against legislative injustice, that it is well worth while to deal with them here more fully. When the intention of the Liberal Ministry of 1892 to introduce a measure of local government reform into Parliament was announced women were exceedingly anxious that the opportunity should be taken to secure the remedy of existing grave anomalies injurious to their position. They had, unhappily, too much reason to believe, from information which reached them, that even the restricted rights which they then possessed would be further limited. In consequence of this the Women's Emancipation Union, at a conference held at Birmingham in October 1892, directed attention to the subject. A paper was read by Mrs. M'Ilquham on the rights and duties of women in local government, and after the reading of the paper and a full and interesting discussion, the following resolution and memorial were unanimously adopted:

"That, in the opinion of this Conference, no scheme for the formation of district or parish councils will be satisfactory that does not secure to women the same right to elect and to be elected which they now possess in parochial government."

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Charles was returned to the Paddington Vestry in 1894.

"To the Right Honourable Henry H. Fowler, M.P., President of the Local Government Board. This memorial of a Conference held at the Grand Hotel, Colmore Row, Birmingham, on Tuesday, 25th October, 1892, respectfully sheweth that no scheme for the formation of district or parish councils will be satisfactory which does not secure to women the same right to elect, and to be elected, which they now possess in parochial government. That your memorialists desire further to point out that under the present confused and anomalous conditions of our varying forms of local government women may elect to municipal and county councils, but may not themselves be elected, whilst to boards of guardians, rural sanitary authorities, and school boards, married women may be elected, but may not themselves elect; that the necessities of our modern life urgently demand the active co-operation of women in every department of local administration; that your memorialists therefore pray that you will, on behalf of her Majesty's Government, introduce and support such legislation only with regard to local government, as shall recognise and establish the equal rights of women, married and unmarried alike, with men—to elect and to be elected—shall sweep away the existing anomalies and contradictions, and shall secure to the community the advantage of the efficient services of the womanly feeling, experience, and intellect of the nation. And your memorialists will ever pray."

The chairman of that session of the conference duly forwarded the memorial to Mr. (now Sir) Henry Fowler, then President of the Local Government Board. This initiative was followed by the presentation, before the introduction of the Local Government Bill, of nearly a hundred other memorials from public meetings or representative bodies, asking for the full recognition in the proposed measure of the ancient parochial rights of women to vote and to be voted for. It ought not to be forgotten that in the ancient parish vestry, one of the oldest of our institutions, every parishioner, man or woman, had absolutely equal voting power. Up to this time also, as pointed out in the memorial, women voted on equal terms with men for Boards of Guardians, School Boards, Boards of Health, and also, if unmarried, for municipal and county councils, from voting for which married women were in many cases, though, as many of us believe, illegally, restrained by the decision of revising barristers, following the judgment in the case of *Reg. v. Hurrell*, referred to in an earlier paper. In the case of the election of Boards of Guardians married women had, from their first institution, voted freely and without question whenever they paid rates in their own name, the rate-book being in such cases the register. A few years previously, however, to the passing of the Local Government Act attempts had been made in many quarters to prevent married women from voting in Poor-Law elections.

Sir Henry Fowler, in introducing the Local Government (England and Wales) Bill, expressly stated that women would be qualified under the Bill to elect and to be elected to the proposed parish and district councils. Nevertheless the text, when printed, did not appear, in the opinion of eminent legal experts, to give full effect to this benevolent intention. Various amendments were, therefore, put

down in order to safeguard the rights of women, married and unmarried. The Bill, however, was finally postponed to the autumn Session. On the Order for Committee on the Bill being read, Mr. Walter M'Laren moved, on November 16, 1893, "That it be an instruction to the Committee that they have power to insert provisions to enfranchise for the purposes of this Act all those women, whether married or single, who would be entitled to be on the Local Government Register of Electors, or on the Parliamentary Register of Electors, if they were men." The Liberal Ministry resisted the instruction, which, on a division, was, however, carried by 147 votes against 126. A few days later, on November 21, Mr. M'Laren moved an amendment including among the persons entitled to vote as parochial electors "all married women who, if single, would be entitled to be on the Local Government Register." Sir Henry Fowler, in his reply, referred at some length to the conditions of the law as to the voting of women, and said that the Government were advised that the disqualification which was held by the Court of Queen's Bench in 1871 to apply under the common law to women in the case of municipal elections applied also in the case of other elections. This, however, he continued, *was only a legal opinion, and not a decision*, and stated that he proposed, on behalf of the Government, to insert at a later stage a new clause removing altogether the disqualifications of married women, and affirming that no married woman otherwise duly qualified should be disqualified by reason of marriage. In other words, he said he would propose to rescind or repeal the decision in the case of *Reg. v. Harrauld*. The House received this proposal with loud cheers. Mr. M'Laren accepted the proposal of the Government, which had thus pledged itself to place married women in all local and municipal elections on a perfect equality with other women with regard to their electoral rights. It will be noted, however, that the Government proposal did not provide, as did the "instruction" carried by Mr. M'Laren before going into Committee on the Bill, for the case of women owners, lodgers, or women possessing qualifications which, in the case of men, would have conferred the service franchise, a point to which attention will be called later on. The fact is that the Government proposal was a compromise, making a small concession of right in one direction, but imposing new special disabilities in another. As no decision with regard to the voting rights of married women has been given by the Courts since 1871, although the passing of the Married Women's Property Act of 1882 has greatly changed their legal position, it is very doubtful whether the doctrine of Lord Justice Cockburn, that a "married woman is not a person," would now be sustained by the Courts, even independently of further legislation. A few days later, November 24, Sir Henry Fowler moved on Clause 3 of the Bill that "No person shall be disqualified by sex or marriage for being elected

or being a Parish Councillor." This amendment was carried without a division, as at later dates were equivalent amendments relating to Boards of Guardians and District Councils.

On New Year's Day, 1894, Clause 22 of the Bill was under consideration. The Bill provided that the chairman of a District Council, "unless personally disqualified by any Act, shall be, by virtue of his office, a justice of the peace for the county in which the district is situate." On this occasion Sir Henry Fowler proposed to introduce the limiting words "unless a woman," thus taking the opportunity of an enfranchising measure to impose a fresh legal disability upon women. Up to this time no legal decision had ever been given, nor any statute passed, restraining women from the exercise of judicial functions. In the reign of Mary Tudor two women were appointed justices of the peace, and other instances are to be found in our history. There would seem no reason whatever, except the presumption suggested by this restrictive provision of the Local Government Act, to question the legal powers at this moment of the Lord Chancellor or the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster to appoint suitable women to act as justices of the peace. In the course of the debate, Sir John Gorst opposed this disqualification, calling it "an entirely new departure," and affirming that the Committee ought to resist any fresh disability being imposed upon women. Sir Henry Fowler, on the other hand, argued that the House ought not incidentally to alter the general law, and that even if this amendment were not added to the Bill a female chairman of a District Council would be disqualified by the general law. Of course, if the latter assumption were correct the special provision would have been unnecessary, and if not correct, then Sir Henry Fowler was creating a fresh and special disability. The Solicitor-General urged the old, old argument that it was out of respect for women themselves that all such disabilities were imposed upon them. On a division forty members only were found to resist this mischievous "new departure." And yet why should this new departure have been made? As Mrs. M'Ilquham has well written, "If election to the chairmanship of a District Council be held to indicate a fitness for further honour and usefulness, why should it not do so in the case of a woman—who, it is quite certain, owing to sex bias, and the overwhelming preponderance of male electors, would never have been so elected had she not shown the most special aptitude for the office? The injustice is the greater when we remember that several women have, in the past, acted as justices of the peace, that there has hitherto been no statutory bar against them, and that every day is making more manifest the urgent need of women magistrates, as well as of women jurors, in many cases. Had women possessed the Parliamentary franchise it would have been impossible to introduce these distinctions between the sexes; nor would members of

Parliament have been willing to incur the just resentment of those who could give practical effect to it."<sup>1</sup>

On January 5 Sir Henry Fowler brought in a new clause, which now stands as Clause 43 of the Act, removing the voting disabilities of married women. The Chairman of Committees ruled that unless the limiting words "For the purposes of this Act" were included in the clause the proposal would be out of order. Consequently the clause as submitted was thus limited, and reads as follows in the Act itself: "For the purposes of this Act, a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being on any Local Government Register of Electors, or for being an elector of any local authority; provided that a husband and wife shall not both be qualified in respect of the same property." The introduction of the words "For the purposes of this Act," however, precluded the removal of the alleged disabilities of married women as voters in municipal and County Council elections; yet it was found possible in the Local Government (Scotland) Act of the following Session to deal with the matter effectively, so far as Scotland was concerned, by the provision that "A woman otherwise possessing the qualification for being registered on any County Council or Municipal Register of Electors, shall not be disqualified by marriage from being registered on a County Council, Municipal, or Parish Council Register; provided that a husband and wife shall not be registered in respect of the same property." So that at the present moment married women may vote in a Scottish municipal borough and for a Scottish County Council, though they may not so vote in England. On the face of it, Clause 43 of the Act, in spite of this limitation, was an important concession to justice in the case of married women. But the effect of the proviso, taken conjointly with Section 44, has been actually to diminish the number of married women voters. Section 44 provides that "The Local Government Register of Electors and the Parliamentary Register of Electors, so far as they relate to a Parish, shall together form the Register of the Parochial Electors of the Parish." The "parochial electors," it should be remembered, are the "electors" for every purpose of this Act. This compounding of the parochial register from the Local Government and Parliamentary Register has had the peculiar effect of creating for the first time in English history serious inequalities between the local voting rights of men and women. The Parliamentary Register of Electors includes male owners, male lodgers, and men enjoying the service franchise; but as women are not yet permitted to be on the Parliamentary Register, these classes of women are excluded from the parochial vote. One result has been actually to deprive many women owners of the right to vote in the election of Poor-Law guardians, which they had exercised for many years, or to compel them, in cases where they

<sup>1</sup> *Women and the Parish Councils Act*, p. 4, Mrs. M'Quham.

found it possible, to retain in their own occupancy, for the purpose of a qualification, property which it would have better suited them to let. What effect this may have had in diminishing the number of women voters may be learned from the fact that in many parishes the number of male *owners* actually equals the total number of women voters. A further result of this has been specially to restrict and almost practically to annul the right of voting conferred upon married women by Section 43. As husband and wife may not both be qualified in respect of the same property, as may brother and sister, father and daughter, mother and son, or other similar relations, it follows that only in rare cases can a married woman vote at all; no woman being permitted to vote in her capacity of owner. At the Report stage of the Bill Mr. Atherley Jones moved an amendment, the effect of which would have been to do away with these disqualifications, but, fearing to hinder at this late stage the prospects of the Bill, he did not press his amendment to a division.

On February 8, in committee on the Bill in the House of Lords, the Earl of Camperdown moved the following amendment to Clause 36: "For the purposes of this Act a woman shall not be disqualified by sex or marriage for being or being placed on the Local Government Register in respect of any qualification which entitles a man to be or to be placed thereon, or for being an elector of any local authority; provided that a husband and wife shall not be qualified in respect of the same property." This amendment, if carried, would have removed a considerable part of the grievance of women, although there would seem no solid reason for the limiting proviso. Yet the amendment was negatived without a division after a brief conversation, in which not one word was said in opposition to the amendment on its merits, simply because nothing could be said.

By Section 23 of the Act it is provided that "A person shall not be qualified to be elected or to be a Councillor, unless he is a Parochial Elector of some parish within the District, or has, during the whole of the twelve months preceding the election, resided in the District, and no person shall be disqualified by sex or marriage for being elected or being a Councillor." The effect of this concession of the residential qualification, coupled with the removal of the disqualification by sex or marriage, in all elections under the Local Government Act, has been largely to increase the number of women, especially of married women, elected either as rural district councillors or Poor-Law Guardians. Before the passing of the Act of 1894 there were not quite 200 women Poor-Law Guardians. At the first election after that Act the number rose to upwards of 850, and is now nearly 1000, as shown in the annexed table.

The Act provides that the term of office of a guardian shall be

three years, and that one-third, as nearly as may be, of every Board of Guardians shall go out of office on April 15 each year, and their

GUARDIANS' ELECTIONS, 1898.

COUNTIES.	Before.					After.				
	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.
Berks.	12	7	9	7	16	12	7	5	8	13
Beds.	6	3	6	2	8	6	3	5	2	7
Bucks.	7	4	1	2	6	7	2	3	1	4
Cambs.	9	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	—	—
Cheshire	12	8	21	1	22	12	8	23	1	24
Cornwall	13	9	20	6	26	13	9	18	5	23
Cumberland	9	6	11	2	13	9	6	10	2	12
Derby	9	6	14	2	16	9	5	9	1	10
Devon	20	15	33	6	39	20	14	31	5	36
Dorset	12	6	9	—	9	12	5	7	—	7
Durham	14	12	28	2	30	14	10	27	3	30
Essex	16	10	23	5	28	16	10	27	6	33
Gloucester	16	7	16	5	21	16	6	15	2	17
Hants.	26	7	12	3	15	26	12	21	4	25
Hereford	8	2	1	1	2	8	3	2	1	3
Herts.	12	4	3	3	6	12	4	3	5	8
Huntingdon	3	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—
Kent	25	7	10	3	13	25	9	15	4	19
Lancaster	34	23	63	2	65	30	24	73	2	75
Leicester	11	5	10	—	10	11	5	10	—	10
Lincoln	15	9	17	7	24	15	10	23	9	32
Middlesex	7	6	12	1	13	7	6	16	1	17
Mons.	6	4	13	1	14	6	3	13	1	14
Norfolk	22	12	14	19	32	22	13	12	24	36
Northamptonshire	12	6	9	2	11	12	5	10	3	11
Northumberland	12	7	18	3	21	12	5	16	2	18
Notts.	8	3	7	1	8	8	3	8	1	9
Oxford	9	6	6	4	10	9	6	7	3	10
Rutland	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
Salop	15	1	1	—	1	15	3	2	2	4
Somerset	16	13	20	7	27	16	12	24	10	34
Staffs.	16	7	10	2	12	16	9	16	2	18
Suffolk	16	7	13	5	18	16	6	11	6	17
Surrey	11	9	28	5	33	11	10	29	5	34
Sussex	23	12	18	5	23	22	12	23	5	28
Warwick	14	5	20	6	26	14	9	23	8	31
Westmoreland	3	1	1	—	1	3	1	1	—	1
Wiltshire	17	9	13	11	24	17	11	17	9	26
Worcester	11	7	12	1	13	11	6	16	—	16
Yorks., E. R.	10	5	14	—	11	10	6	18	—	18
„ N. R.	17	5	8	1	9	17	6	10	1	11
„ W. R.	35	17	48	2	50	35	18	56	2	58
Wales	567	296	595	135	730	566	302	655	144	799
Metropolis	45	29	59	13	72	45	29	58	15	73
	30	25	87	2	87	30	28	99	—	99
Total	642	350	741	148	889	641	359	812	159	971

A. Number of unions.

B. " " with Women Guardians.

c. Women P.-L. Gs. •

d. Women R. D. Cs.

E. Total.

places be filled by the newly elected guardians. Provision, however, was made that the County Council might direct, when the Board of

Guardians of any Union asked for it, that the members of that Board of Guardians should retire together each third year; and further, that where, at the time of the passing of the Act, the whole of the guardians of any Union did so retire together in pursuance of an order of the Local Government Board, they should continue so to retire, unless the County Council, on their application, directed otherwise. The consequence of this is that the guardians' elections are somewhat confusing, many Boards having claimed the right to retire *en masse* every third year, whilst others have conformed to the ordinary provisions of the Act, so that a partial election of guardians goes on in many places each year, but the main interest centres upon the triennial elections. The recent second triennial election offers many points of interest. It would seem on the whole that the number of women guardians throughout the country has steadily, though slowly, increased. One fact stands out very remarkably—the great number of women Liberals, especially of members or officials of Women's Liberal Associations, who are doing active work as Poor-Law Guardians. The reason for this is very simple. In each such case the woman nominated has behind her a strong body of organised workers and the sympathy of many other women. Seeing how much has been done by the Women's Liberal organisations in this respect, with their membership of less than one hundred thousand, it appears a real misfortune to local administration that the Primrose League, with its membership of a million and a half, should be precluded by its very constitution from rendering public service of this kind. Of course some Conservative women are also active workers in this direction. The lack is that of organised effort.

Another important fact is the large proportion of women guardians who have this year been elected as rural district councillors. From 1872 down to the passing of the Act of 1894 the guardians for the rural parishes of a union acted as a rural sanitary authority, which carried out for the area of a union covered by their parishes that sanitary and other work which in urban districts or boroughs is done by the Urban District Councils and the Municipal Councils. Under the Act guardians in rural parishes, ceasing to be elected as guardians, are elected as rural district councillors, and become guardians by virtue of that election. Each person so elected therefore fulfils a double function, that of guardian of the poor and conservator of the public health. Much important work, therefore, falls to their share.

The same Act of 1894 declared women eligible as urban district councillors, but it is a remarkable fact that almost uniformly the women who have stood as candidates for an Urban District Council have been, up to this time, defeated; yet the work they would have to do is precisely the same in kind with that done most effectively by

the women rural district councillors. The only reason that can possibly be assigned for the rejection of women as urban district councillors is the jealousy and distrust of men as to the capabilities of women in every untried post, and the dread by male monopolists of losing their positions or of accepting the co-operation of women. The same jealousy and distrust showed itself equally powerfully when women first came forward as guardians, and can only be overcome by experience.

A further interesting fact is the great and increasing proportion of married women engaged as guardians; a result undoubtedly due to the concession of the residential qualification conferred by clause 23 of the Act, since, owing to circumstances pointed out earlier in this paper, but few married women have, or under existing conditions can have, the electoral qualification.

Three counties in 1898 as in 1894—the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Rutland—have distinguished themselves by returning no women Poor-Law Guardians. Two or three other counties have only one or two each, but the other women guardians may be said to be fairly evenly distributed over the whole country. The Cardiff, Huddersfield, Newton Abbot, and West Ham Boards of Guardians are distinguished by having each ten women members.

It is proposed in the brief remainder of this present paper to deal solely with the local administrative work of women as Poor-Law Guardians, reserving for a later paper the consideration of their work with regard to public health and education. But the main reason why women should be equally eligible with men to all public functions is one and the same in every case. It is the dearth in society of that high public spirit which ought to be the first qualification for the fulfilment of any of these functions. Is it wise in any society to diminish this supply by cutting off, as has till of late years been done, one-half its sources? As Mr. Mill affirmed long years ago:

“Any limitation of the field of selection deprives society of some chances of being served by the competent, without saving it from the incompetent.”

He urged further:

“Is there so great a superfluity of men for high duties, that society can afford to reject the service of any competent person? Are we so certain of always finding a man made to our hands for any duty or function of social importance which falls vacant, that we lose nothing by putting a ban upon one-half of mankind, and refusing beforehand to make their faculties available, however distinguished they may be?”<sup>1</sup>

In almost every special case of administrative and executive work.

<sup>1</sup> *Subjection of Women*, p. 94.

moreover, there may be special departments in which the activity of women is really more valuable than that of men, and emphatically is this the case with the administration of our English Poor Law. For consider who are mainly affected by the just or unjust, the wise or unwise administration of Poor-Law legislation; very largely women, girls, and young children. These constitute certainly two-thirds of the whole subjects of Poor-Law administration, in addition to whom we ought to take into account the considerable number of men, aged and infirm, who need the aid of womanly thought and care.

Since women took part in our Poor-Law administrative work the transformation that has come over the system is very great indeed. It is administered in a more humane and just spirit, and with greater consideration for individual cases. Even the *Times*, that steady opponent of the activities of women, has been driven at last to admit the enormous advantage of their services in this direction. And first to take the case of workhouse life. One needs scarcely to refer to the scandalous instances of workhouse abuse, such as the fact that one woman guardian found that in a large metropolitan workhouse the girls and children were not allowed any night-dresses, and that in another large country workhouse old men and women had to eat their food without knives and forks as best they could. In these and many other directions great reforms have taken place. At the present day our workhouses are not occupied mainly by able-bodied people of either sex, a very small proportion of the inmates being fit for work of any active description, though all are put to such work as they can do. They are aged and afflicted people for the most part, or at least temporary invalids and extremely necessitous. Many need constant watching and care, such as their poor relatives could not possibly give them in their own homes. Is it not obvious that in all these directions there is wide scope for the activity of women? Their domestic training and their usual avocations fit them far better than men can possibly fit themselves for judgment in matters affecting the management of the workhouse, the purchasing and preparation of food, and the general tendance of these institutions. Within the workhouses come the helpless maternity cases. Surely here the help of women is needed for their sister women, whether these be married or unmarried mothers. A bitter complaint was made only a few days ago by a lady at the meeting of a Board of Guardians, that in the case of the illegitimate births within their workhouses, not in one case in seven was any attempt made by the guardians to procure an affiliation order against the father. Similar negligence occurs even in the case of the married mothers, so little care having been taken by the men guardians to enforce, as it is their official duty to do, the legal obligation of fathers to contribute to the maintenance of their children. Except

where women have worked actively to change this state of things it remains a scandal to the present time. With regard to the affiliation cases women guardians have, in many instances, been horrified, upon their election as guardians, to find these brought before the whole Board, and to hear the levity and coarseness with which they were treated by the male guardians. • Many of them have felt that these appearances, before the Board constituted an almost more corrupting and debasing influence than anything which had previously taken place. Happily in many instances women guardians have so succeeded in influencing the opinion either of their fellow-guardians or of the general public as to secure the reference of all such cases either to a committee of the women members of the Board, or to such a committee assisted by the male guardian in whose district the case arose. Surely the help of these unfortunate girls and women at a very critical period is a worthy office for womanly sympathy and experience.

There is moreover the discriminative work necessary in the case of old people. Some women guardians have been successful in inducing the Boards of which they are members to try the experiment of a privileged class of workhouse inmates—those who by their industry and blameless character had fairly earned every reasonable indulgence. The children, too, who form so large a part of our so-called paupers, need woman's help. Whether retained in the workhouse, placed in the large asylums, or boarded-out in village homes or families, they need in each case the careful supervision of women. Many Boards of Guardians have appointed visiting committees of ladies for these purposes, even where women are not yet members of the Board. A sympathetic woman intending to qualify herself for a guardian's work could not do better than accept office as a member of such a committee. But the women members of visiting committees continually suffer from finding themselves powerless to carry out any change which they may deem essential, and this experience has frequently given occasion for their offering themselves as candidates for election as guardians.

Some important Boards of Guardians are now advertising for inspectors to carry out the provisions of the Infant Life Protection Act. In some cases where women are members of the Board the appointment is offered to women candidates equally with men. It is obvious to any one who reflects, however, that for work of this kind, for investigation of the character of the homes in which children, boarded-out by the guardians, or, as under the Infant Life Protection Act, by the parents, usually the mother, as these cases are generally of illegitimate birth, women are pre-eminently fitted. They can judge as men cannot of the condition of the children, of the fitness of the homes and surroundings in which they are placed, and of how far they are being rightly and wisely treated.

Then there is the grave question of the condition of women pauper lunatics. Our county asylums contain as many women as men, if not even more; yet every Commissioner of Lunacy is a man, all the visiting committees of magistrates are men, and the only official woman visitor is the woman Poor-Law guardian. In most of the county asylums there are some three or four resident medical practitioners, nearly always men, though one or two county asylums have honourably distinguished themselves by appointing a resident female physician to look after the needs of the helpless women. There ought to be at least one such woman physician in every county asylum.

Women overseers have, since the election of women to Boards of Guardians, been somewhat more frequently appointed. There are multitudes of cases in which the help of a woman overseer is pre-eminently fitting, if not necessary. Mrs. M'Ilquham speaks in one of her able papers of "the appointment of overseers, whose duty it will be to collect the rate, and in cases of 'sudden and urgent necessity' to give relief, both medical and otherwise, to the poor." She adds:

"Prompt action and sound judgment are often needed in villages to save life or avert hours of suffering to the poor. This power is given to overseers to save time in seeking out the relieving officer, who often lives miles away, and, besides that, is sometimes even further away on his duties a long distance from his house. A 'sudden and urgent' order is often needed by poor women in labour who are unable to incur the expense of medical attendance. There always ought to be one woman included among the parochial overseers, for women are more experienced in matters of sickness than men. I know a parish where the opinion of a lady has been and is invariably sought by successive overseers as to the desirableness of giving 'sudden and urgent' orders, and yet it has never occurred to the male mind to add that lady's name to the list of overseers."

There might also in many cases be women relieving officers with great advantage. The Oswestry Board of Guardians has distinguished itself by making such an appointment, which the President of the Local Government Board, Mr. Chaplin, did his best to compel them to quash. The guardians were, however, so fully convinced of the superior qualifications for the purpose of the lady of their selection that they refused to set aside the appointment, in which the Local Government Board, which had apparently been seeking to exceed its powers, at last reluctantly acquiesced.

In these and many other ways there is urgent need of, and abundant scope for, the work of women as Poor-Law guardians; but as yet there is but one woman guardian to every twenty-five male guardians in England and Wales. Happily many women are training themselves carefully for public usefulness, not merely by study

of the question of Poor-Law administration, but also of the graver issues of the causes and results of the abiding poverty of so large a portion of our population. • These serious and most urgent questions will never, and can never, be solved by men without the help of the counsel and active co-operation of women. •

IGNOTA.

## ZOLA'S "PARIS."

THERE are many reasons why M. Zola's latest work should engage our attention. It concludes the story of the young priest who, doubting at Lourdes, and disillusioned at Rome, finds faith and hope in Paris, not in the past, in God and the Church, but in the future, in science and in man. Thus the book is on a great subject, treated with a full consciousness of the vast issues at stake. It deals with the great transition towards the new era of science, peace, and human brotherhood, as seen in the city that has been for many ages the centre of Western civilisation. It treats of the decay of the old faith, and of that passing reaction which, for all its outward semblance of success, fails to touch the troubles of the modern world. It shows us labour in insurrection against the *bourgeoisie* which has cheated it of the fruits of the old Revolution. And it makes plain all those obstacles, whether they lie in the weakness, the ignorance, or the disunion of men, which render vain the hopes of the future and delay the happier era so long foretold. And besides all this, there is the dramatic contrast of the author's trial at the very moment when the book was ready for publication, while the people of Paris showered curses on the head of him who had asserted anew their leadership of human progress.

But though *Paris* is thus of even more interest to us than his previous works, it is far from being his greatest. His effects are gained by stronger contrasts, and yet are less convincing, his finest scenes tremble on the verge of the ridiculous, and the end is an absurd anti-climax. His pictures of the miseries of the workers have not the insistent truthfulness of those in *Germinal*, a true epic of the proletariat; nor are his anarchists to be compared with his study at once strong and delicate of the young revolutionary workman in his earlier book. Nor can the great set pieces in *Paris* be placed beside some of those in *La Débâcle*, Henriette's walk to Bazailles, the cavalry charge, the trooper and his dying horse, or the rush of the fugitives into Sedan, or even beside the triumphant procession after the miraculous cure in Lourdes. Nor does the author show the same breadth of sympathy as in *La Débâcle*; there is for instance, nothing like the beautiful story of the growing friendship between Jean and the young lawyer, the latter's first

repulsion for the unlettered rustic gradually changing into a recognition of his real superiority.

But though I, who have long thought Zola the first of living novelists, may make these comparisons, I am impressed none the less by the value of the book as a sign of the times, and as an effort after a solution of the troubles of the modern world. Throughout, there is evident a strong feeling of the difficulties of the situation, of the failure of the nineteenth century to solve the problems bequeathed to it by the Revolution, of the confusion and complexity with which the century is working out its task. And it must be confessed that, compared with the eighteenth century, the nineteenth shows a want of unity and a want of purpose. The former opens in the darkness of persecution amid the reaction of the last years of Louis XIV.; then the light slowly breaks; Voltaire attacks the old religion; Rousseau raises the standard of political revolt; Diderot and his followers bring science and philosophy to bear; till all uniting, their very differences seeming but to widen and strengthen the attack, the old world sinks before them, and the century ends in the grand climax of the Revolution. As seen by us, who look back, it is a drama complete in all its parts, unrolling itself in due order and in harmony with its central idea, each act leading us one step nearer to the catastrophe. But here the analogy ends. The world does not stop at the climax, but goes on, like one of M. Zola's novels, to an anti-climax. In some aspects the nineteenth century is nothing more than the anti-climax of the Revolution, a century wherein the reaction caused by the failure of the revolutionary hopes, the old movement of destruction handed on from the preceding age, and the new efforts after a reconstruction of life on the foundation of science and history join in an absurd triangular battle, in which it is hard to distinguish friend from foe, or even to tell how goes the fight. To find its analogy, indeed, we must look not to the eighteenth but to the seventeenth century, where we see beside Puritanism and the Catholic reaction, a third movement, beginning with Bacon, Galileo, and Descartes, fated in the end to surpass its noisier rivals. And just as the eighteenth century was occupied in developing and spreading abroad the work of Bacon, Descartes and Hobbes, and the other thinkers of the preceding era, so the twentieth will find its work in the philosophy of the nineteenth, separating the grain from the chaff, bringing into prominence the thoughts that are really vital, making them known throughout the nations, and applying them to the problems of the new era. M. Zola is quite right. We need a "balance sheet of the nineteenth century."

It is, then, all the more unfortunate that M. Zola has not even got a balance sheet of the eighteenth century, though that has been already drawn up by several hands, in substantial agreement, and is a very much easier piece of work. Over and over again we find our

author hesitating between going back to nature and going forward to a new civilisation, the outcome and the crown of the past, between a life left to the dictates of natural desire, good it may be, but neither foreseeing nor inspiring, and a life regulated and made firm by science and inspired by the great ideas, so late perceived, of human brotherhood and human progress. In fact, M. Zola has still to make his choice between savagery and civilisation, between Rousseau and those great contemporaries of Rousseau—Diderot, Turgot, and Condorcet—who first dimly recognised that the movement of society was subject to law, and that ethics would one day become both human and scientific. And this confusion only shows the more forcibly how impossible it is to draw up "the balance sheet of the nineteenth century" till we have drawn up the balance sheets of the centuries that have gone before. To know the nineteenth century, to guide ourselves in the twentieth, we must know from what they have sprung; we must have a firm basis from which to start, otherwise we shall be like the actuary who should draw up the account of the year's trading without knowing the balance in hand at the beginning. To say that we have only to follow our healthy natural instincts brings us very little farther. To say that our instincts are healthy unless debauched by civilisation, this is to go back to Rousseau and the noble savage; to say they must be made healthy, this is to imply that we must begin a work needing all that human ingenuity can do under the influence of devotion to the welfare of mankind. In other words, we must go farther and farther from the natural man as he exists apart from society. But in spite of these contradictory views on so fundamental a question, the morality of the book on the whole is strongly Positivist. Indeed, any one with a rage for classification might say that throughout the greater part of the work M. Zola was generally Positivist, occasionally Anarchic, until in the last chapter he lapsed into St. Simonianism and small motors. At Positivism, it is true, he sometimes sneers, but nevertheless his main ideas are identical with it—a new religion founded on science, a new society of peaceful industry organised in the interests of the mass of the people, and a new ethic having for its aim the welfare and progress of all mankind.

One doubt, indeed, obtrudes itself on the reader at every step. Is France, is Paris, any longer fitted for the task of leading the human race? Must the great truths that Paris has sent forth fructify in other nations and leave her desolate? must the torch of progress be carried on by other hands? It is a sad question for all those that love France and would fain see her keep the place which her past history has given her. However that may be, it is no small matter that the great questions of human progress still hold their place in French literature, and that Paris still exerts that fascination over the human mind which is itself a source of power. Nor must it be for-

gotten that when a man was needed to denounce injustice, the man was found in the nineteenth century, as he had been found in the eighteenth, among the greatest of living Frenchmen. It may seem a monstrous impossibility that in the country of Voltaire, more than a century after the Great Revolution, a prisoner could be condemned on evidence of which neither he nor his counsel had knowledge. Even in the worst days of tyranny the French prided themselves on being free from the Inquisition. Yet what is this but one of the worst abuses of the Inquisition revived at the end of the nineteenth century? Happily there have been found brave spirits in France in this century, as there were in the last, to denounce iniquity in high places, and if posterity sees with surprise the Republic emulating the worst judicial crimes of the old monarchy, it will not hesitate to compare the great novelist who has defied both Government and mob, with Voltaire and the defence of Calas. The case of La Barre was once a *chose jugée*; so was the case of Calas; and the judges have been judged. And just as the great stand of Voltaire in the case of Calas has been counted a glorious episode in the history of his time, and has been an encouragement and an inspiration to brave hearts ever since, so has the conduct of Emile Zola in his heroic protest against injustice gone far to redeem the honour of France and make us hope that she may still be worthy of her great place among the nations.

S. H. SWINNY.

## INDIA AND ENGLAND.

ON account of some popular delusions as to India being a savage country which, having humanely subdued and annexed it, we have partially civilised, and as to its present attitude towards this country being one of gross ingratitude, it is desirable that any review, however imperfect, of the existing relations between India and England should be preceded by a passing glance at some of the salient features of the latter country, with a view to correct the popular misconception and to show that it is *we* who have really reason to be grateful to India rather than *she* to us.

At a stage in the world's progress when eminent statesmen frankly confess that we are all now more or less socialists, it will, I think, be admitted generally, that a completely organised and perfectly developed community would be a self-governing community largely of the socialistic type. Some details in the socialistic demands may have to be modified so as to bring the system more in accord with a natural sense of justice, so as to permit of a substantial discriminating recognition of the merits of individuals, and so as to reconcile that system to the human love of liberty; but the perfectly organised community of the future will be, I think, in all essential respects of the socialistic type.

In England, as all know, we have not at present an ideal national community. We had originally a more or less absolute monarchy, which has been gradually toned down to a limited monarchy; but we are not yet a completely self-governing nation. We do not own as a national community the requisite instruments for the production and distribution of wealth; nor do we own even the national lands, the source of all wealth. In the early periods of our history, lands were wrongfully appropriated by inconsiderate monarchs and bestowed on Court favourites, whose descendants (small blame to them, of course) now own as private property the bulk of the national lands. After these iniquities had been perpetrated in the supposed "good old times," it was naturally feared that the landless community would hardly consent to starve, and that difficulty had to be encountered.

What then followed? The destiny of a nation is determined partly by early incidents in its history, and partly by counsel and statecraft (wise or wicked) from its early leaders. To what extent

the actual position of Great Britain has been moulded by each of these factors has yet to be determined after careful scrutiny and research in our ancient archives. That Commodore Byron's "Instructions to Navigators," in the middle of the last century, which Green has preserved in his *History of the English People*, were but an echo of the counsels of those in authority over us in the earliest periods of our history is probable; but what is certain is, as Green has recorded, that a consciousness of the necessities of our position and of our future destinies showed itself in the restlessness with which our seamen penetrated into far-off seas. It may safely, then, be concluded that it was for the purpose of finding employment for the wealth which had accumulated in the hands of a few individuals through their possession of the national lands (and otherwise), and to find the means of subsistence for a landless community, who might otherwise prove troublesome, that great industries were organised, and later, ships were built for the transport of the products of those industries to distant countries, whose produce was brought back to us in exchange. In contriving in this way to withdraw the attention of the British people for a time from the alienation of its lands, our rulers necessarily encouraged in the indomitable energy of our race that spirit of adventure abroad which has resulted in its finding compensation for its deprivations at home by encroachments in foreign countries. This may be a very rough, short history; but it is, I think, a true history of how we have come to be a nation of manufacturers, traders, and shopkeepers, possessing distant dependencies over a large part of the globe, some partially self-governing, and others governed by ourselves with more or less enlightened despotism.

History has not yet done full justice to that wonderful energy of our race which enabled it, under the cruel deprivation of its lands, to set aside its former agricultural character, and to develop, in a manly struggle for the preservation of its national existence, industrial forces which have given to this country the naval empire of the world and made it the world's chief workshop. There have been in the past, and from time to time there are still offered to us, on the platform and in the Press, eloquent tributes to the naval and industrial greatness of our race; but these tributes are never as complete as they ought to be from the studied avoidance in them of any reference to those iniquities of the past at home which necessitated the finding of a compensation for them through the spirit of adventure abroad.

I am not what is called a "little Englander," because if there be among us those to whom this designation is justly applied, they are people who are unable to realise the truth that if, under existing conditions, we confined ourselves within the limits of this little island we should inevitably perish. Moreover, looking to the present

position and attitude of the political world, the weaker must necessarily fall under the dominion of the stronger races; and as, like William Pitt, I am a believer not only in the might of Englishmen, but also in their general conscientiousness and integrity, I would rather see the weak races of the world under our own protection than placed under subjection to any other strong Power. But under our rule they must be *righteously treated*; and they *would* be so treated if the people of Great Britain and Ireland knew and fully exercised the right and the power which they now possess to influence for good or for evil the Government of this kingdom and of its dependencies.

When Carlyle, with his usual vigorous incisiveness, said of the population of the British Isles that it was composed mostly of fools, he of course intended to suggest not that he thought the bulk of his countrymen fit inmates for Earlswood Asylum, but that they suffered from a certain wrong-headedness, some in one direction, some in another, which often in matters of vital importance precluded their arriving at just conclusions or acting thereon with prompt decision. Perhaps to this imputed fault, to which much of the mental sluggishness and political apathy of the British people are apparently due, may be also ascribed another grave error, I mean that of failing to distinguish between *religiousness* and *righteousness*, and of supposing that certain countries, with respect to which it has been wisely ruled that our national *religiousness* must be kept under judicious restraint, need not, therefore, be governed by us in a *righteous* spirit.

As an Assistant Secretary to the Bombay Government in the fifties, I remember to have read an elaborate report by the then senior chaplain of Bombay, of a tour made by him for an official visitation of public servants in our North-West frontier: that strong triple frontier (mountain, river, and ocean) of half a century ago, wherein, through a culpable neglect of wise counsel, we have since disastrously entangled ourselves by futile efforts at "scientific" improvement. The frontier was then vigorously held and vigilantly watched with a quiet "masterly inactivity" by General John Jacob, as was grudgingly acknowledged by the reverend chaplain; but his report was loud in lamentations respecting the godlessness of the system under which that useful work was efficiently performed.

Still louder, if I may indulge in a further reminiscence, were the lamentations respecting our godlessness after the great Rebellion of 1857, which, in some influential quarters I think, was regarded as a visitation from Heaven, because of our not having bishops enough in the country; and it was probably in deference to those lamentations that a bishopric for Lahore was afterwards created at the expense of a disaffected people, as a small amendment of the godless character of our administration of India.

The foregoing reminiscences certainly somewhat justify a vague fear that my countrymen hardly realise that *religiousness* is a thing with which *righteousness* has no concern. In the absence of any serious effort, by a trusted and capable guide, to undertake the education of public opinion, it may not be unuseful for even the present writer to venture shortly to explain that "religiousness" is a facile response to an appeal to the emotions that is strongly backed by human egoism, while righteousness is the becoming response which is made to an appeal to reason and its allied sense of justice, though that appeal be strongly resisted by human egoism. On this account, the former quality is more abundant in the world than the latter; but there is small excuse for failing to perceive the essential difference between them; and our habitual obtuseness in this respect is the more remarkable because of the fact that, from time to time, we are aroused to a recognition of that essential difference through signal examples of the co-existence in one and the same individual of a fervent *religiousness* (manifested by lavish disbursements in building churches and otherwise facilitating the way to heaven) with a conspicuous *unrighteousness* in the ordinary business of life in this world.

We have spread ourselves, as I have shown, from Great Britain into various parts of the world, not with the benevolent object of offering to benighted peoples our religion for the salvation of their souls or of imparting to them our civilisation for the improvement of their minds and manners, but for the preservation of our own national existence. We cannot, therefore, if we would, withdraw from India in compliance with a by no means modest request from the organisers of last year's political demonstrations. Protesting against the tone and temper in which Messrs. H. M. Hyndman, Michael Davitt, and Dadabhai Naoroji have approached the question, I have nevertheless sorrowfully admitted that the present condition of India is discreditable to us. Further, reviewing *how* we have come to be in India and *why* we are there, I have, I think, succeeded in tracing the ultimate responsibility for our presence, and actual position in that country to those who hold as their private property the national lands of Great Britain and Ireland.

Now, how do the facts of the situation as thus stated help us in considering the case of our long-suffering patient?

A few individuals in our British community, through their possession of the national lands, have acquired enormous wealth without labour; and, wisely employing the leisure which freedom from labour has given them in developing their natural powers and faculties, they have attained among us the position of a ruling class. They hold high offices of State at home, and pay themselves, at the expense of the nation, enormous salaries, in addition to the income which they derive from the national lands. To induce any member

of this ruling class to quit luxurious surroundings in Great Britain for the purpose of holding the Viceroyalty or other great office of State in India, still higher remuneration for the office-holder than that at home has to be demanded from the Indian people, with a still more culpable want of considerate moderation. The evil, alas! ends not here, for the chief dignitaries of State, with their more than princely revenues, must be aided by the maintenance of executive establishments, and *these* are paid proportionately extravagant salaries and pensions with the same heartless indifference to the abject, poverty-stricken masses who have to find the means for so lavish an expenditure.

All this would be bad enough if the unprecedented, unconscionable salaries and pensions extorted by a strong race from weak, ill-fed populations were permitted to return to them, as I last year suggested should be done—a suggestion which was shortly afterwards backed by Mr. Labouchere in his journal, *Truth*. But this reform, if it be meditated, as I hope it may be, is not yet an accomplished fact, and in the meantime the evils just described are intensified by what is known as the “carpet-bagging” system, a system which permits the public servants and agents of the foreign rulers of India to spend a few years in a kind of picnic life in that country, and to return thence eventually to the distant land whence they came, carrying home with them the savings accumulated from their enormous salaries, and receiving further large pensions, which have to be remitted from India to England. Then, because this pernicious system, under the operation of an economic law, has gradually entailed on the recipients of pensions in England, through a fall in the exchange, a progressively increasing loss, that loss to pensioners which has been brought upon themselves by their doing the Indian people the injury of not living and spending their means among those from whom the means are derived is made the ground for a “compensation” to the wrong-doers at the expense of the victims of such wrong-doing!

This state of things hardly falls short of such an outrage as the most docile and “highly governable” denizens of any planet in the universe—taking one of the most eccentric of the planets and supposing it to be inhabited by angels—must find, soon or late, to be intolerable. At any rate, it is a state of things which is in the last degree demoralising to ourselves as the rulers of India; and to the thoughtful mind that alone is the best reason for decisively putting an end to existing abuses.

If we may venture to hope that Mr. Chamberlain, who is supposed to be engaged in the maturing of a scheme for strengthening the bonds between the mother country and her dependencies all over the globe, shall be able to see his way to the production of a scheme which, among other things, shall permit each of the Indian

Presidencies to be directly represented in the British House of Commons, that, I think, looking not only to India, but also to the difficulties which from time to time arise in other parts of the Empire, would be a step in the right direction. This first step may or may not be followed speedily by further reforms that are urgently needed ; but it would certainly indicate an earnest desire to facilitate reforms, and for any delay thereafter India would share with this country the responsibility.

The conviction which I here express is by no means inconsistent with my strong disapproval of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's election for Central Finsbury with a view to his indirectly acting as India's champion in Parliament. Not only did I wholly disapprove of that election, but I even strove to withhold from him the support of the socialists. Mr. Hyndman, the President of the Social Democratic Federation, being, however, more strongly his supporter than I was an opponent, my opposition was of small avail. I continue to think, however, that every member of Parliament, in the actual political constitution of the country, should be not merely a British subject, but also an Englishman or the descendant of an Englishman. A sentimental feeling of this description which mainly, I think, prompted Lord Salisbury's objection to the presence in the House of Commons, as member for Central Finsbury, of other than an Englishman is really evidence of an enlightened patriotism, and is not at all incompatible with a large statesmanlike liberality, which would be willing at the right time to approve of an amendment of the existing political constitution so as to permit that Greater Britain, including India, shall be represented together with Great Britain in the National Council. Under these altered conditions it should of course be open to delegates from distant countries to enter that Council.

I have said already that a continuance of existing abuses in unhappy India cannot fail to have a demoralising effect on the character of our own country. It may be that the mysterious motives which have hitherto guided the action of the two political parties in England—each undoubtedly having among its members honourable, well-meaning men—are not easily judged by the outside world ; it may be that reasons founded on an enlightened conscientious policy may really exist for acts and for inaction which to the uninitiated appear questionable if not iniquitous. But all who have closely studied our recent history are constrained reluctantly to confess that for some time past symptoms have begun to be apparent which should cause grave uneasiness ; and I say this *sorrowfully*, prompted only by a desire to promote a purity and high-mindedness in our administration of India, and of our dependencies generally, and thus arrest the progress of that apprehended demoralisation.

The late Mr. Matthew Arnold, in one of his eloquent essays, declared wisely that the government of a nation by an aristocratic class to be successful should be "in the grand style." That style requires a certain elevation of character, and a certain noble way of thinking and acting; these qualities to some are eminent gifts of nature, but in all they may be generated by the possession of power and of high station—if power and station be accompanied by a due sense of their responsibility, and a freedom from the necessity of struggling for little things. If the "grand style" be desirable in the management of the masses at home, it is indispensable that it should conspicuously belong to Englishmen exercising authority over a foreign people. The "grand style," as here described, may co-exist with the absence of ostentatious display and a freedom from many wants; and it is not at all incompatible with a simplicity of living.

The "grand style" advocated by Mr. Matthew Arnold, combined with a simplicity of living, is what is urgently required in India. To make it the ideal of high life among our public servants there, from the Viceroy downwards, would immensely facilitate reforms in the administration of the country that are urgently needed. If, however, warnings continue to be neglected and the present cruel misgovernment of India goes on from bad to worse, a catastrophe will inevitably overtake us, and then we shall pretend to be surprised, and shall want to know how it was brought about. May I venture to suggest to Mr. Bohnaggee, the Indian gentleman who, in the absence presumably of a qualified Englishman, represents North-East Bethnal Green in the present Parliament, that he might do useful work in preparing the public mind for such a possible catastrophe by moving for a Parliamentary Committee to inquire into the history of the constitution and the resources of the election fund of each of our political parties, with a view to ascertain to what extent each fund has had and has influential support in the bureaucracy of India; whether there be a possible connection between the extent of their support and the distribution of rewards and honours in India and the India Office, or a connection between such support and the condonation of offences committed by those who have been decorated, betitled, and honoured. If the public must have a surprise, they had better have at once a small one rather than apathetically await a greater surprise in the shape of a catastrophe. The suggested Parliamentary Committee may indeed startle us with revelations not less significant than the Panama scandals, and to our sorrow they may do for England and for honoured names here what the Panama revelations have done for France. Nevertheless the ordeal may be useful, for it may rouse us to prompt and vigorous action, and thus stave off a future catastrophe.

A convenient device has come into vogue of late, whereby the public are informed what are the opinions of celebrities on questions of the day respecting which their views might be specially interesting. The celebrities are "*interviewed*" by pressmen. This plan is sometimes resorted to by a "*nobody*," who, unencumbered with an excess of modesty, favours a newspaper reporter with an "*interview*" in the hope that he may thus succeed in persuading the public that he is a "*somebody*." When anything like that occurs, I am vividly reminded of the following amusing incident a few years ago in the court of the late Chief Justice. In a sensational case under trial, counsel for the prosecution, beginning the examination of a witness, having said, "You are, I think, the *well-known* Mr. Blank?" Lord Coleridge forthwith interrupted with this apologetic confession from the Bench: "I am sure it is my fault for *not knowing*; but *what are you*, Mr. Blank?" Now the newspaper reporter, through interviewing whom Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji lately informed the public that, in calling him a "*black man*," Lord Salisbury really did him the kindness of making him "*famous*," is, of course, very unlikely ever to seek an "*interview*" with *me*. For though I *also* am one of Lord Salisbury's black men, yet as nothing that I have ever done, or that ever has been *done* unto me, or *said* about me, has developed in me the consciousness of having become "*famous*," I had better, without waiting for a not-to-be-hoped-for interviewer, state shortly here a few facts which I should wish to place on record. Moved by the heart-rending condition of unhappy India, a country in which I have spent a long life, and to which I have owed much in the past, I have been impelled to rouse myself from the lethargy of old age to demand from my countrymen a small measure of attention to the affairs of poor India, with a view to her speedy relief. I am *not* like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, a paid promoter in this country of the aspirations of a section of the upper ranks of the Indian people, who desire to shut the British race out of India, and to undertake themselves the government of that country. I write on behalf of the dumb, ill-fed masses, who cannot afford the luxury of maintaining a paid advocate. My interest in the good government of that country dates before the commencement of Mr. Dadabhai's comparatively recent agitation. Both in and out of the public service I have persistently protested against abuses and advocated reforms, not only in opposition to, but also to the serious detriment of, my own interests; an advocacy in continuing which I possibly may be acting against the pecuniary interests of my sons in the Indian Civil Service. But I am now in the sere and yellow leaf; and I am painfully conscious that I have failed on that account to state, with the fulness and vigour with which it deserves to be stated, the pathetic case of the gentle and simple and kindly races who inhabit British

India, and who offer to the world a not unworthy specimen of a docile, civilised humanity. The growing infirmities of age make me feel that I cannot hope to continue even such feeble efforts as I have endeavoured in the past to make on their behalf ; but I, nevertheless, trust that the people of India may find in a younger generation—who, like myself and my contemporaries, owe them a deep debt of gratitude—champions of their cause worthier and more capable than I have proved to be.

E. PRATT.

## CRITICAL POSITION OF ENGLAND.

THAT the inhabitants of the world in general, but particularly those of the more densely populated parts of Europe, are living in an unnatural condition, and are rapidly drawing on the stores of the future, must be apparent to all reflective minds. The question naturally suggests itself, What could be done to prevent a complete collapse, in case any untoward event were to happen? In this article we shall limit our remarks to the position of the United Kingdom; but, before showing what are England's resources, and what her attitude with regard to foreign nations in case of war, it may be well to take a brief survey of the economic and social condition of England at the present day, and, in one or two points, to compare her position as it now is with that which existed in the earlier years of the Queen's reign.

The marvellous changes and developments which have taken place since 1832, when the great Reform Bill was passed, are unparalleled in the history of England, and it is an undoubted fact that the Reform Bill itself, by giving Parliamentary representation to the mass of the English people, has been a potent factor in the progress of the English race. By that Bill, Parliamentary representation was given to the people of England in general—a privilege which before had been enjoyed by a small section only of the inhabitants. Up to that time pocket-boroughs were in existence all over the country, and there was no real representation of the people. The great Sir Robert Peel had represented a constituency in Ireland for some time previous to the Reform Bill, but at that time he had never visited the country, and it was a notorious fact, that the large and influential landowners were able to return their own nominees to Parliament, while the elections were one mass of bribery and corruption. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, out of 608 members of Parliament 487 obtained their seats through the influence of the great lords or wealthy proprietors. The elections extended over several days, during which time drunkenness and disorder were rampant. In consequence of the corrupt system of representation, the House of Commons was chiefly composed of the wealthy classes and sons of the nobility. To-day the House of Commons is really, to a great degree, a representative assembly, and the elections are carried on with order and propriety. So far from

the seats being monopolised by the wealthy or titled aristocracy, we have nowadays in the House a good many members who call themselves labour representatives, and, in the course of a short time, it is not at all unlikely that more such candidates will be elected, so that the constitution and sentiments of the House of Commons will be very different in the future from what they have been in the past.

The first railways had been started before our present Sovereign ascended the throne, and in process of time railways began to supersede the old stage-coach all over the kingdom, until, at the present day, the country is a network of railway lines. Our grandfathers thought that, when they could travel twelve miles an hour, they had reached the greatest perfection in travelling, and now we go fifty or sixty miles in the same time. The marvellous way in which railways have opened up communication and developed the trade and prosperity of the country must be apparent to all. With the railways telegraphic appliances have been set up all over the kingdom, and the postal service of the country has developed in an equal degree.

During the last few years the system of trade-unionism has developed rapidly. In George III.'s reign there was an Act of Parliament whereby any combination among the working classes was punishable by imprisonment; but this has been long since abolished, and every day we are threatened with strikes by the trade-unions, which have hundreds of thousands of members, who seem to follow their leaders blindly. Though trade-unions are in many ways helpful to the working classes, it is doubtful whether they are beneficial on the whole to the country. The engineers' strike recently ended has been productive of more harm than war, plague, or famine, as it has caused a large volume of trade to leave this country, which, in all probability, will never be recovered. The loss to this country is estimated at ten millions sterling. Trade-unionism and socialism are very closely allied, and the education of the lower orders seems to have given them ideas and aspirations which are very socialistic in tendency.

Under the prosperity of the present reign, the population of England has largely increased. In fact, all over the world statistics show that the population is increasing at a rapid rate, and the question naturally arises, What is to happen when the earth has as many mouths as she can possibly feed? Some parts of the world are already most densely populated, but there are still large tracts that can be utilised in the near future in the centre of Africa, America, and Australia. The question of surplus population need not trouble the present generation, nor the next three or four that will succeed it; but as the world fills up competition, not only in the labour market, but in every sphere of life, will become keener, and none but the most vigorous will have a chance of success; the weaker ones will have to go to the wall. India, it is computed, has now a

population of about 175,000,000, which is quite as many as the country can well support under favourable circumstances, and this it could not do if it were not for the system of irrigation which has been of late years so largely introduced, and the development of the railways. Formerly the population was kept down by the perpetual warfare carried on between the different tribes, and also by infanticide, but since India has come under the direct rule of this country, matters have much altered, hence a large increase in the population. About the population of China there are no authentic data, but in the large cities the number of human beings is so great, that a considerable portion have to live in boats, there being no room in the towns. China, like other countries, is rapidly increasing, and such are the energy, powers of endurance, and economy of the Chinese, that wherever the Chinaman can get a footing a fall in the price of labour at once takes place; people of other nationalities cannot make a living on such a wage: hence, very restrictive laws have been passed by Australia and the United States of America, to keep out the "Heathen Chinese." Notwithstanding all that can be done to prevent her, China will, as her population gets too large for the mother-country, send out her sons into the world. In this way, according to the Darwinian theory of "the survival of the fittest," the time will come, if the world lasts long enough, when the population will be composed of Chinese, or a mixture of that race and others.

In the United States and Canada, the increase in population is about 20 per cent. per annum, but this is partly owing to immigration from countries already full. In South America, owing to the general unhealthiness of the country and the mixed composition of the inhabitants, the increase is only about 5 per cent. per annum, it being an acknowledged fact that mulattoes and half-breeds cannot rival the purer races.

The vast colonies of Australia are fast filling up, and there is an annual increase in population of about 30 per cent., and this, as in the case of the United States and Canada, is partly owing to the enormous immigration from other parts of the world. Still in comparison with England, Australia has at present a small average population to the square mile, and this is the country that congested Europe will look to as a harbour for her surplus population. Africa has during the last few years been well explored, and from all accounts the centre of that vast continent seems to be unfitted for other than the native inhabitants. Africa has an area of about three times that of Europe; the population is roughly estimated at 205,000,000.

We will now come nearer home, and look at our own teeming population; that of Ireland is 145 to the square mile, Scotland 135, whereas that of England runs up to about 497 to the square mile. The

population of the British Isles in 1891 was 37,880,764. The increase in the population of London has been most remarkable. In 1801, the census showed 864,000 inhabitants, in 1811 there were over 1,000,000, and in 1851 there were 2,362,000, and in 1881, 3,815,534, while at the last census, in 1891, there were 5,633,806, being an increase of about 47 per cent. in the last decade, but many suburbs have been added since 1801. Statistics show that the population of this immense city, the largest in the world, doubles itself in about forty-three years, and it is not improbable that in the year 1934 the population may attain the enormous magnitude of upwards of 10,000,000 of souls.

Such a large population as that of the British Isles requires proportionally large food supplies. It is well known that only a small portion of the wheat consumed in the United Kingdom is home-grown. Owing to agriculture not paying, the land has in many counties almost gone out of cultivation, and the total amount of wheat produced is very small for our requirements. Consequently we depend largely on foreign countries for our food-supplies. Hence in consideration of the enormous wants of such a large population, it would be very serious indeed, if from any cause the importation of our food-supplies were obstructed or altogether stopped. Supposing that our large navy was for some reason disabled, or blockaded by foreign warships, or from a mutiny among our sailors, or some other unforeseen cause, we had lost command of the ocean, the importation of our food-supplies would be in imminent peril. If our fleet were paralysed, what foreign Powers would come to our assistance? In order to comprehend fully the danger of such a situation, a short survey of our relations with the other countries of Europe may be profitable.

We will first of all begin with our nearest neighbour France, which is separated from us by only twenty-one miles of water; but though the two countries are so close, what marvellous differences there are between the habits and character of the two nations! We have, for hundreds of years in the past, considered the French as our foes; still, at times, we have formed alliances with them against a common enemy, and then the ill-feeling has been partially suspended. Thus, in the Crimean War in 1854, we fought side by side with the French against the Russians, but whether this produced a permanently better feeling between us and the French is very doubtful. We look upon the average Frenchman as a very fickle and frivolous individual compared with an average Englishman, and they in return regard us with, perhaps, even less favour. The French nation has never quite forgiven us its defeat at the Battle of Waterloo, and, coming down to more recent events, there was a strong feeling among the French nation that England ought to have given her armed help at the time of the Franco-Prussian War in

1870. At that time the Germans completely overran the North of France, entered Paris in triumph, and declared most humiliating terms of peace, including an immense war indemnity and the cession of Alsace and Lorraine, which, however, the French are fondly hoping to recover with the help of Russia.

There is a large community of Frenchmen in daily intercourse with the English, and between whom a very friendly feeling exists. Such a feeling between the two nations generally might be looked for, if the means of communication between the two countries were improved. Every one knows the disagreeable passage of ninety minutes between Dover and Calais, should the weather be rough, and it is this inconvenience which prevents easy communication between the two countries.

The scheme of a tunnel under the Straits of Dover, which was a good deal discussed a few years ago, seems to have completely fallen through. It is to many reflective men perfectly marvellous that any opposition should have been offered to this scheme on account of danger to this country of invasion from France, and the late Mr. John Bright never put anything more tersely than when he ridiculed the idea of England being invaded by men "coming out of a hole in the ground." In these days of telegraphy, when everything of importance is known all over the civilised world in a few hours, how is it possible for France to assemble at any point a large body of troops available for the invasion of our country without our knowing it beforehand and being in consequence prepared? Is it conceivable to any sane person that an army could be conveyed by France to Dover, or elsewhere, that would have a chance of doing us permanent mischief? Why, the very fact of placing a cannon at our end of the tunnel and firing one shot into it would completely destroy the structure, or even the removal of a few yards of the permanent way would prevent any trains arriving at our end. So much for the tunnel scare; but in the near future, when we probably may be wiser, the scheme, it is hoped, may be successfully carried out, in which case a more friendly feeling between England and France would be sure to ensue. Moreover, the French, like all other nations, would be delighted to see us humiliated on account of our success in colonising different countries; therefore we cannot look to France for help in any emergency.

With the Germans we ought to be on the most friendly terms, but that this is the case is very questionable. We are Teutons, as they are, and are very similar to us in their ideas, habits, and religion. The Emperor of Germany is closely connected with our Royal Family, and German princes have intermarried with our English princesses. But in the late Transvaal affair the German Emperor showed by his precipitate telegram to President Krüger a strong feeling against us, but the action was condemned by the majority of

the Germans and regarded as the act of an impetuous man. With the Germans we are shoulder to shoulder in all attempts at increasing our territories in Africa, besides which they are opposing us in all our markets and generally underselling us. It is clear that there is a strong feeling among the Germans against us, and nothing would delight them more than to see us taken down a peg or two; hence we cannot look to that country for any help in case of a disaster to our fleet.

Spain has ceased for hundreds of years to be one of the great naval Powers of Europe; moreover, no very friendly feeling exists between that country and our own. The fact of our possessing Gibraltar is still a thorn in their side, and if any great misfortune were to overtake England an effort would probably be made by the Spaniards to regain our stronghold on the south of Spain. We could, therefore, not look for any help to that country, were she in a position to give it.

Italy has her own troubles to contend with, and with her finances in the present unsatisfactory state she could not, if she would, give us much assistance.

Holland is always jealous of our navy; she has increased her own very much, but not at the same rate that England has done. She would look with apathy at any disaster befalling England, and quietly wait in the hope of bettering her own position as a naval Power.

With Russia, the country on which we are dependent for a large supply of our wheat, we cannot be said to be on very friendly terms, though the Czar is a near connection of our Queen's. He has an immense territory (about one-fourteenth part of the inhabited globe), over which he has absolute authority. Russia is most anxious to extend her boundaries, and is a considerable menace to us in reference to our frontiers on the north-west of India. Her form of government is utterly at variance with our institutions. In case of a European war Russia would probably throw her weight against us, and if joined by the United States our food-supplies might be cut off, and we should soon be reduced to starvation.

We have made a short survey of the principal European naval Powers, and given reasons why we could expect no help from them, in case of our fleet being disabled and food-supplies cut off.

We will now turn to our American cousins, who to an enormous extent supply us with food. Would they be likely to give us any practical assistance in case we required it? We are much afraid the answer must be in the negative. The recent disturbance over the boundary of Venezuela has caused much ill-will, and shows distinctly that there is a large portion of the American nation very hostile to England; this is inevitable among the lower orders in the United States, because they are composed largely of emigrants from

Ireland, who have left their own country owing to disaffection to England. The Americans are now powerful rivals of ours in every part of the world; they do their best by heavy tariffs to keep our goods out of their country, and the downfall of England would wonderfully develop the resources of their own country. In the schools in the United States the children are taught in their class-books how England in the past has oppressed the Americans, and they grow up with a strong bias against this country.

It might be suggested that Canada is the country to which we must look for any material help in case of need. She has enormous tracts of land, capable of producing any amount of wheat, and a most friendly feeling exists between her and us; but in case of war the great difficulty would be to keep her ports open, as the United States would do their best to block them immediately.

It will be seen from the above remarks that England could look for little or no outside help in case her navy was disabled. In that case the question of the supply of food to our teeming population would become very serious, and it behoves the statesmen of our country to give due consideration to the subject. If England provided large granaries, always stocked with sufficient food to last for a certain time, the danger would be considerably lessened. France very wisely always keeps in store sufficient supplies of grain to last for about six months in case of need. Some time back it was proposed in the House of Commons that this country should do the same, but it was at once negatived. We hope the question will come up again, and receive different treatment. The yearly cost of the granaries would be about £400,000, and it was proposed to have in stock about 28,000,000 quarters of wheat. What a degree of security this would give to us, as our present supplies would only last about three months, and at the end of that time, if no further imports took place, our vast population would be at starvation-point. It is a lamentable fact that so many thousands of acres of wheat-producing land have gone out of cultivation in the United Kingdom, and that the agricultural population is fast declining and migrating to the manufacturing centres. Paupers are increasing and poor rates going up; our children are suffering from being huddled together, and from living under most unfavourable circumstances; and the physique of our population is going down. Soldiers are now taken at a lower standard than they were a few years ago, the Guards being enlisted at 5 ft. 7 in., and linesmen at 5 ft. 3½ in. Foreign countries almost all refuse our manufactures free entry into their markets, while, on the other hand, in England foreign goods have every freedom.

The cultivation of wheat in England has decreased through foreign competition from 4,213,651 acres sown in 1856 to 1,456,200 as sown in 1895-6, and we are now largely dependent for our supplies

on the United States and Russia, and countries under the control of Russia. In 1896 the United Kingdom imported 23,481,000 quarters of bread-stuffs, and produced only 4,325,000 quarters. Of these imports, Russia and the United States produced about 19,160,000 quarters, leaving only 4,271,000 quarters of her imports free from the control of these two Powers, who, as above stated, are not particularly friendly towards us.

Little did Cobden and Bright, in their great efforts to obtain free trade in this country, realise what the effects would be on our agricultural interests. England has prospered marvellously, but we are living on our own fat. That we are the wealthiest and the strongest country at the present moment in the world, particularly at sea, no one will deny; but, with only about three months' supply of food before us, and living, as it were, from hand to mouth, we should be in a state of starvation in three months, if any untoward event were to happen to our fleet, so as to prevent free importation of food into this country. In case of war this might even happen without a single engagement on the sea, if Russia and the United States agreed to stop supplies, and simply starve us into submission, like the Parisians were forced to surrender by the blockade of the German armies in 1870-1.

Our food should be grown here, but how to do it is a problem yet to be solved. It would be most desirable to encourage the British farmer to grow our bread-stuffs, thus reviving the agricultural interest, and enabling us to produce annually 15,000,000 quarters of wheat, instead of 5,000,000 as at present, and such a state of things might be brought about if the farmer was enabled to obtain a larger profit.

The present condition of the United Kingdom is without a parallel, either in our own history or that of other countries. That we are living in a fool's paradise must, we think, be patent to all reflecting men.

WM. R. DEYKIN, Major V.R.A.

## AROUND AN' ANCIENT DUCHY.

A MOURNFUL fascination clings to such provinces of the earth as struggle to hold their own local features and character against the levelling influences of large cities and governments. Few seamen who slumber in the scorching sunshine of July, and leave their nets to dry at midday on the banks of the Warnow, seem to realise the fact, that they alone of all people in the whole west of Europe are exempt from the benefits and the dulness of constitutional rule. Nor would they be able to estimate the exact amount of Slav or Teuton blood that flows in the veins of the fellow-townsmen of the rough old commander who stands sword in hand in front of the red temple of Minerva, although rumour has accused him of a certain hostility to letters.

A lordly castle on a lake, built in the style of mansions on the banks of the Loire, lodges the royal house that still makes laws for the Duchy of Mecklenburg. Like most children of the north, their princely forefathers upheld Luther in his reforming zeal, and kept up an intercourse with the sovereigns of Denmark. Many dark Wendt features look down from the walls, amidst diadems and armour, with a deep-set but genial expression. The great Dr. Schliemann, who dug up the bracelets of Helen, was the son of a pastor in the neighbourhood, and his bronze image is reflected in the peaceful water that flows beneath the houses of Schwerin.

A striking contrast prevails between the refinement of Schwerin and the busy life of Rostock. No harbour in the Baltic boasts a larger fleet of black trading vessels, which pass constantly seawards along pine-clad banks and by the mole of Warnemunde. The tall church towers form a beacon for mariners, soaring above sand-hills and green intervening pasture-land.

Few Baltic watering-places are more popular than Warnemunde, with its long sea frontage and prim plantations of myrtle. Various forms of music of a high order may be heard all day long. Whenever the wind is in the north the sea breezes improve the complexion of well-dressed womanhood, but cannot quite blow off the Semitic taint from some, however much they may have forgotten the old songs of Zion beside strange waters.

The peasantry of Mecklenburg suffered during the Thirty Years War almost more than any between the Baltic and the Tyrol. Only

the great Gustavus saved them from the tyranny of the Hapsburgs when they had been sold to Wallenstein and his savage band of plunderers. The town of Rostock itself remained in Swedish hands between the Peace of Westphalia and 1803. Thus Blucher himself was born a Swedish subject, and is said to have first longed for a soldier's life as he beheld Swedish hussars on the sea-shore in boyhood.

Stein happened to travel through the whole duchy in 1802, but records an unfavourable impression: "The appearance of the whole country displeased me as much as the cloudy northern climate; great fields, of which a considerable part lies in pasture and fallow, extremely few people, the whole labouring class under the pressure of serfdom, the fields attached to single farms, seldom well built—in one word, a uniformity, a deadly stillness, a want of life and activity diffused over the whole which oppressed and soured me much. The abode of the Mecklenburg nobleman who keeps down his peasants instead of improving their condition, strikes me as the lair of a wild beast who desolates everything round him, and surrounds himself with the silence of the grave. Assuredly even the advantage is only apparent; high energy of cultivation, thorough agriculture, is only possible where there is no want of human beings and human power."

A remarkable woman was voyaging and preaching a great message to fishermen round the coast last summer. After spending her youth at the Court of Berlin, and enjoying the confidence of the old Empress Augusta, the Countess Schimmelmänn resolved to sell all her jewels and spend her time and resources in saving lost souls. Her relatives thought her crazy, and confined her for a time in a madhouse; but she managed to make her escape and pursue her high calling. No one who has heard her speak can fail to be struck by her earnestness, however much he may differ from her views of life and verbal clinging to Scripture. The hydrangeas in the cabin of her yacht bore witness to a cheerful, as opposed to a sullen, pietism.

Storks abound on the borderland between Mecklenburg and Pomerania. Stralsund is less lively than Rostock, but possesses an interest of its own with its quaint church towers and battlements encompassed on all sides by water. In the middle of summer a festival is still held to celebrate a mighty deliverance. Wallenstein, whose favourite motto was "God up in heaven and myself down here," had sworn a blasphemous oath to take Stralsund by storm, though it were tied by chains to the firmament. But "the old God of the Protestants" (to cite a Saxon historian) remembered His faithful people, and brought His enemies to confusion. Twelve thousand Catholics perished in the vain attempt, while the brave Danes and Swedes helped the inhabitants by sea.

Nothing can surpass the beauty of moonlit nights on the Baltic when the waters are at rest and ships and well-wooded headlands are visible far and wide. The white silvery cliffs of the eastern coast of Rügen, looking down on old battleships at anchor, seem to have sprung straight from the canvas of Turner. A king once sat on that rocky brow (Charles XII. of Sweden) during a naval combat between his subjects and the Danes. Behind is a dusky and mystical lake, where human sacrifices were once offered to Hertha, until a handsome young knight came from a far country to win the heart of the priestess, and forswore her to change her trade.

In spite of long periods of Swedish dominion and genial old-world memories of mirth and song, Stralsund and Rostock are both thoroughly German at present. A visit to the town of Lund on the opposite side of the water (where Esaias Tegner, the Gothic singer of Frithjof, fell madly in love with another man's wife before he became a bishop) shows the contrast between Swedish and German ways, particularly the ways of young men in their studious seed-time. It would be perhaps, unkind to mention which of the two seats of learning produced that quaint professor a hundred years ago, who wrote a book to prove that the so-called pyramids of Egypt were a geological deposit. The old cathedral of Lund boasts a beautiful façade and a quaint vault, where a couple of giants were once turned to stone for a dark offence.

In no country in Europe is popular instruction so successful as in Sweden. According to the army returns last year, Sweden possesses one and Germany two recruits in a thousand unable to read and write. In France that number amounts to 55; in Austria to 220; in Italy to 390; in Russia to 708. Where all men are called upon to serve, such figures may be taken as evidence of the state of schools, although they are by no means final as regards mother-wit and capacity.

Fritz Reuter is the best known writer whom Mecklenburg has had, and sometimes bears the label of the German Dickens. If the humour of Dickens is more effective than his pathos, Reuter is usually praised for his mixture of both. The cellar where he sat, and sometimes drank to excess, is still used as a restaurant, and boasts of paintings of scenes out of his works on its walls. A quaint story is told of his exclaiming "White or red?" instead of the usual list of cumbrous titles and compliments, to a minor German prince, who once visited him in the morning and found him shabbily dressed and sitting in front of his table. It is not left on record which of the two beverages the prince helped him to consume.

It had been his misfortune to be imprisoned for his youthful enthusiasm in the days of reaction. The cold, bare walls to which he had to pour out all his inward sorrow for some years may well have tempted him to seek sheer forgetfulness in the wine-god more

than was perhaps well for the safety of his soul in the long run. The views for which he suffered were much the same as those for which Bismarck has been deified; but he made the mistake of thinking them rather too early.

The peasantry in the villages do not seem by any means as fresh to the passing cyclist as the tall Swedish women that labour and laugh in the fields under the clear autumn sunshine, when the eye is able to see astonishingly far. Well may a dreamer ask in such moments why kingdoms have arisen, and even be tempted to shed a few idle tears over the law of dust to which all must bow. Perhaps a potential Hamlet or something of the gloom of Dürer lurks beneath the surface of most Teutonic natures. The brave old Blücher, who loved freedom and the sea, remains, after all, one of the few breezy characters untroubled by inward questionings and excess of thought—Homeric in the proper sense—whom Germany has produced in her long roll. Even Goethe and Bismarck knew passing phases of *Welt-Schmerz* and doubt in spite of their golden achievements and wondrous love of earth.

To pass from Mecklenburg to Hamburg seems almost like passing from one century into another. Even the swan that swim in the superb Alster-Bassin seem more prosaic than those which float around the lake and castle of Schwerin, with ancient trees in the background. Perhaps imperial influences will soon make themselves felt and change the old qualities of the inhabitants of the duchy. But a great modern historian was surely right in his surmise that human beings would cease to be interesting and poetical if they could be uprooted from their localities and become "a machine-made fabric, the counterpart of countless others," under military pressure or other levelling forces. In this restless age some may well pray that the individual may not wither and the world grow too tyrannous. To suffer many mansions to abide among the kingdoms of the earth seems no startling paradox, but rather an image and a prototype of a divine purpose for which we all pant and yearn.

MAURICE TODHUNTER.

## THE 'HISTORY OF THE FORMS AND MIGRATIONS OF THE SIGNS OF THE CROSS AND THE SU-ASTIKA.

### PART V.—THE PRE-ZODIACAL ERA OF THE THREE-SEASONS YEAR OF ORION.\*

BEFORE proceeding further with the demonstration of the origin of the symbols of the Cross and Su-astika, I must first notice the astronomical change in the reckoning of the year consequent on the northern advance of the Southern farmers. Their original year was ruled by the star Canopus, but this star in Argo was no longer visible after they had passed the latitude of the Isthmus of Suez, and they were obliged to look for another star as the leader of the Pleiades round the Pole. This they found in the northern star Orion, which had been always looked on by the hunters of the North as the star of the wind-god, the Wild Hunter of the North, which hunted the other stars round the Pole. Hence their new year—which, owing to the changes of climate, became one of the three seasons of spring, summer, and winter, instead of the two seasons of the Pleiades year—was thought to be measured by the revolutions round the Pole made by the deer-sun, whose fires were, as we have seen, lighted by the Panhuka, or warrior priests of the Dakota, and by the stars led by the Pleiades and hunted by Orion. The record of the change is preserved in the Arabic legend which tells how Canopus, called Repha, wedded Orion, here represented as a female goddess, the earth-mother of the North, and how she broke the necks of his two brother stars Sirius and Procyon, the two fire-dogs who guarded the east and west entrance to the Milky Way, the bridge of the gods over the sky.<sup>1</sup> Jewish history tells that the sons of the giant-star Canopus, called Rephaim, were the primitive dwellers in the land of Canaan before it became the Holy Land of the Semites, and it was Goliath, son of Repha, who was slain by the sun-god David with the five stones out of the brook, the five-days week of the year of the sun-physician born as the god who ruled the year of the sons of the rivers.

We thus see clearly how the Pleiades—called in India the Krittakas

<sup>1</sup> Möyer's *Die Phönizier*, vol. i. chap. x. p. 406.

or Spinners, and symbolised by the spindle held in the left hand of the statue of Semiramot, the bisexual mother of the sun-god Hierapolis or Mabog—measured the year in the ancient chronology of the years of two and three seasons. It was they who turned the Polar spindle whence the thread of time was made, and this symbolic spindle was thought to be steadied by the sun, symbolised as the spindle-whorls used by the spinners of thread. Hence these spindle-whorls were consecrated to the sun-god, and this explains the large quantity of terra-cotta spindle-whorls found by Dr. Schliemann at Troy, all, or almost all, of which are marked with the left-hand Sū-astika.

The legend of the hunting deer-star Orion, the Northern Herne the hunter with deer's horns, which pursued the sun-deer and the Pleiades his does, was brought to India by the Basque immigrant worshippers of Vasu or Basuk, who became sons of the antelope, and succeeded the earlier immigrants, the Finn sons of the Pole-star mother who had imported the magic rites which are still practised with almost identically the same spells as those used in the North by all the superior aboriginal races of Central India. In the legend of the hunter star of the *Rigveda* and *Brāhmanas* we are told how Orion, called Mriga-sirsha or Prajapati, pursued Rohinī, the Queen of the Pleiades, the star Aldebaran, and the god of the household fire, called Vashtoshpati the lord of the house, was born from their union. Simultaneously with the birth of Vashtoshpati, his father was slain with the arrow of Rudra the storm-god, the arrow being the three stars in Orion's Belt which completed the end of his year of three seasons. This legend of Orion was partly an adaptation of one brought by their Finn predecessors, the sons of the mother-bird Uk-ko, whose home is in Tahtela, the place of Tahti, the Pole-star, the bird who became in the *Mahābhārata* Ush-ana, the rain-god. This was the Shyena or frost-bird (shya), who brought Soma from heaven, and was shot in its flight by the arrow of Krishānu, the bearer of the heavenly bow. This arrow, called the three stars in Orion's Belt, is also called in the *Brāhmanas* the "three-knotted" arrow marking the year's three seasons by its feathers, shaft, and barb: the spring in the feathers of the flying bird, the summer season of growth and the winter of reproduction being symbolised in the shaft and barb. The intimate relation between the two myths of the deer and bird struck by the arrow of the hunting storm-god is made more evident by considering the meaning of the word Mriga, usually translated an antelope. Its original meaning, derived from the root "meregh," to go round, is a roaming or circling beast, and it means both antelope and a bird. It is the Zend meregha, meaning a bird; and the meaning survives in the Hindu murghi, usually denoting a cock or hen. Thus the word Mriga-sirsha, used to denote Orion as a ruler of time, represents him as an animal which as the forest deer, the totem animal of the Kshatriya or

warriors in India, and of the Dakotas of the war section in America, marks the stages of the yearly circle of the stars round the Pole by the shedding and reproduction of its horns, and the story of his being shot by the arrow of Rudra is a Southern repetition of the Northern story still yearly acted in parts of Germany, where the deer sun-god, the ruler of the year, is shot by the arrow of the Wild Hunter at the close of the annual revels kept during the last twelve days of the year ending with the winter solstice. This is the year I have already described of the Phœnician god Archal, and of the three Ribhus who rest twelve days in the house of Agohya, the Pole-star.

The circling bird of the alternative form of the myth is in the *Rigveda* the flying (pataras) bird (mriga) which saved Bhujyu from the sea-flood.<sup>1</sup> Bhujyu, called the son of Tugra, means the escaper or god of vanishing time, and the bird which saved him when he was being carried away by the current of the rushing waters which threatened to overwhelm and bury in chaotic oblivion all memory of the past, is the recording year bird which preserved for future generations the national annals, and prevented the landmarks of the nation's history from being lost in the boundless and unmarked sea of unrecognised and unremembered events.<sup>2</sup> The drowning god of time had seized, in the midst of the waters of the flood, a tree which withstood the stream—the tree which marked in the stages of its sowing, growth, and ripening the three seasons of the year; and from its branches he caught hold of the wings of the circling bird, the revolving sun of the Sū-astika, sent for his relief by the Ashvins or twin stars Gemini, who ruled time during the age when the year was reckoned by the months of gestation, and the sequence of the four seasons by the equinoxes and solstices. The connection of the bird with the four seasons of the year is proved by the bird being replaced in other accounts of Bhujyu's escape by other instruments of deliverance. In *Rigveda* I. 182, 5–7, the bird becomes four ships, and in other hymns he is delivered, after he had lain three nights and days in the water, by three hundred-footed waggons and six horses, also by a flying ship with a hundred oars (*Rigveda* I. 116, 3, 5) and his deliverers are also winged brown horses (*Rigveda* I. 117, 14). In deciphering the meaning of this myth, which is full of most valuable historical information, the first point to be noticed is that Bhujyu, the god of Time, is said to be the son of Tugra. The Tugras were a Vedic people conquered by Indra and also by the Vetasu under Kutsa.<sup>3</sup> The name of Kutsa is formed from the root ku (where), and he is said in one hymn to be

<sup>1</sup> *Rig.* vi. 62, 6.

<sup>2</sup> In Egyptian mythology Dhu-ti or Thoth, the moon-god of the recording papyrus, is represented as the ibis bird.

<sup>3</sup> *Rig.* vi. 20, 8; vi. 26, 4; i. 33, 14, 15; x. 49, 4.

the twin-brother of Indra, the two being compared to two Ushanas,<sup>1</sup> a name which, as I have shown, means the rain-bird, the Indian form of the Finnish Ukko. He is called Puru-Kutsa or Kutsa the Puru,<sup>2</sup> and as a rain-god and as national father god he is thus the equivalent of Puru-ravas the eastern-roarer, the thunder-god and god of the fire-drill in the Soma sacrifice, the god of the great tribe of Purus. Also the collection of hymns attributed to his authorship is said in one stanza of these hymns to have been written by the priest of the Vārshū-giras, or the praisers of rain, who are said to belong to the race of the Nahushas or worshippers of the Nāga serpent.<sup>3</sup> He is thus an equivalent of the god Ka, which I have shown to be a name of Prajapati (Orion) in India and Egypt. The Vetasu who were his subjects are the sons of the reed (vetasa), that is, they were the Kushika or Kaurāvyas, the sons of Kavād, the infant found in the river-reeds of Lake Kashava, who were first enemies to and conquerors of the Tugra, and afterwards their allies in the contest to which they were both overcome by Indra. In the passage (*Rigveda* VI. 20, 8) giving an account of their victory, the Vetasu are said to possess tenfold magic power, and with them and the Tugra there were allied the Dashoni, called the ten-armed or ten-breasted (oni) people, that is, the people who reckoned time by the ten lunar months of gestation—an epithet applicable to the Kaurāvyas, who as the sons of the sun-horse reckoned their months or “Akshauhiniā,” the revolving year axes (aksha), as eleven. This historical genealogy proves clearly that the earlier Tugras who were first conquered by the Vetasu sons of the reed were the race whose creed was that of the Takkas, who worshipped the god of the year of three seasons under the symbol of the Trident, and, thus makes them the Vedic equivalents of the people called in the *Mahābhārata* the Tri-gartas, or people of three (tri) sacrificial pits (garta) fertilised by the blood of elain victims, who dwelt in the land of the five rivers of the Punjab north of the Sutlej. The three sacrificial pits to which they owed their name were those in which were fixed the three “dru-padas,” or sacrificial stakes, here called the trunks (padas) of the tree (dru). It was to these that the offered victim called in the *Rigveda* Shuna-shepa or the male-dog, the sacrifice of the fire-worshippers, is said to have been bound (*Rigveda* I. 24, 13). He is in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* said to be a human victim, son of the priest Aji-garta, the pit (garta) of the goat, the god of the year of ten lunar months who was saved by Vishvū-mitra, the ancient sun-and moon-god—the priest and leader of the Bhāratas who was, in the *Mahābhārata* legend of Galava, the father of Astika, the eighth god; <sup>4</sup> and Galava was, as we have seen, the father of the sun-physician

<sup>1</sup> *Rig.* v. 31, 8.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* v. 20, 10.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* i. 100, 16, 17. Hewitt, *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, vol. iii. essay iii. p. 228.<sup>4</sup> *Mahābhārata Udyoga (Bhagavatyaṇa) Parva*, cv. cxxii. Hewitt, *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, vol. i. pp. 317–319.

Dhanv-antari. The whole story is another proof of the early offering of human and living animals as victims by the reckoners of the year of three seasons and of the year measured by months of gestation, and of their abolition by the worshippers of the sun-god who succeeded the gods of time which revolved round the Pole as stars, or as the first sun-god of the eight-rayed star, the sun-god of the female Sī-astika, the flying bird who saved Bhujyu.

These Trigartas were the allies who aided the Kaurāvyas in the expedition made to take the cattle of the Matsya, or sons of the sun-fish in the land of King Virāta, the cows of light belonging to the ruler of the year. This raid took place at the end of the thirteenth year of the exile of the Pāṇḍavas sons of the sun-antelope, during which they were bound by their treaty with the Kaurāvyas to remain hidden till the opening of the new year of destiny of the independant conquering sun. This last year of the rule of the stars, and the measurement of time by nights instead of days, denoted in chronometrical history the age during which the year was not measured by periods ruled by the stars and sun, but by the lunar months of gestation, which measured the three-years cycle of the recurring solstices and equinoxes, which I have described in "History of the Week" as the tower in which the mother of the sun-god was imprisoned for three years.<sup>1</sup> The thirteenth year succeeding this method of reckoning was the year of thirteen lunar months, which took no note of the sun-god; and during it the Pāṇḍavas, sons of the sun-antelope, were no longer rulers of time, but had to give place to the "moon-year of Bhishma, the unsexed sun-god, and to his allies the Trigartas, or reckoners of the tree-year to which their son Bhujyu clung, and to the Kaurāvyas, sons of the flying-bird, their vulture-mother Gandhārī, the star Vega in the constellation of the Vulture, the bird of the seven-days week.

In the raid of these allied opponents of the Virāta or believers in the conquering sun of the North, the stalwart manly (vir) knight who gains his annual victory at the summer solstice, the Trigartas marched against the Matsyas, as we are told in the *Mahābhārata*, from the North-West,<sup>2</sup> and they were attacked and routed by the four Pāṇḍava brothers, Yudisthira, Bhīma, Sahadeva, and Nakula, the gods of the four seasons of the year, excluding the special season of the rain-god, the third season of the Indian year beginning at the winter solstice.<sup>3</sup> They were the four flying sun-horses who saved Bhujyu. This year was that inaugurated by the victory of Bhīma the storm-god, who was, as we are told in the *Mahābhārata*, the son of Vāyu the wind-god, called in another place Maruta, who again is the Gond wind-ape-god Maroti, who turns the stars round the

<sup>1</sup> Hewitt, "History of the Week," part ii., WESTMINSTER REVIEW, August 1897, pp. 127 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahābhārata Virāta (Go-harana) Parva*, xxx. p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xxxii.-xxxv. pp. 78-88.

Pole.<sup>1</sup> He is the god of the hot west winds of the summer season in North-West India, which burnt up and destroyed the Tri-garta sons of the young tree. The opening festival of the year, inaugurated at the summer solstice by their victory, was the six days' festival of the Tri-kadru-ka', or of the three parent-trees, the Sal, the fig, and the palm-tree of Bhishma and Jndah, which I have elsewhere described.<sup>2</sup> This was the year measured by six-day weeks, the number of the Pleiades, the six horses of the hundred-footed waggon, who bore Bhujyu to his ship with the hundred oars. This heavenly ship of the flying-bird was the ship constellation Argo, which had, in the Australian national story and the Gond *Song of Lingal*, been the black crow, the black Bindo-bird of the rain-clouds. This was the ship which made the annual voyage round the starry heavens, called in the historical account of the year's journey the Golden Fleece of the sun-ram. It is called in the *Zendavesta*, Sata-va'sa, the constellation of the hundred creators, and is there said to rule the tides of the Indian Ocean. Its crew of a hundred creators, the ancestors of the future generations born of the sun-ram, were the hundred Kauravyas born from the iron egg laid in the nest of river-reeds, the seven stars of the Great Bear, by Gaydhari, their vulture mother, the Pole-star Vega, which was the Pole-star from 10,000 to 8000 B.C.; they were also the hundred rowers of the star ship which, according to the astrology of the Zends and Hindus, ruled the tides in the Indian Ocean, and drew back the waters that threatened to overwhelm Bhujyu, the god of vanishing and unrecorded time.

This victory of the gods of the year of four seasons over the three seasons of the Tri-gartas was succeeded by that which was gained over the whole army of Kauravyas by Uttara, the eldest son of Virata, King of the Matsya, whose name, meaning the north, shows him to be the Pole-star god, and Arjuna or Phalguni, the young-bull god. He was the rain-god of the Pāndavas, the god who had shown that he alone could bend the heavenly bow and shoot the year's arrows which slew the year-bird. It was this victory gained over all the assembled princes of India which gained for the Pāndavas the hand of Dru-pati, the altar of incense of the sun-worshippers who had left the shrine of their mountain mother, the mother-cloud, and descended as corn-growers to the river valleys. He was the son of Sukra, the wet god, the Indra of the *Rigveda*, and the ally and Pāndava counterpart of Krishna, the black antelope, whose twin-sister Sū-bhadra—otherwise called Durgā, the mountain—he had married.<sup>3</sup> He was concealed among the Virata, before he declared his identity to Uttara, as an unsexed attendant of the Matsya princesses, whom he taught to dance—that is to say, he was the

<sup>1</sup> *Mahābhārata* Adī (*Sambhava*) Parva, lxxiii.-xcv. pp. 360, 286.

<sup>2</sup> Hewitt, *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, vol. i. essay v. pp. 423-428.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vol. ii. essay iv. pp. 336-338.

unsexed ox who turned the heavenly oil-mill which took with it the dancing stars, making them by its revolutions to appear to dance round it. He now came forth to battle as the victorious golden bull of the *Zendavesta*, who is said to have conquered at the summer solstice the black storm-cloud of the burning summer heats before Tishtriya—Sirius, the white horse of the sun. He and Uttara went out alone against the whole Kauravya host under the banner of the ape with the lion's tail,<sup>1</sup> and the weapon with which they conquered was the new bow now first used by Arjuna, called the Gāndiva, the bright (diva) arch of the land (gan), the arched course of the conquering sun of summer. This bow was taken by Uttara at Arjuna's command from the Shamī-tree (*Prosopis aculeata*), a tree used both as a sacred fire-drill and a fire-socket.<sup>2</sup> It was thus the fire-parent of the whole united nation, and not of the confederation of allied families represented by the Ashvattha or Popul-tree, the fire-drill, and the Khadira socket. It is a many-branched tree called "Sata-vāsha," or the tree of a hundred branches,<sup>3</sup> the hundred sons of the Kauravyas. It was the tree of a ritualistic age preceding that of the Soma sacrifice, the tree of the year of the dead charioteer of Uttara who preceded Arjuna, which was, as Uttara himself says in the *Mahābhārata*, a year in which a whole month lasted twenty-eight days.<sup>4</sup> That is to say, it was the year beginning with the new moon of Māgha (January-February), still reckoned by the Santals, Chiroos, Oraons, Mundas, and Gonds—the races especially distinguished in India for their magical lore. The new victorious year of Arjuna, gained by the bow of his magical predecessors, the Northern magicians sons of the bird, was one that corresponded to the year of the voyage of the Argo. It was one of four seasons, the four horses who drew Uttara's chariot,<sup>5</sup> and was, to judge from the further indication given by their banner of the ape with the lion's tail, the year I have described in the *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*<sup>6</sup> as the Akkadian year ruled by the four last stars of the seven Lumasi. These were (1) Sirius, the god Tishtriya of the *Zendavesta* and Tishya of the *Rigveda*, called in Akkadian Kak-shi-sha, the door (kak), the horn (shi) star (sha), the Star of the Golden-horned Bull, which began the year with the summer solstice, (2) The autumn was ruled by the constellation Hydra, called En-te-ha-mas-luv, the divine (en) foundation (te) of the prince (na) of the black (luv) antelope (mas). This rainy constellation was that which ruled the season beginning with the autumnal equinox, when Krishna, the black sun-antelope, awakes from his annual sleep during the rains. The festival celebrating his awakening is that of the Dit'hwān, or day of setting up

<sup>1</sup> *Mahābhārata Virāta (Go-harana) Parva*, xlv. p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> *Atharvaveda*, vi. 2, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Zimmer *Altindischer Leben*, pp. 59, 60.

<sup>4</sup> *Mahābhārata Virāta (Go-harana) Parva*, xxxvi. p. 88.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* xlv. p. 107.

<sup>6</sup> Hewitt, *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, vol. i. essay iv. pp. 367-372.

the god (deo-than). It is held on the eleventh day of the first half of Khartik (October-November), and it is the day of the great festival of the Ikshvāku race, when the firstfruits of the sugar-cane (iksha), their totem plant, are offered.<sup>1</sup> It was they who celebrated the Soma sacrifice of the summer solstice with the Prastara or magic rain-wand of Ashva-vala, or horse-tail sugar-grass (*Saccharum spontaneum*), and with the bloodless offerings of milk, sour milk, curds, and barley, instead of the animal victims previously offered. (3) The third, or winter season, was ruled by the star Ta-khu or Id-khu, the latter name meaning the creating (id) mother-bird (khu). This was the nest in which the bird-mother of the Finn and Kaurāvyā hatched the world's egg from which the young sun-god was born at the vernal equinox. This constellation of the mother-bird of night was Corvus, also called by the Babylonians Hu-ga-ga, the bird-star (hu), the purifier (ga). (4) The star of the spring season was Papil-sak, the sceptre (pa) of the great (sak) fire (pil), the constellation Leo. This was the lion's tail ending the year ruled by the *primæval ape*, the father of *Bhima*, and the god depicted on Arjuna's banner. This year was one ruled by the seven stars of the Great Bear, the first of the Lumasi, representing the lunar week which, when the Pole-star was Vega, first turned the star round the Pole, was the ape whose Thigh they represent in Egyptian astronomy. This revolution of the star-axis was that depicted in the upright Latin Cross of which the crossbar was the stars of the Great Bear, and the base of its shaft was in Leb. It was thought by its revolutions to generate the heat of summer, supposed to be engendered in Leo, lying due south of the Great Bear; and the heated spark of fire, the eighth or lighted star added to the seven stars of the Great Bear, was Regulus, the star called Masa or Moses, which was the watcher and guardian star of the seven Lumasi.<sup>2</sup> The rain or life-blood generated by the heat was transferred from Leo to the constellation Krater, the cup, the Akkadian mother-goddess Mummu Tiamat, placed in pictorial astronomy in the central coil of Hydra. Thence it fell to the earth in the rains of Sirius (Tishtriya) under the auspices of the constellation Hydra, the stars of the prince of the black antelope, on whose tail Corvus, the brooding crow of winter, is represented as sitting in pictorial astronomy. This year, in which the life-giving heats were engendered by the watching star Regulus, the Moses of the revolving year, was that which was expunged from the national calendar when time began to be measured by the zodiacal movements of the sun and planets, and it was on the institution of this new year that the Moses of the old year died on Mount Nebo, consecrated to the planet Mercury. This new year, ruled by the sun-god conceived at the summer solstice under the

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, *Supplementary Glossary*, s.v. Dit'hwan, p. 280.

<sup>2</sup> Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures for 1887*. Lect. v. p. 49

guardianship of Sirius, the sun-horse; and the watch-dog Caleb, was that of Hosh-ia, the son of the speech-god Nun, who, at the vernal equinox, when he was born, led his victorious hosts to the sun-circle at Gil-gal and the conquest of the moon city Jericho; and this year is, in the Hindu cycle, the year of Parikshit, the circling sun, the grandson of Arjuna, who started on his yearly round at the full moon of Cheit (March-April)—that is, at the full moon after vernal equinox.

This whole series of years measured by the equinoxes and solstices was that generated from the initial year of the Takkas or Trigartas, the year of the Shya or frost-bird who laid the egg at the winter solstice whence the sun-god of the autumnal equinox was to be born. The whole formed the series of the years of the eight-rayed star, the sun which revolved from east to west on the inner circle of the overarching heaven's boat, which gave light to the bottom of the upturned boat of the tortoise earth. This was the land of the Kushite sons of the river-reed which has its roots in the Nefheim, the under land of the mists, and up which, as I have told,<sup>1</sup> the Mexican corn-mother Utset climbed to the earth's surface, with the bag of stars out of which the Pleiades, the three stars of Orion's Belt and the Great Bear, were placed in the heavens as guardian stars, the measurers of time. The mother-mountain of this conceptional cosmogony was the mountain of the frost- (Shya) bird, Mount Ararat, called Hukairya by the Zends. This became the Akkadian Khar-sak-kurra, meaning the wet (sak) entrails (khar) of the mountain of the land of Kur, the Mount Meru of the Hindus and that of the Kushite Zends, called Saokanta, the wet (sak) mountain, and Ushi-dhau, the mountain of the east. It was the Pamir plateau whence the Oxus, the Takka river of life, descends. This was the mountain where the Buddha sun-god, born as the sun-physician, was conceived at the summer solstice in the month of Assar, the month consecrated to the fish sun-god under the great Sal-tree of the Himalayas. But the whole of this series of conceptions, beginning with the birth on the mountains of the frost-bird of the Euphrates and Oxus, the mother of the sons of the rivers, is one that belongs to the cosmogony of Uttara, the god of the North who grasped the new divine bow, Gandiva of the overarching sun. But these beliefs were, as is shown by the banner of the ape, originally engendered in the Southern land of the ape-wind-god Maroti, and it is only by tracing them to their original source that we can understand how the mother-mountain Mandara of the Kushites and Jains became fixed as Mount Parinath on the Burrakur, instead of in the Himalayas according to the genealogy of the Northern section of the Finn-Kuskite race.

The conception of the mother-mountain that brings the rain was one which formed part of the primæval cosmogony not only of the

<sup>1</sup> *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, vol. ii. essay ix. pp. 258 ff.

Western Ugro-Finns but of the Eastern Finn-Mongols. It was these latter who as the Mundas were the earliest immigrants into India from the north-east, and it was they who first colonised Central India in alliance with the Dravidian farming races. They have always looked to the Great Mountain, Murang Buru, and the Sal-tree (*Shorea robusta*) as their parents. This land of Central India was that in which the centre point was the Mount Umurkantuk, whence the first mother-river of India, the Narmada, the modern Nerbudda, descended to the Western Sea. This mother-river rising from the plateau—crowned, not like Mount Ararat and the Himalayas with snow, but with the Sal, the Munda-Dravidian, and the Saja (*Terminalia tomentosa*), the Gond parent trees—is universally allowed by the traditions of all the Indian races to be a mother-river of older descent than the Ganges, the mother-river of the barley-growing immigrants from the North, the Kaurāvyas and Pāndāvas.<sup>1</sup> It is the mother-river of the Indian Dravidian seafaring races ruling the eastern shores of the Indian Ocean, who from Baragyza, the modern Broach, the great seaport at its mouth, carried on the combined commerce and emigration which first enriched the Euphratean countries and Asia Minor, and afterwards Egypt. Very convincing evidence of the magnitude of the Nerbudda trade is given in the name Prāg-jyotisha, the name by which Baragyza is called in the *Mahābhārata*. It means the star (jyotish) of the East, that is to say, the richest port of the eastern shores of the Indian Ocean, and the mother of its trade with the rising empires of the West. It was thence that the Turano-Dravidian emigrants and merchants spread over the whole world not only the manufactured and mineral wealth of India, but also the systems of government, social polity, and theology, of which the first germs were conceived in the forest villages of Southern India. This land watered by the Nerbudda was the Western land, said in the *Mahābhārata* to be ruled by Bhagadatta, King of Prāg-jyotisha, who is described by Krishna as “the king who bears on his head the gem that is most wonderful on earth—that king of the Yāvanas or barley- (java) growing races who rules the West like another Varana.”<sup>2</sup> He is the king born of the Vedic god Bhaga, the tree of edible fruit, the mango, called “am” or the mother-tree of the great cultivating Kaur or Kurmi caste who controlled the cotton commerce of the

<sup>1</sup> Every Brahmin before performing any religious ceremony has to begin by the San-Kalpa or Meditation. He has to fix his mind on nineteen prescribed subjects in succession, and the sixth of these is the Meditation on the Central Indian land of Jambu-dwipa, the land of the Jambu-tree (*Eugenia jambolana*), the distinctive fruit-tree of the Central Indian forests, through which a large river (the Nerbudda) flows to the west. This is the only parent river named in the Meditation in which the Ganges has no place. He has also in the third subject of meditation to think on Vishnu as the white pig-god. So that the whole is founded on the early days of the worship of Rāhu, the pig sun-god.—Dubois, *Hindoo Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*. Edited by H. Beauchamp. Vol. i. chap. xiii. p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahābhārata Sabha (Rajasyarambha) Parva*, xiv. p. 45.

West, which sent, as I have shown, to Babylon in the earliest times of which records survive in the muslin called Sipat kuri, or cloth of the Kurs. It is to this mother mango-tree that every Kurmi youth is married before he is united by making blood brotherhood with his bride, who has been previously married to a Mahua-tree (*Bassia latifolia*). This Mahua-tree is the parent tree of the spirit-drinking indigenous artisan races, who had discovered and used the mineral wealth of Central and Western India before the advent from the North of the Chiroos or sons of the sun-hawk of Asia Minor. Bhagadatta was the ruler who in the first conquest of India by the Pāndava brethren was conquered by Arjuna, and hence he clearly belongs to an earlier stratum of national history than that represented by the rule of Arjuna and Krishna, who had established the worship of the sun-antelope at the Khati or Hittite port of Dwārika in Khātīāwār, and whose history is marked by the successive changes made in the reckoning of the year by months. Within the dominions of Bhagadatta were the great silver, gold, and diamond mining lands of Guzerat, Bundelkund, and Chutia Nagpur. The wealth of this country is proved by the statement of Pliny that 50,000,000 sesterces (about £443,000) in specie were annually exported from the mines of Mount Capitolia, Mount Abuin, Guzerat, and from the adjoining country. It was the land of Ophir, meaning the land of "the black antelope," whence the Akkadian Sali-manu—the Hebrew Solomon—the fish sun-god called "king of the gods," got all his gold and silver ages before the date usually assigned to the Hebrew king.<sup>2</sup>

This was the land whence the lotus cult was exported from India to Egypt, where, as we have seen, the lotus garland is found on the prehistoric statues of Min, for it was in Central and Southern India, and not on the snow-clad summits of the Himalayas, that the lotus grew in the pools whence the mother-rivers rose. The lotus is, in *Rigveda* X. 184, 2, said to be the garland of the Ashvins, and they were originally the children of Saranyu Ushasā-Naktā, day and night, and their mother was the cloud-goddess, called in the *Mahābhārata* Mahish-mati, the great mother, who ruled the land of the matriarchal founders of villages, where individual marriage was unknown. It is probably to Southern India that we must look for the origin of the name Push-kara given to the lotus. It means the maker of Push, and this word means "blossoming plants"; and as this is the land where Sek-Nag, the sak- or wet-god of the Akkadians, was the supreme god, and whence maritime intercourse with the Euphratean countries subsisted from the very earliest times—it is possible that the name Push may have travelled from India. In the *Song of Lingal* Puse or Push is the alligator, and in the Central Indian legend of

<sup>1</sup> Hewitt, *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, vol. i. essay iii. p. 295; essay iv. p. 371.

<sup>2</sup> Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures* for 1887. Lect. i. pp. 57, 58.

Nala and Damayanti, telling of the course of the seasons of the Indian year, Pushkara, the god of the burning summer with its hot west winds, is the gambler who strips Nala, the god of the channel (nala), or the ordinary course of nature, of his property and clothing and leaves the earth bare and parched, only to be revived again by the rains, whose coming is heralded by this destroying west wind. Thus the maker of Push is, in one point of view, the maker of the pools, the Akkadian god Pu. One of the ideograms of his name is composed of two signs, meaning lord and pool, so that he is the lord of the pools; and the other is one which also denotes the snake-mother goddess of Southern India, Davkina, the mother of Dumu-zi, the son (dumu) of life (zi),<sup>1</sup> the god Tammuz of the Semites. This lord of the pools, the lotus-flower, became in the *Rigveda* and *Zendavesta* the black bull-god Pūshan or Pashang, and in *Rigveda* I. 188, 2, he is likened to a buffalo, and as the buffalo-god he is the god of the black rain-cloud, who ploughs the land in which the rice of Southern India is grown, and he is also the great or huge mother Mahish-mati, as Mahisha frequently means a buffalo. He is thus the totem parent god of the ploughing rice-growers, the Chiroos and upper agricultural classes of Central India, who is annually slain as the sacrificed god of the expired year at the Dāsaharā festival, held on the tenth day of the light, or first half of Assin or Ashva-yujau, the month of the Twins (September-October) beginning at the autumnal equinox, and the first month of the year of the earliest barley-fathers, which began, as I have shown, at that season. The neck of the slaughtered buffalo is severed with the sacrificial knife shaped like the crescent moon—a knife like the Ghoorka kukri—and the year consecrated to it is that sacred to Parasu-Rāma. He is the god of the double axe (parasu) with its two blades, each of the form of a lunar crescent, the year-god of the races who measured time by ten, eleven, and thirteen lunar months, each divided into two lunar periods, the two blades of his axe. It was he who fixed the era still current in Malabar, and in which annals have been recorded since 1176 B.C.;<sup>2</sup> and he is said in the *Mahābhārata*<sup>3</sup> to have destroyed the Haihayas or Haiohunsī, the ancient ruling races of Central India.

They, who are still a powerful class in Central and North-East India, were the rulers of Chuttisgurrh down to the year 1750 A.D., when Ummer Singh, the last Haiheya king of Raipur, was finally deposed by Raghoji Bhonsla, the Mahrahta ruler. But these later sons of Haio, the water-snake, their supreme god Sek-Nūg, the Hindu form of the Akkadian Iá, the god of the house (I) of the waters (a), were no longer the pure race of tree-worshipping Gonds

<sup>1</sup> Sayce, *Assyrian Grammar Syllabary*, Nos. 223, 321.

<sup>2</sup> Monier Williams, *Religious Life in India*, p. 433.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahābhārata Vana (Tirtha-yatra) Parva*, cxvi.-cxvii. pp. 358-362.

conquered by Parasu Rāma and the invading Hittites or Khāti from Asia Minor, but one which had maintained their nominal continuance in power by intermarriage with the conquering invaders of the North. These were the Kaur clans, who still hold the frontier hill provinces of Belaspur and large estates in the southern province of Raipur,<sup>1</sup> and who as frontier chiefs were necessarily of the same clan as the rulers of the Central provinces. Also the Bhuya or Gond element, which was superseded by the Kaur, survive in the numerous Gond rajas still holding provinces, and especially in the powerful Gond chiefs of Dhumda, whose line only became extinct a few years before I went to Raipur as settlement officer in 1864. These Kaur invaders, who worship the sword, were the people who divided all the Central Indian kingdoms into a wheel arrangement of provinces, the Central provinces being held by the king and his commander-in-chief, and the frontier districts by his most trusted subordinates. Their connection with the worship of fire and the sun-god Rā is shown in the names of their capitals and chief districts. The capitals are Belaspur in the north, and Raipur in the south. The former name is that of the city (pur) of the god 'Bel, which is also the name of the sun- and fire-god among the local clan of Saur, elsewhere called Suvarnas, the sons of Su, who speak a language of their own in Chuttisgurh, and are sons of the fish and bird. Their god is identical in name with the god Bel of the Babylonians and the Akkadian fire-god Bel. Raipur, again, is the city of the Lithuanian sun-god Rai or Ragh, who became in Maghada, Rā-hu. The strength of the Kaur or Kurmi element in this confederation is also shown in the large districts cultivated by Kurmi clans, and by the choice of the Belaspur district as the residence of the Guru or high priest of the Kubir-puntis, to which faith all the Kurmis in Northern India belong. He is the titular son of Kabir, the god of the Northern Kubirs sons of the hammer-god, who, as he himself told me, is an emanation from or the earthly representative of this far-descended god. He must, as he said, pass away from power and disappear in the twenty-sixth year of his ministry, the same period of life as was assigned in Egypt to the Apis bull, who was originally Hapi, the Indian Kapi, the ape-god; and in this number we find a reminiscence of the year of thirteen lunar months or twenty-six lunar crescents, the axes of Parasu-Rāma.

The original Haiois were the race of the Marya or tree Gonds sons of the tree Marom—that is, of the Dravidian tree-mother goddess, Mari-amma, the mother (amma) Mari, the Tamil form of the blood-thirsty goddess of time called Kali in Bengal. They were the combined races of mountain Finns and forest farmers who worshipped the water-snake who still guards their village boundaries, and who looked on the ape-god as the wind-god who made the stars revolve.

<sup>1</sup> Hewitt *Settlement Report of Raipur District*, §§ 115, 116.

It was the northern section of this early confederation which introduced the magic for which the Gonds are famous, and it was also they who made the farmers, sons of the rivers descending from the mother-mountain, and framed the cult of the alligator. This was originally in Finn mythology the sun-lizard, the child of the mother goddess Kesari-tar, the daughter (tar) of the kettle (kesari), who was the goddess of the burning mountain containing the heat generated in the lower earth by the revolutions of the Northern Pole, the invisible fire-drill of heaven turned by the stars of the Great Bear, and not by the ape-god of Southern mythology. She was made pregnant<sup>1</sup> by the froth of the sea heated to boiling-point; and the father god, who made the fire-drill to revolve and boil the ocean water, was Il-marinen, the Northern Smith, the Finn form of the German Wieland the smith. He was also the Il-ja or eel-god, born of the mother mountain-stream, the goddess Ilā, Idā, or Irā, the mother of the year of three (ira) seasons. This eel-god, the Finn counterpart of the fire-creating smith of the artisan sons of Kabir, was the god who, in the Northern mother-rivers, marks the revolutions of the sun round the Pole by his autumnal migrations, followed by his return in spring. He was a sacred fish in Egyptian mythology (*Herod.* ii. 72), and was thus the water-snake who became to the sons of the Northern rivers born from the mothers descended from Indian snake-worshippers, the god who represented in the North their ancient guardian ancestor of the South. He is the god Aind or Ind, the eel, the totem god of the early Indian mining races: (1) the Kharias, (2) Kharwars, and (3) Mundas, who are all magicians—and also of the (4) Rantias, a clan of the Kauris; the (5) Asuras, workers in metal, representing in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rigveda* genealogy the races ruling before the Ikshvāku era; (6) the cow-keeping Gualas; (7) the Pans or weavers; (8) the Santhals; and (9) the clan of Goraitis, or boundary guardians, priests of the boundary snake-god Goraya. It was this god who was the Vedic god Indra, the rain-god, whose name is derived from the root Indu, meaning the eel in vernacular theology, the successor of Sukra, the wet Akkadian god<sup>2</sup> Sak, the Gond Sek-Nāg. He was the Pali god Sakko; who became the god of the Phœnicians, the reputed author of their mythology called that of Sanchoniathan, meaning what the god Sakko has given. This eel-god was the god Matsya, born of the sun mother-hawk in the land of Chedi on the River Tamasa, the darkness (tamas), also called the Andhamati, the mother of plants (andhas), to be the god of the Chiroo sons of the bird, who were also, through their ancestors the Kharwars, sons of the eel. Matsya's sister, Satyavati, was apparently the sun-lizard, who became by Parashara the breaking cloud the mother of Vyāsa

<sup>1</sup> Aberpromby, *Magie Songs of the Finns Folk-Lore*, vol. i. pp. 381, 382.

the alligator, the god Puse; and the land of the eel-god Matsya, was that ruled by King Yirāta, in which the Pāṇḍavas passed their thirteenth year of exile; and the new faith in the conquering sun-god born of Arjuna's bow—Gāṇḍiva, the overarching sun—was introduced by Uttara, the Northern conqueror, and Arjuna, the rain-god who was originally the rain-āpe. This year of gestation, beginning with the pregnancy of the sun-lizard Satyavati, begotten on the Sakti mountains, was that of the Lizard of the South. It was the year which inaugurated the introduction of marriage, and it is to the goddess called by this name that all marriage ceremonies among the Dravidian Brahmins are dedicated. No Dravidian Brahmin will consent to give his daughter in marriage to a suitor till he has looked toward the south, and has heard one of these sun-lizards running on the walls of his home utter a cry of assent.<sup>1</sup> The son of Satyavati, the sun-lizard, the god Puse of the river pools and black cloud, became again in the fissiparous growth of mythological division, first, the Muggar, or alligator-god of Maghada, the land of the sun-god Rā-hu; and secondly, the Makara, or dolphin, the horned fish of Manu the thinker, who saved him from the deluge of the overwhelming waters, which threatened—by the substitution of the ten-months year of gestation for the continuous year of the Pleiades and Orion corresponding with the round of the seasons—to destroy the memory of the work of this year-measurer (men or man) by breaking the record of historical certainty. The work done by the survivors of past records is awarded, in the *Song of Lingal*, first to Puse the alligator, afterwards to the tortoise, who established the firm earth round which the dolphin-mother swam as she drew the star ship Argo bearing the hundred ancestors of the dwellers on the tortoise earth through the seas of heaven, and thus established the year of four seasons. The dolphin parent of the sons of Argo became to the Babylonians the god Makkar, the name of the constellation of Capricornus, the goat-fish, the parent god of the believers in the measurements of time by the lunar months of generation. He is the god who in the solar zodiac rules the tenth month of the year beginning in March-April; and this constellation, as we have seen in the year of the fish-sun nursed by the moon, was that containing the thirtieth star of the moon's journey through the months from November 20 to February 20, and the stars Algedi and Deneb Algedi in Capricornus were the eighth and ninth of the Kings of Babylon, the zodiacal circuit of lunar months traversed by the sun from February 20 to November 20.<sup>2</sup> Thus in this calendar the rule of the months in which the autumnal equinox falls, part of August-September, and September-October, is

<sup>1</sup> Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*. Edited by H. Beauchamp. Vol. i. part ii. p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> Hewitt, *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, vol. i. essay iv. pp. 377, 384.

placed under the care of the dolphin-mother of the sons of the goat. These are the months in which the cloud-buffalo, which ultimately became the goat-fish, is sacrificed by the goat-descended sons of Parāsu-Rāma. The month of Makaram (November-December) ruled in the Tamil solar-lunar calendar by the constellation Capricornus, is that which is followed in the same calendar by the month of Kumbha, the watering-pot, corresponding to the month Push (December-January) of the Hindu calendar. This Indian god Push is the Greek god Poseidon, to whom the month of December-January is dedicated in the Athenian calendar, and whose name means he who has the form (ἑίδων) of Pous. He is the god bearing the trident of the year of three seasons, and is also represented as a tunny-fish and lotus. Black bulls were sacrificed to him at Ephesus, the home of the mother goddess Derceto, or Tirhatha, the cleft or pool, the fish-tailed goddess who was mother of the bisexual goddess Semiramot, meaning her of the exalted (ram) name (shem), who was the mother of the sun-god born of the Cyprus-tree, and the nominal founder of this and other Æolian and Ionian cities on the coasts of Asia Minor, as seaports of the matriarchal Amazons.

Also Poseidon as the fish-god of the trident was the god who used it to churn the island of Delos from the sea made to boil as that which made Kasari-tar pregnant. It was in this land, whose name means the manifest, that Apollo the wolf sun-god and Artemis the bear-mother of night, called Arktos, were born as the children of Lato the wolf-mother, worshipped as a tree-trunk or gnomon pillar. This birth of the island birthplace of the sun—which is a myth subsequent to that which made Apollo the dolphin who drew the ship of the prophet-priests from Crete to Delphi—is an exact Greek parallel of the churning of the ocean by Vasu the rain-god of the Chiroos. He made Mount Mandara revolve as Poseidon made the rising island of Delos, and from it was born not the gods of day and night, but Uccaishravas the sun-ass of India with the long ears, the lunar crescents, the three-legged ass of the year of three seasons of the *Zendavesta*, a compound form of the sun- and moon-god. As we have seen that the myth of Poseidon as the tunny-fish, the lotus, and the churner of the ocean, reached Greece from India, we must also conclude that he was originally the black cloud buffalo-god of the Hajo-bunsi rice-growers who became the alligator-god of the sun-worshipping sons of the rivers, whence he developed into the mammalian dolphin, the fish-mother of the age of the twin gods when time was measured by the lunar months of gestation.

This sun-god emerged from his watery home when the worship of the sun-cow was changed for that of the Northern sun-horse, and when the constellation Capricornus of the goat-fish became that ruling the months August to October in the lunar-solar zodiac of the

Ten Kings of Babylon, and the tenth month of a solar year beginning with the winter solstice, in which the first month was consecrated to Push in India and Poseidon in Greece. This month (September–October) is consecrated in India to the Ashvins, the heavenly horsemen, and on October 15 the Roman festival of the Equiria was held, and the horse whose career as a year-god was ended was sacrificed, and the blood kept by the Vestal Virgins till it was burnt on the 15th of the next April with the body of the new-born calf, which was then sacrificed at the Palilia or barley festival to the ploughing-god, the mid-year festival of a year of the sun-horse beginning with the death, on October 15, of the horse ruling the last year. This age of the supersession of the mother-fish and the sun-cow by the sun-horse is marked in Greek historical legend by the story recorded by Pausanias which tells how Poseidon as a stallion violated Dēmētēr the barley-mother when she became a mare after her return to Onka.<sup>1</sup> Onka is said by Pausanias to be a Phœnician word, and means according to Mövers (*Die Phonizier*, I. 466), the warmed or burning goddess, the goddess who rules the summer months from April till June. It was in this form that the god of the sea, who had first been the sun-tiger or horse, the constellation Pegasus, became the white sun-horse Tishtrya, who began the year of the conquering sun of the summer solstice.

It was this cult of the sun-bull and the sun-horse which followed the age when it was thought that the Polar axis of the earth was made to revolve by the stars of Argo, the southern constellation, and the water powers below the earth. It was the age of the tortoise earth, when the sun-god Rā-hu became Rāma, the son of Kushaloya, and the successor of Parasu-Rāma, the ploughing ox-god wedded to Sitā the furrow. In this new time-reckoning, the year's oxen, the measuring months, were in Greece driven round the revolving axis of the world's threshing-floor by the Kentauroi or Centaurs, the goaders (kent) of the bull (tauros), who were half men half horses. The epoch was that which began with the deification of Ixion—the Akshivan, or man of the axle—and of Koronis, the goddess of the flower-garden, children of the fire-god Phlegyas the revolving fire-drill. The sun that revolved as the sun-ox was the star-sun of the eight-rayed star. This transition stage in the reckoning of time was that marked by the conception of the seven Lumasi, or turning northern stars of the Akkadian astronomy, which succeeded the rule of Canopus and Orion. The three first in the list—the constellations of the Great Bear, Boötes, and Virgo—were the rulers of the year before that beginning with Sirius, the fourth star, which I have identified in Arjuna's year of the ape with the lion's tail as preceding that when Sirius was the white horse of the sun. In this

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, viii. 42 ; 1, 25. 4 ; ix. 12, 2. Bérard, *Origine des Cultes Arcadiens*, pp. 122, 140, note 4.

first year the virgin tree-mother of the South became in the North the virgin mother of corn, the Phrygian and Egyptian goddess Min, who showed her Indian origin in her lotus garland. She was the goddess Athene, the goddess of flowers and of the olive-tree indigenous to Asia Minor, who was born from the head of Zeus, and who in Athens conquered Poseidon, the god of the sea. She was thus the daughter of the northern stars, the stars of the head of the Pole-star god, for Zeus is shown by the genitive Zenos to have been originally on one side of his dual personality the Pole-star god Danu—the father of the Greek Danaoi, who was brought up in Crete, anciently called Itanos,<sup>1</sup> the island of the Phœnician god Tan, whose name appears in that of the Carthaginian goddess Tan-it and in that of the old Bel, called Bel-itan, the green pillar of the god Usov, the goat-god. This year of the ascent of the gods measuring time from the sea to be turners of the northern Pole—the Hir-men-sol, the great stone or tree of the sun—was the year of the goddess Lato, the tree-stem or shaft of Poseidon's trident. She is the goddess Lit of India, and this northern index of the sun's motion was also the parent god of the Latin race. They, as Mommsen<sup>2</sup> has shown, were the principal tribe of the Basque race, who brought into Europe Mesopotamian wheat and barley with the vines and fruits of Asia Minor. Their house-gods were the Lares, the gods of the Lar or Phrygian house-pole; and the "r" in this word, coupled with the name of Lars or Larth given to the eldest son by the Etruscan descendants of the Indian Tur-vasu, seems to show that their original tree father-god was Larth or Lart, the house-pole, the god Gumi of the Indian Males. This appears in the name of Laertes, the father of Odusseus, the sun-god who is shown to be a counterpart of Arjuna by the incident that it was they who alone could bend the heavenly bow. Laertes' wife was Antikleia, the backward (anti) key, and he appears in the *Odyssey* as the old man cultivating the garden of the god of the orchard-growing races. Also, the name of his wife shows that the turning tree-stem he represented was that which turns from right to left, or against the course of the sun. It was this turning tree which was the shaft of the Latin Cross, and this I shall prove to be the turning stem of the year when I come to describe the Latin Cross of Palenque, in which the shaft is the year arrow of the Indian rainbow-god Krishānu, another form of Arjuna. Odusseus, son of Laertes and Antikleia, was the northern wanderer Orwandel, whose great toe is the star Rigel in Orion, while his wife Penelope, the weaver of the web (pēnē), is the Greek form of the Hindu Pleiades, the Knittakas or Spinners.

J. F. HEWITT.

<sup>1</sup> Lenormant, *Les Origines*, i. 5, 45, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen, *History of Rome*, translated by Dickson. People's Edition. Vol. i, p. 32.

## THE CRIMINAL :

### IS HE PRODUCED BY ENVIRONMENT OR ATAVISM ?

CRIMINOLOGY, or criminal anthropology, is one of the most recent sciences. In 1886 the first international congress was held in Rome; the second congress met in Paris. The Italians are the innovators—Professor Lombroso, Professor of Legal Medicine, University of Turin.

“ The criminologists are divided into two parties : one emphasises the atavistic causes, the other the psychological. The study of criminology, like that of medicine, is carried on by scientific methods. It concerns the investigation of individual cases, physically, psychologically, and historically considered.

Atavus, Great-great-grandfather, reversion to type of primitive man, a freak of nature, caused from some degeneracy in the ancestors or parents—a morbid ancestry in fact. Of criminals actual or nominal there are many kinds.

Morel, who in his book regarded crime as one of the forms taken by degeneration in the individual or family, defined it as a morbid deviation from the normal type of humanity. The causes of degeneration which he recognises were alcoholism, social environment, poverty, heredity, and moral causes.’ “ At the Exeter meeting of the British Association in 1884, Dr. G. Wilson read a paper on the moral imbecility of habitual criminals as exemplified by cranial measurement. Cranial deficiency is associated with real physical deterioration.” Italy is to-day the home of criminal anthropology, and of all the sciences that are connected with the criminal: Professor Cesar Lombroso, of Turin, occupies a position of great importance in the development of criminal anthropology. He first perceived the criminal as an organic anomaly. Two other Italian doctors must be mentioned with Lombroso—Enrico Ferri and Dr. Antonio Marro, formerly surgeon to the prison at Turin.

“ In Great Britain alone, during the last fifteen years, there is no scientific work on this subject recorded. Germany is more than twenty times better represented. No interest was felt, in England, in the International Congress of Criminal Anthropology lately held in Paris. Delegates came from all parts of the world, not *one* from Great Britain.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, *Study of Criminal*, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 47.

Those who are in the habit of attending the criminal courts cannot fail to have been struck with the fact, that there is a peculiarity both of face, feature, shape of head and physique, in all the worst types of criminals. Thieves as a rule have small heads, with depth of the orbital arch and frontal sinus. The depth of the former points to premature union of the two parts of the frontal bone, and under these circumstances brain development is necessarily arrested. Their physique is poor, and narrow-chested. They are said to have weak hearts, and to be very subject to respiratory disorders. Epilepsy is common amongst them.

"Even non-scientific observers have noticed the frequency among criminals of projecting or long ears; the largely developed external ear is a common feature. Lombroso finds the handle-shaped ear in 28 per cent. of his criminals.

"Morel studied the abnormalities of the ear, especially in relation to heredity; Dr. Langdon Down points out, in *Mental Diseases of Childhood*, the frequency of congenital ear deformities in idiots and the feeble-minded, also an implantation of the ears farther back than normal, giving an exaggerated development of the face.

"Dr. Frigerio, who has devoted special attention to this feature, both among criminals and the insane, finds certain peculiarities very common.

"From the examination of several hundred subjects, he concluded that prognathism has frequently been noted as a prominent characteristic of the criminal face, both in men and women. There is little doubt that the lower jaw is often remarkably well developed in those guilty of crimes of violence. It is also heavier: the average weight of the normal Parisian jaw is 80 grammes, while it amounts to 91 in murderers.

"In this respect the criminal resembles the savage and prehistoric man. A type of receding chin is also found pretty frequently amongst petty criminals, such heads Lauvergne called *têtes moutonnes*."<sup>1</sup>

Lombroso has made observations on the teeth of criminals. He has noticed exaggerated or deficient development of the canines. In a description of the photograph of a murderess, he writes, "handle-shaped ear, very large lower jaw, *Canini giganti, incisors nani*." He also remarks a virile type of face in a large proportion of female murderers.

We may take it as the basis of the theory of the criminological school, that the thief and murderer revert to the type of primitive man. The evolution of the elevating principles of humanity have not touched them. By a process of heredity, of an alcoholic and insane kind, they have cast back to the savage, with the characteristic of the animal.

Frigerio has written a very interesting little book, called *L'Oreille*,

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, *Study of Criminal*, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Lombroso, *La Donna Delinquente*.

*externe, étude d'Anthropologie criminelle*, published in 1888. "He found the large ear very marked in homicides; less so in thieves. The degenerative variations to which he attributes most importance are the Darwinian tubercle, the doubling of the fork of the helix, and a conical ante-tragus, very frequent in childhood and among apes; often found among criminals."

The criminal is produced from an heredity of vice, alcohol, and poverty. These three factors in no way elevate him, and the only natural selection in his case is approximation to the savage. There is a dislike to believe that the laws of atavism are so rigid, but science clearly demonstrates to us, there can be no departure from the inexorable consequences of disobeying them.

Ibsen, who has endeavoured to place these facts before the public in the form of dramas, is unpopular. People will not acknowledge that selfish husbands, bad wives, and weakly children are to be met with in any sphere but the lowest. They do not like to have such things represented. But who is there amongst us that can be quite callous to the tragedy of Ibsen's *Ghosts*? How many families have such "skeletons" existing, the outcome of heredity?

Alcohol is one of the principal factors in the process of degeneration; it acts more on the brain than any other organ. It produces loss of will-power, dislike to active exertion, and an inequality of purpose that is fatal in business. A man who is only at his best when under the influence of drink never makes much headway in life. The uneducated man, from whose ranks the criminal usually proceeds, is still more at a loss. His powers of resistance are so weak, his idleness so strong, that he falls an easy prey to the particular form of crime he affects. His surroundings do not help him, for his poverty exposes him to every temptation. He is brought before a court of justice, and sentenced to a long or short term of imprisonment, according to the number of previous convictions; the usual excuse is made, "He would not have done it if he had been sober." The fact that he is a poor weak creature, with the mind of a child, and deficient cranial development, is not considered.

Dr. Jacobi, of New York, said at the National Congress of the Prison Association at Baltimore, "Insanity, as well as that form of aberration which is called criminality, is not possible with a normal brain."<sup>1</sup>

Criminal women often give far more trouble than men. They are very revengeful, easily take offence, and noisily resent a fancied insult or slight. Some are sullen and taciturn. Prognathism is a marked characteristic amongst them, together with that Mongolian type of face that has been so much observed by the Italian school of criminologists as distinctly belonging to the criminal. These women are not very amenable to softening influences; they seem to

<sup>1</sup> *Abnormal Man*, p. 67.

have no sense of right or wrong, and by a kind of illogical reasoning difficult to understand, look upon themselves as the injured parties!

The reckless intermarriages of this class of persons accounts for much. It is not uncommon to find, in the imbecile wards of work-houses, two or three in one family who are both imbecile and epileptic, the offspring of atavism.

We must believe the fundamental cause of thieving is idleness. The criminal's instinctive dislike to work brings poverty upon him, and he rapidly sinks, and becomes callous to the shame of imprisonment. He loses touch with the respectable part of the community; squalid surroundings, dirt and drink, complete the descent to Avernus. A great feature of the criminal is his habit of lying; he scarcely ever speaks the truth. This may be partially caused from the want of moral courage that a half-developed brain will produce; also from the vanity of degeneration, where there is an hysterical desire to create sensation in the minds of others. "Lombroso advances the doctrine, that a born criminal can be nothing more than an epileptic. Criminality is a neurosis."<sup>1</sup>

"Alcoholism in either of the parents is one of the most fruitful causes of crime in the child: the relation of alcoholism to criminality is by no means so simple as is sometimes thought. It is part of a vicious circle. It is not an easy matter for a well-conditioned person, of wholesome heredity, to become an inebriate. It is facilitated by a predisposition, and alcoholism becomes a symptom as well as a cause of degeneration."<sup>2</sup> Lombroso believes that inebriety is in itself a symptom of more or less unsoundness; in a large proportion of cases it is only a sign of slow and insidious brain disease. When crime is committed by inebriates, the probability of mental disease is very strong.

"There is no doubt that a criminal parent tends to produce a criminal child. The investigations in New York showed that in 51 per cent. the home was positively bad, and only good in 8 per cent. A large number of criminals belong to criminal families. I will give examples:

"N. N., condemned for fraud and violence; father alcoholic, convicted of fraud; mother healthy; six brothers—one a monster, another a highway robber, another a murderer, two thieves, one an idiot; two sisters, both of bad character. The Jukes family, of America, is the largest criminal family ever known. The ancestor was a hard drinker, averse to steady toil, working by fits and starts, the mode of life which the instinctive criminal always adopts. They were traced for five subsequent generations. There were a certain proportion of honest workers, but the majority were criminals. The dislike to regular steady work, the love of doing things by fits and starts, the

<sup>1</sup> *Abnormal Man*, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> *Ellis, On Heredity*, p. 64.

nomadic tendencies, all point to criminal or insane heredity. Among the vast number of men who say they can't get work, substitute the word 'won't'—they won't—and amongst working women, especially the domestic servant class, there is the same dislike to regular work. The love of changing their places shows a criminal or insane heredity. Indeed, amongst all classes idleness is a marked form of degeneration: a healthy person likes something to do, and is ready to do it. It is not the lower classes that have the monopoly of degeneration; the same facts frequently occur among the middle and aristocratic classes, but they are protected from sinking into crime both by their environment, which is always favourable, and by the protection they receive from having friends to assist them with money in urgent necessity. At the same time the man who cannot get anything to do, who is always unsuccessful in life, and ends by being supported by his relatives, is a direct outcome of hereditary degeneration, and the keen competition to live will render it more and more difficult for those who are any way handicapped from a morbid ancestry. To be forewarned is to be forearmed, and the child should be educated with a view to such circumstances, if there is the slightest suspicion of atavism in him. In nine cases out of ten he will show it by intense idleness. Among the lower classes, the instinctive criminal child is always playing truant from school, and it would need a far more prolonged education than he will receive to overcome his faults. He dislikes regular consecutive work, and therefore hates school. This will show itself in preferring to get his living by irregular work, such as thieving, when he grows up. Betting-men are largely recruited from the ranks of atavistic heredity. In them excitement, work by fits and starts, is necessary to their existence, and by seeking their living on the turf they meet with all they require. The poor man without capital or friends, who follows his instincts, and endeavours to obtain a living on the turf, generally falls into the ranks of criminals, by forging or thieving in order to obtain the means for this risky mode of livelihood."

Zola, in his powerful work, *Dr. Pascal* (translated and placed in free libraries), treats entirely of atavism, and in his "Rougon-Macquart" series traces the unerring effect of a criminal or alcoholic descent on the various forms of degeneration as seen amongst people; among the criminal, insane, and neurotic type.

"La Tante Dide," who was the founder of the Rougon-Macquart family, was both alcoholic and of bad character. She married first a gardener, Rougon, who was half imbecile, had two or three children by him, then she married Macquart, a crazy smuggler, by whom she had five children. She died in the Asylum at Tulettes at the age of 103. This family was carefully traced for six generations. Some were criminals, others were drunkards; some fairly honest,

but weak, one a great genius, one nearly a saint (Angélique Rougon), some were atavic, none of them very long-lived. Angélique is the heroine of the book *La Réve*. One was a murderer, the hero of the book *La Bête Humaine*. Dr. Pascal was clever, scientific, but very eccentric and easily turned from his purpose. In all this family the great-grandparents supplied the neurosis, which affected the collateral branches. Mysticism was the failing of two or three—L'Abbé Mourôt in *Lourdes* and *Rome*.

Despine, in his *Physiologie Naturelle*, quotes a case of a criminal family: three brothers, sons of one Jean Chrétien, alcoholic, had children and grandchildren as under:

	{	Jean François, thief.
	{	Benoit, weak-minded.
JEAN JOSEPH	{	Claire, thief.
	{	Marie Rose, thief.
	{	Victor, thief.
	{	Victorine—Son, Victor, murderer.
THOMAS . .	{	François, murderer—Son, thief.
	{	Marton, murderer.
PIERRE . .	{	Jean François, thief and murderer.

The characteristics of criminals show that they constantly reproduce the features of savages—want of forethought, inaptitude for sustained labour, love of orgie.

The thief and murderer usually show their want of forethought by the neglect of some detail which leads to their arrest; such as Mrs. Dyer, who wrapped the baby in brown paper, with her name and address on it, and the lantern of Fowler and Milsom, the Muswell Hill murderers—these are only two instances among hundreds; but this is usually the way crime is discovered. Mrs. Maybrick's letter, for example, which gave the motive for her crime.

Many criminals would rather live on a piece of bread and sleep under a hedge than work a few hours daily. Lacenaire said to the Judge, "I have always been too lazy to work. I am incapable of the effort. I prefer to be condemned to death." Dr. Emile Laurent, in *Les Habitudes des Prisons de Paris*, thinks that every individual from eighteen to twenty-five who does not work should be considered dangerous, and sent into a colonial army.<sup>1</sup> He also considers that, as regards heredity, alcoholism takes the first place as an influence, then come insanity, and neurosis, then tuberculosis. Under such circumstances we should consider the confirmed criminal as abnormal, so much diseased as to be irresponsible. It is said it is rare to find a sober criminal. Nearly every one of them is given to drink. This will account for the hyperæmia and anæmia of the criminal brain, which approximates to that of the insane. The action of alcohol is cumulative, and the process of degeneration

<sup>1</sup> *Abnormal Man*, p. 77.

is slow. The finer and more intellectual traits are lost first, power of will, judgment, reliability, all follow in due course.

Ottolenghi measured with Bertillon's instruments, which gave the length of the hands, the middle fingers, and the feet in 100 criminals and 80 normal persons. He found that while the right hand was longer in 14 per cent. of normal persons, it was only so in 5 per cent. of criminals generally, and in none of the thieves and pickpockets. In 35 per cent. of the pickpockets the left hand was longer than 11 per cent. of normal persons. Similar results came out with regard to the fingers.

"In 15 per cent. of the normal persons the left foot was longer; in 35 per cent. of the criminals."<sup>1</sup>

Anomalies of the tendon reflex of the knee are also common. Lombroso found feeble tendon reflexes especially common among thieves. Doctors test brain degeneration by the action of the tendon reflex of the knee.

The physical insensibility of criminals to pain has been much noticed. They are free from agitation and tremulousness under circumstances involving suspense. Thus we read of prisoners who eat a hearty breakfast on the morning of their execution, and step jauntily on to the scaffold.

"One of Rossi's criminals received, when a child, his father's blows as caresses, and he was able to walk a distance of thirty miles with a dislocated foot."<sup>2</sup>

Physical insensibility may even be compared with many of the lower races—Maoris for instance, who did not hesitate to chop off a toe or two in order that they might wear European boots! They have also been found to be very deficient in sensibility to the electric current; they are often entirely unconscious of severe illness, and will walk about with pneumonia. Their olfactory acuteness is also very much less developed than in normal people or people of very low type. Taste is also defective. "On this physical insensibility rests that moral obtuseness which is one of the criminal's most fundamental mental characteristics. An executioner told Lombroso that all highwaymen and murderers went to their deaths joking. One remarked to those who sought to hurry him to the place of execution, 'Do not be disturbed; they will not begin without me.'"<sup>3</sup>

This insensibility is the cause of the cruelty of the criminal; a feature he frequently displays in childhood. Despine studied this question on the largest scale, in order to obtain exact results. "He acquired the certainty that those who premeditate and commit crime in cold blood *never* experience remorse." He discovered that those who manifest acute sorrow and remorse after a crime have committed it either under the influence of passion or by accident.

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, *Study of Criminal*, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Ellis, *Physical Insensibility*, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> Ellis, *Moral Insensibility*, p. 128.

Up to recent times the criminal's punishment has been apportioned not to the criminal, but to the crime. We are now learning to regard him as a natural phenomenon; we shall try to attain to scientific justice. "It is a painful fact that the ordinary female convict considers herself above the women of the workhouse. 'Look at these shawls,' was the indignant remark of a prisoner at a new kind of shawl introduced into the prison; 'do they take us for poor workhouse wretches, I should like to know?' A farm labourer said once, he had worked far harder for eleven shillings a week than he had ever done at stone-quarrying in prison." The prison of Vienna has long been a favourite place of resort during the winter.

"National education should be arranged with special powers of classifying children of feeble intellect, and the embryo criminal of the degenerative type should have extra-preventive influences brought to bear upon him."<sup>1</sup>

"Taverni has found that criminals in their childhood are marked especially by their resistance to educative influences. In Sweden, for instance, there is a careful medical supervision of schools, as to the physical condition and mental capacities of the children."

"There is no doubt that the cheap trashy literature which is sold so abundantly in this country, in which the criminal is made a hero, has much to answer for, in influencing young people to deeds of lawlessness, and they excuse themselves for their actions much after the manner of an Italian bandit, who boasted of only having taken large sums, looking upon his robberies more as speculations than anything else.

"Criminal women approximate very much in physical character to men; they are usually of a masculine type. Sarah Chesham, a notorious poisoner, who killed several children, including her own, was described as a woman of masculine proportions; and a girl, called Bonhours, who was executed in Paris at the age of twenty-two, for murdering and robbing several people, is described as of remarkable muscular strength, and her favourite weapon was the hammer! In the Baltic Provinces of Russia, where the women share the occupations of men, the level of feminine criminality is very high. In Spain, the most backward of the countries of Europe, where the education of women is at a low level, and the women lead a very domesticated life, feminine criminality is extremely low; the same is true of Italy. In England, which has taken the lead in enlarging the sphere of woman's work by employing them in factories, post-offices, telegraph-offices, the level of feminine criminality has been rising."<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Praskovia made notes at St. Petersburg of fifty women of bad character, and she found 84 per cent. showed various signs of

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, *On Treatment of Criminal*, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* *On Criminal Anthropology*, p. 217

physical degeneration, irregular skull, asymmetry of face, anomalies of hard palate, teeth, ears, &c.; 82 per cent. had parents who were habitual drunkards.

The criminal is simply a person who, by his organisation is anti-social; the nervous person is indirectly so.<sup>1</sup>

"The recent investigations of Bertillon, at the Paris Prefecture of Police, have shown that by large photographs of the hand it is possible to detect the craft at which the criminal has worked. By a process of natural selection men of every class develop a special set of psychic and physical peculiarities. Tolstoi has admirably described the special attitude and manner common to professional men generally, so that every professional man quickly recognises his fellows. It is so with criminals. A pickpocket, with his use of slang, furtive looks, and who is instinctively suspicious in all his actions, is as easily distinguished from other criminals in a prison as he is known by the police when abroad in the world. But the roots of criminality are not only deeper than professionalism, they are deeper than any acquired disease. There are remarkable resemblances between criminals and idiots. In both the muscular system is weak; there is the same tendency to small hearts with valvular defects. Epilepsy is extremely common among them, being found in nearly 25 per cent."

It is much to be able to know as clearly as we do to-day that criminals proceed from arrested or perverted development. We owe this to the labours of the anthropologists and criminologists during the last century. No one has done more than Despine to prove that what we should now call the instinctive criminal is, on the psychological side, a mental monstrosity: he has an amount of unforeseeing imprudence, entire lack of moral sensibility or remorse; and he showed that his abnormality is not of the kind that intellectual education can remedy. "No physiologist," he said, "has yet occupied himself with the insanity of the sane; yet he considered the criminal as morally mad, and therefore irresponsible."<sup>2</sup>

Maudsley came to a very similar conclusion. In his *Responsibility in Mental Diseases* he remarks: "It is a matter of observation that the criminal class constitute a degenerate or morbid variety of mankind, marked by a low physical and mental characteristic. A curious fixed look of the eye has often been considered a characteristic mark of the instinctive criminal."<sup>3</sup> "I do not need to see the whole of a criminal's face," said Vidocq; "it is enough for me to catch his eye." Lombroso finds "that the eyes of assassins resemble those of the feline animals at the moment of ambush or struggle."

The eyes are frequently very closely set together in criminals, and squinting is more or less common. But we cannot say different

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, *Criminal Anthropology*, p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* *Study of Criminal*, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* *Criminal Physiognomy*, p. 82.

nations produce any particular type. In the photographs in Lombroso's books there is no distinctive trait to distinguish them from English people. Writing of criminals he says: "By nature they have a feeble cranial capacity, projecting superciliary ridges, abundant hair, projecting ears, frequently a crooked or flat nose, left-handedness is common."<sup>1</sup>

I have ascertained that among the girls in an idiot asylum who were able to be taught needlework, that they always used their left hands in preference to their right.

The cruelty of criminal women exceeds that of the man; they are absolutely pitiless to all those in their power, and frequently instigate men to commit cold-blooded murders, betraying the victim themselves.

Having now considered the criminal from his physiological point of view, let us see what can be done with him.

Lombroso and Ottolenghi divide them into two classes: the *recidivist* and the occasional criminal. The first are born criminals, and will always remain such in spite of environment or education. These are the men who suffer three, or four, or five terms of penal servitude, yet nothing will deter them from their vicious courses, and imprisonment in no way improves them. The occasional criminal may be more modified by environment. Herein lies the difference. They frequently sink into crime from alcoholism, or poverty, or some stress of circumstance which they are powerless to resist. They are easily led, and with the good, are good; with the bad, bad. There is no reliance on them or their word.

The *recidivist* is in a state of atavism, or degeneracy, from birth; no matter what his surroundings are, he always returns to crime. His normal and physical sensibilities are blunted; his intellectual development has been arrested at a very early age; in fact, he is nothing but an incorrigible child. Does it not seem strange that, with all the philanthropic work in England, it should produce the worst form of criminal known to our judges—viz. the scuttler, men and boys who assemble at the corners of streets to beat to death any unoffending passer-by? This proves Lombroso's view of the born criminal: that he will be *always* present, as a fungus of society. Lectures, museums, brighter surroundings will make no difference; nothing will alter the fact that he is a degenerate creature, and approximates to primitive man.

Young men of the present day who are taking up the Criminal Bar as their profession say: "Oh! it is no good; crime is decreasing; education has done so much, there will be nothing for us to do." This they need never fear: as long as the law looks upon a *recidivist* as a responsible creature, and lets him in and out for short terms of punishment, so long will he be always appearing in our law

<sup>1</sup> Cesare Lombroso, *L'homme Criminel*.

courts. When we are scientific enough to say he must be eliminated from society, then there might be some cause for the idea. It is the occasional criminal who has benefited by the spread of education and what is called "slumming," and the reason is, he is of a better type, and his development has not been arrested at so early an age. How shall we eliminate the born criminal from society? A man who has been three or four times convicted should be subjected to Lombroso's tests—measurement of the head, maximum length of head, maximum width and length of ears, height of palate, strength of right hand-grasp, of left hand, his antecedents and childhood. If these inquiries class him as a *recidivist*, then he should be sent to some place not exactly a prison, but where he could be employed on public works, some portion of his earnings given him, allowed to have a certain amount of liberty, with impossibility of escape, so that society or posterity would not be injured by him. He would be happy, for he would be treated *as* a child, which he is. All murderers should be destroyed, and poisoners.

We should then reduce the dangers that exist to society at large from the born criminal to a minimum.

There is a great deal of public sympathy wasted on murderers. Directly they are convicted and condemned to death letters appear in the papers, leading up to signatures for a reprieve. The murderer is the one, perhaps, the least affected. He has *no remorse*, nor has he brain power to realise the horrors of execution. His vanity is always excessive, hence he writes long letters to his family, hoping to meet them in heaven. It is a curious fact how very certain all murderers and poisoners are of heaven. This proceeds from a morbid vanity, which is in itself the very essence of a degenerative type. Most insane people are very vain, imagine themselves kings and rulers of the world; all geniuses have also an overwhelming vanity—they are on the same plane of degeneration.

"Moreau, of Tours, holds that genius is the highest expression, the *ne plus ultra*, of intellectual activity, which is close to an over-excitation of the nervous system, and in this sense is neurotic. He maintains that among distinguished men one finds the largest number of insane, and that the children of geniuses are inferior to those of average men. Genius is always isolated. It is a *summum* of nature's energy."<sup>1</sup> Shelley, when young, was strange, and was fond of musing alone; he was always called "mad Shelley." Byron's eccentricities are well known—the passing round of a skull as a wine cup at Newstead Abbey; the hatred of conventionality; the intolerance of marriage—all show atavism.

Chopin deserted his wife because she offered a chair to another man before him. Mendelssohn and Mozart were both most peculiar. Charles Lamb's *Essays of Elia* were on the borderland of insanity, of

<sup>1</sup> *Abnormal Man*, p. 142. *Psychologie Morbide*.

a degenerative and neurotic type. Carlyle showed extreme irritability; his antecedents were conspicuously of a nervous kind. Geniuses are inclined to consider themselves persecuted.

"Boileau and Chateaubriand could not bear to hear a person praised, even their shoemaker. Schopenhauer refused to pay a bill in which his name was written with a double p. Unhealthy vanity is common in the ambitions of monomaniacs."<sup>1</sup>

"Pathologically speaking, music is as fatal a gift for its possessor as the faculty for poetry and letters, the biographies of most of the leading musicians being a miserable chronicle of the ravages of nerve disorder."<sup>2</sup>

Lombroso thinks geniuses differ very much from father and mother, which is in itself characteristic of degeneracy. Some physical peculiarities of geniuses are asymmetry of face and head, jaw and head, very small or very large. The circumference of the head of Napoleon, Darwin, Wagner are above the normal. Some characteristics of genius are originality, egotism, vanity and lack of common sense, irritability, impetuosity, precocity, and susceptibility to visions or dreams.

We see that genius, insanity, and criminality are on the same plane. What is that plane?

Abnormality in different degrees. The relation between drunkenness and crime is not always a parallel one. Crime is not alone conditioned by intemperance, for it owes its rise to many social conditions also; but all unfavourable conditions are aided by drunkenness. Misuse of alcohol means poverty and pauperism, which are the main sources of crime. It disarranges the family life; the boys fall into idleness, and the girls become immoral characters.

We must now a little understand the bearings of criminology. The *recidivist* will occupy the most hopeless condition in our attempts at reform. Scientifically, he is to be classed by himself, and the only sound basis on which to proceed for his elimination will be to keep him apart, and not allow him to injure society or posterity; you will never reclaim him. As well wash a black man white. You might wash him over for the time, but it would not be long before his black skin showed through. He is morally irresponsible, cranially deficient. The occasional criminal stands on a higher plane, and it is to his reform philanthropists may turn their attention with some hope of success. The clerk who has got behind with the world, with a wife and family, who in an evil moment falls into temptation of forgery or embezzlement, may be reclaimed. The woman who has a husband out of work, and who yields to the temptation of stealing, may be helped on by interest and encouragement. The reduction of public-houses in poor neighbourhoods should be legally insisted upon by the rate-paying philanthropist. Your

<sup>1</sup> *Abnormal Man*, p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> Nisbet, *Insanity of Genius*.

occasional criminal is always morally deficient in resolution. He cannot resist temptation. Credit is given him, as long as he is in regular work, by most of the publicans; and if he keeps his weakly score pretty well paid, he can generally get what he wants, however poor he is.

We place temptation at every point in the way of the occasional criminal: we expose goods at our shop doors, with no one to look after them; we open public-houses in every street; then we say, "Come, let us go down to the slums and give concerts, and put brightness into the lives of these people; they are too dull, too monotonous; it is this that leads them into crime." We imagine that a symphony by Brahms played to them will render their cranial measurements normal, their moral sensibility as ours is; their palatal and dental defects a thing of the past. We act upon a purely unscientific basis. We ignore the science of anthropology, all very well for the university "ologists," but beneath our study. It is this that renders our philanthropic efforts *such* failures. The criminal obeys a natural and physical law, which is, that *minus* brain, *minus* responsibility. We do not take this into consideration, although we should be quick enough to see that ten shillings would not buy a three-guinea book. Treat him as he is, as a grown-up child, weak, hysterical, vain, and then you may get some satisfactory results; in your efforts for his improvement, remember that the laws of atavism are inflexible.

Zola regards the criminal with compassion rather than abhorrence, considering as he does that the majority of human beings are not free agents, but are influenced in varying degree, by one or other ancestral taint, which environment may modify, mitigate, or aggravate. No temperance reformer in any country has ever portrayed and denounced the vice of drunkenness so determinedly as the author of *L'Assommoir* and *Dr. Pascal*.

Is our treatment of the chronic criminal and the confirmed alcoholic rational? Our present plan is to make the punishment fit the crime, whereas it should fit the criminal; and where he is found to be incurable, he should be permanently confined, not with any spirit of revenge, but because he is unable to take his proper place in the social system.

Our present system of treating the chronic alcoholic and recurring criminal is about as rational as if we were to fine an epileptic five shillings and costs, or seven days' imprisonment, every time he had a fit.

It is from an economic point of view such a method as permanent confinement would be advisable. "The Chief Constable of Cheshire gave a record of John Ogden, who made 130 appearances before the city magistrates. His father appeared thirty-five times, a sister sixty-nine, and another sister twenty-nine; the father, son, and two

sisters were charged 347 times ; and it has been estimated that, in the expense of prosecutions, prisons, and Poor Law maintenance, the Ogden family have cost the city of Chester £2000." Before Mr. Makinson, of Salford, a woman named Grace Egerton has appeared 135 times. It is quite time we act in a more enlightened manner, and as the science of criminology advances, I feel sure that great changes will take place in our treatment of criminals and dipso-maniacs.

ISABEL FOARD.

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

## SCIENCE.

THE *Report of Mr. S. P. Langley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, for the Year ending June 30, 1897*,<sup>1</sup> contains many matters of scientific interest. Perhaps the most important announcement in this report is that of the forthcoming publication of Mr. Langley's memoir on aerodynamics. It is well known to those interested in aeronautics that Mr. Langley has been engaged for many years in a series of experiments on mechanical flight, and that he has constructed a machine that has actually been propelled through the air by steam for a distance of over three-quarters of a mile. The volume in which he embodies the results of his experiments will undoubtedly be one of the most interesting of the "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge." Although science is international, yet there is a healthy rivalry among the nations in scientific matters, and it is with much satisfaction that we note that the first Hodgkins prize of \$10,000 was awarded to Lord Rayleigh and Professor Ramsay for the discovery of argon. The reports of the Director of the Bureau of American Ethnology and of the Superintendent of the National Zoological Park are records of good work somewhat hampered by lack of means. Some of the animals of the latter establishment appear to be in a very thriving condition. The beavers, especially, have built dams 4 ft. high, and, in order to fell trees, gnawed through the strong wire netting of their enclosure, through which they escaped on several occasions. A fence of steel rods  $\frac{1}{16}$  inch thick was found necessary to resist the attacks of these powerful rodents.

The *Report of the Army Medical Department for 1896*<sup>2</sup> embodies a number of interesting monographs showing how much good work is being done by the army medical officers in our possessions in various parts of the globe. Among the more important of these may be mentioned the report on the "Epidemic of Bubonic Plague in Sind," by Surgeon-Captain A. L. Borradaile, and that on the "Malarial Fevers of the West Coast of Africa," by Surgeon-Major R. Crofts. One of the most serious matters affecting the health of our troops is

<sup>1</sup> *Report of S. P. Langley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, for the Year ending June 30, 1897.* Washington: Government Printing Office. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *Army Medical Department. Report for the Year 1896.* London: Harrison and Sons. 1897.

the enormous number of cases of venereal disease in India, amounting in the year under review to no less than 31,325. At a time when the food supplies of the country are becoming a question of urgent importance it is interesting to learn that the daily consumption of canned foods in Great Britain is nearly 600,000 lbs. When we consider that there are practically no Government regulations in this country either as to the quality of canned food or the material of the vessels in which it is contained, it is not surprising that cases of poisoning are not infrequent. This freedom from regulation practically converts the United Kingdom into a dumping ground for the rejected canned foods of other countries.

An interesting book from many points of view is Dr. W. S. Tebb's *Century of Vaccination*.<sup>1</sup> The author is a bitter opponent of vaccination, and in this we do not agree with him; but we must admire the industry with which he has collected facts and statistics, many of which are decidedly in favour of, and not against, vaccination. Dr. Tebb has, in fact, become so absorbed in minute details as to lose sight of some of the main points in an investigation of this kind. For instance, no figures relating to vaccination can fairly be compared with each other unless the operation has been carried out in the same way. There can be little doubt that vaccination, as generally practised in this country, is not entirely protective against small-pox, and the marks which are usually relied upon as indications of successful vaccination are by no means conclusive. In the German army only six or seven cases of small-pox occur annually, and there can be little doubt that this almost complete immunity from a disease which formerly decimated Continental armies is due to the thorough way in which vaccination is carried out. All recruits are re-vaccinated, and the regulations prescribe that there shall be at least ten punctures in each arm. A further confirmation of this view may be found in the fact that the one soldier who died from small-pox in the period from 1874 to 1887 was a man who was twice unsuccessfully re-vaccinated when recruited. There can be no doubt that other diseases are sometimes communicated through the medium of the vaccine lymph; but the unprejudiced observer will probably arrive at the conclusion that these form but a very insignificant fraction of the number of small-pox cases which would ensue from the abolition of vaccination. There are, no doubt, many objections to either human or animal lymph, and we look forward to the time when the cultivation of vaccine virus shall take place in a sterilised medium which can transmit no other disease. All those who are interested in vaccination should study Dr. Tebb's work; they will find one side of the question, at any rate, very fully discussed.

A valuable contribution to chemical literature has been published

<sup>1</sup> *A Century of Vaccination*. By W. S. Tebb. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd. 1898.

as No. 1084 of the "Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections."<sup>1</sup> In it Mr. J. L. Howe gives a full list of references to the metals usually found associated with platinum, such as palladium, iridium, rhodium, osmium, and ruthenium. Since Don Antonio de Ulloa first called attention to platinum in 1748 this metal and its companions have exercised a peculiar fascination over chemists in all countries, and the literature is not only voluminous, but widely scattered through periodicals in many languages. With this volume as a guide, and especially with the help of the excellent index, the student may now easily ascertain what has been done by former workers on the subject. It is a pity that so useful a work should be disfigured by scientific mannerisms such as "chlorid," "chlorin," "sulfid," and others which are not in the least likely to be accepted by chemists generally.

Another book which will be warmly welcomed by chemists is Dr. B. Neumann's *Electrolytic Methods of Analysis*,<sup>2</sup> which has now been rendered accessible to English readers through an excellent translation by Mr. J. B. C. Kershaw.<sup>3</sup> Electrolytic methods of analysis have fallen into disrepute among many analysts, chiefly because their advocates claimed too much. As in volumetric analysis, there are many cases where the old methods of gravimetric analysis are undoubtedly the best, and any attempt to substitute new and inferior methods throws discredit upon the whole system. We are glad to see that Dr. Neumann does not commit this error, but weighs very fairly the advantages and disadvantages of the operations which he describes. In electrolytic work so much depends upon a careful observation of details, such as current density, temperature, size of anode, &c., that the minute directions given by the author will be very welcome to the practical analyst. On the whole, electrolytic methods are found most useful with the majority of metals in common use, and no analyst can now afford to ignore them. The facility with which the electric current can now be obtained cannot fail to facilitate the expansion of electrolytic methods.

<sup>1</sup> *The Bibliography of the Metals of the Platinum Group.* By J. L. Howe. Washington: Smithsonian Institution. 1897.

<sup>2</sup> *The Theory and Practice of Electrolytic Methods of Analysis.* By Dr. Bernard Neumann. Translated by J. B. C. Kershaw. London: Whittaker & Co. 1898.

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## PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

SOME portion of the highly interesting correspondence between John Stuart Mill and Gustave D'Eichthal<sup>1</sup> has already been published in *Cosmopolis*, and at the request of many French scholars M. Eugène d'Eichthal has now brought out a French translation of the first series of letters, 1828-1842; but to these he has also added eighteen letters from Mill, 1864 to 1871, which were written in the French language, of which Mill was a complete master. Altogether there are thirty-eight letters from Mill in this collection, five from G. d'Eichthal to Mill, and also two from Eyton Tooke to G. d'Eichthal. The editor and translator, the son of Mill's correspondent, contributes an interesting *Avant-propos* to the correspondence, in which he tells us that his father became acquainted with Mill in 1828, and quotes from his father's diary an account of their first meeting.

"May 30, 1828. Tooke, the son of the celebrated economist, with whom I had dined, took me in the evening to a society (London Debating Society) composed principally of young men who assembled to discuss political and other subjects. I noticed a great facility and a good delivery in most of the young orators I heard. But that which most surprised me was the discourse of a young man of merit, Mr. Mill, whose acquaintance I had made, who spoke last, and who summed up, one after the other, all the points touched upon in the discussion, even those most irrelevant to the subject, and gave, in a few words, his opinion on each of these points with a propriety, a good sense, and a knowledge of the matter perfectly surprising."

Mill was then twenty-two years of age, and was the leader of the "philosophical Radicals," whose organ was the WESTMINSTER REVIEW. In the *Avant-propos* are other reminiscences equally interesting. The correspondence began the next year, when Mill was twenty-three and D'Eichthal twenty-five, and, as the editor justly says, we are struck with the precocious maturity, the clear and penetrating strength of mind, and the ardour of disinterested search for truth of the future author of the *Logic*.

Gustave d'Eichthal was an ardent disciple of Saint-Simon, and his "school" forms a frequent subject of discussion. We cannot review the discussion on Saint-Simonism, but it is most interesting to follow these two friends in their epistolary debate, both of them moved by an earnest desire to promote the highest interests of mankind, but differing in opinion as to how best to serve this purpose. The thirteenth letter from Mill, on the Oxford movement, is

<sup>1</sup> *John Stuart Mill : Correspondance Inédite avec Gustave d'Eichthal, 1828-1842; 1864-1871. Avant-propos et Traduction par Eugène d'Eichthal. Paris: Felix Alcan. 1898.*

striking for its very accurate yet brief description of the ideals of the leaders, and it is particularly interesting on account of the reference to Gladstone, who is described as an adept of the High Church party and the certain successor of Peel as the leader of the Tory party—"at least if this religious affair does not prevent it." The second series (1864-1871) consists of eighteen short letters from Mill in which topics principally connected with English and French politics are referred to. The whole collection is valuable, especially from a biographical point of view, and as affording a glimpse of some of the aspirations which dominated young thinkers in the second quarter of the present century. The readers of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW especially should be grateful to M. Eugène d'Eichthal for the publication of this correspondence.

*Unity in Religion*<sup>1</sup> is the substance of a lecture delivered by Mr. Claude George before the City Club, Sierra Leone, last January. It is written from the Unitarian Christian point of view, and is a laudable attempt to harmonise the best teachings of Confucius, Buddha, Moses, Zoroaster, Mahomet, and Christ. Mr. Claude George, like so many other earnest men in the present day, would like to get rid of ecclesiastical and dogmatic Christianity, and substitute for it the best ethical teaching of the New Testament.

Mr. Howard Swan, in *The Voice of the Spirit*,<sup>2</sup> has undertaken the somewhat difficult task of presenting a new version of some of the books of the Old Testament which shall reproduce in English the ideas and the emotion of the original. Any such attempt must be welcome, and Mr. Swan may be congratulated on the measure of success which has attended his efforts. Mr. Swan obtains some of his boldest effects by the substitution of "The Spirit" for the "Lord," the ordinary rendering of Jhvh in the English versions, and by his free translation of Hebrew names, assuming that they were intended to represent ideas. We will not venture to guarantee the correctness of all Mr. Swan's renderings, but there is a force and fire about his version suggestive of that original emotional impulse which is called inspiration.

The eighth volume of the "Eversley" *Holy Bible* completes this beautiful edition of the Scriptures. Readers of the Bible, as distinct from the students, cannot wish for a more convenient and tasteful set of volumes. Messrs. Macmillan are to be praised for the service they have rendered to the Bible itself by giving us this edition free from the disfiguring effects of chapter and verse, &c., printed in a type that is pleasant to the eye, and got up in a style at once simple and dignified, worthy a book which still deserves to be treated with veneration.

<sup>1</sup> *Unity in Religion: an Inquiry into the Teachings of the Great Religions of the World.* By Claude George. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *The Voice of the Spirit.* Literary Passages from the Bible, Re-written, Idea for Idea, in Modern Style. Book i. Job, Joel, and Prophetic Psalms. Book ii. Isaiah. Two Vols. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., Ltd. 1898.

## SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS, AND JURISPRUDENCE.

KARL MARX, in the first volume of his *Capital*, explained the profits of capital by a theory which resolved exchange value into labour, and nothing but labour. In *Karl Marx and the Close of His System: A Criticism*,<sup>1</sup> Professor von Böhm-Bawerk seeks to disprove this theory, and to many, no doubt, his powerful and closely reasoned criticism will appear unanswerable. But it is only fair to point out, as Dr. Bonar does in the Preface to this treatise, that had Marx lived to complete his work he might have successfully defined his theory, or, at any rate, have shown that he was describing not what is, but what in his opinion ought to be: that all value ought to be labour, and when capital was in proper hands would be so. However this may be, this treatise is a valuable addition to this special problem of economic study.

A "Member of the Executive Committee" here presents a brief record of the purpose and progress of the "Fédération Abolitionniste Internationale contre la Prostitution réglementée."<sup>2</sup> This is the French branch of a society which in England is known by the more puritanic but less precise title of the "Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice." The native clearness of speech is preserved in the declaration of the French society, that "the administrative organisation of prostitution is a hygienic error, a social injustice, and a judicial crime"; and membership for the abolition of the system is invited—"independent of all political party, philosophical school, or religious profession." These words might well suggest to the British allied society an equally wide and straight procedure; for at present the "man in the street" is generally under the false impression that the objection to the registration of prostitution is merely a religious one, and he is left too much in his ignorance. Sectarian representations he is suspicious of; and the plain common sense and simple humanity in which he is not deficient are rarely appealed to. Yet with the accession of his political force against the system no British Government would for an instant advocate it, either at home or in India, whether as a mistaken benefit to a celibate soldiery, or as a concession to a section of antiquated medical or military opinion.

The booklet under review wisely addresses itself to convince a general public, by well verified statements on such points as the great increase of malady ensuant on compulsory registration and its

<sup>1</sup> *Karl Marx and the Close of His System. A Criticism.* By Eugen V. Böhm-Bawerk, Austrian Minister of Finance and Honorary Professor of Political Economy in the University of Vienna. Translated by Alice M. Macdonald. With a Preface by James Bonar, M.A., LL.D. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *Qu'est-ce que la Fédération? Qu'a-t-elle fait? Que veut-elle?* Paris: V. Giard, and E. Brière.

attendant clandestinity; and further, the continually decreasing frequency and virulence of syphilis itself in countries where no compulsory registration and hospital imprisonment is in vogue. A notable confirmation of this fact may be found in the official Reports of the British Army Medical Departments from 1866 to 1895. In the former year the number of recruits rejected on account of syphilis was 16.56 per cent.; in the year 1876 the percentage was 15.16; in 1886 the percentage had further fallen to 8.16; and in 1896 was only 3.71. The progress of medical science may doubtless have had somewhat to do with this; but so also has the advancing intellect of the Anglo-Saxon race, its growing cleanliness physical and moral. The *North American Review* for April last year gives the following testimony to this effect from Dr. Thwing: "A friend, writing to me of his college, says that after a careful observation of his own class he had come to the conclusion that 85 per cent. of his class-mates were morally clean. Twenty years ago I know that hardly 50 per cent. of the men in the senior class were morally clean; the change has been great and in every respect salutary." It is well known that the virtues as well as the vices of the cultured classes filter downward: the present is surely no time for a degraded militarism to dream of harking back to measures of bygone depravity.

In *Anarchism*,<sup>1</sup> by Herr E. V. Zenkir, a translation from the German, we have for the first time a real critical examination of a doctrine regarded by its opponents as destructive to all civilisation, and by its adherents as a panacea for all the ills of this wicked world. As is usually the case, neither party is correct in its extreme views. Every Individualist, for instance, is to some extent an Anarchist, and there can be no question that Individualism, opposed as it is, in its extreme phases, to all organised government, is as destructive to civilisation as Anarchism pure and simple. Anarchism, as an institution, if we may so call it, is not within the range of practical politics, but as a protest against the exploitation of the proletariat by the political governing classes, has its use, and since it cannot be stamped out or smothered, it is just as well that we should examine its theories and counteract or direct them in the right way.

"Anarchy means," says Herr Zenkir, "in its ideal sense, unfettered self-government of the individual, and consequently the absence of any kind of external government." It differs from Liberalism in that whereas the latter only allows unlimited freedom in economic affairs, Anarchy extends the doctrine of *laissez faire* equally in political as in economic life. It is opposed to Socialism *in toto*, and has only this in common—viz., both are forms of idolatry though they have different idols, "both are religions, not sciences, dogmas and not speculations." The first half of the book is devoted to the early

<sup>1</sup> *Anarchism. A Criticism and History of the Anarchist Theory.* By E. V. Zenkir. Translated from the German. London: Methuen & Co. 1898.

history of Anarchism, its progress in the Middle Ages and during the French Revolution; the works of Pierre Joseph Proudhon, his theories, and a criticism of his views and their influence upon his times, followed by an account of his disciple, Max Stirner, and his school, the German Proudhonists.

Part II. is entitled "Modern Anarchism," and consists of an account of the movement in Russia, headed by Michael Bakunin, followed by chapters on Prince Kropotkin, Elisée Reclus, Jean Grave, Louise Michel, and others, and on the movement in Germany, England, and America.

In Part III. Herr Zinker treats of the relation of Anarchism to science and politics, dealing especially with Herbert Spencer's views and the spread of Anarchism generally in Europe.

Herr Zinker's account of Kropotkin and his school will be of special interest to English readers, to whom this leader of Anarchist thought is something more than a mere name. Perceiving the irreconcilable contradiction between Anarchism and Collectivism, Kropotkin became the apostle of Anarchist Communism, in opposition to Individualist Anarchism. Kropotkin also belongs to the "physical force party," although his last work, entitled *L'Anarchie* (1898), would lead one to suppose that he had seen the disadvantages of this method of propagandism. Herr Zinker, however, does not appear to have noticed this work, and speaks of him as still encouraging "the propaganda of action." Herr Zinker also points out that Anarchist Communism, to which the propaganda of action is allied, appears to be almost exclusively confined to the Romance peoples, whereas the Teutonic nations appear to incline more towards Individualist Anarchism. Herr Zinker is no friend to Anarchism in any form, but he maintains that it is more widespread than is imagined, "and can only be explained by a confused mass of injustice and wrongdoing, of which the *bourgeois* state is daily and hourly guilty towards the weak." By letting justice have free sway we should cut the ground from under the Anarchist's feet. To combat Anarchism we must first understand it, and with Herr Zinker's able and critical work in our hands, there is no longer any excuse for not doing so.

*Eine neue Ara Englischischer Socialgesetzgebung*,<sup>1</sup> by Dr. Otto Bielefeld, consists of an historical inquiry into and a critical examination of the principles of The Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897. It is to be hoped that this Act will come up to Dr. Bielefeld's sanguine expectations; but if we are to believe English lawyers, they are the people who will derive most advantage from the measure, and Mr. Chamberlain's assurances to the recalcitrant Tory manufacturers seem to point to the same conclusion.

<sup>1</sup> *Eine neue Ara Englischischer Socialgesetzgebung.* Von Dr. Otto Bielefeld. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot. 1898.

*Notes on Australian Federation*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr. G. B. Barton, is a critical examination of the question whether the Convention was wise in taking the Constitution of the United States as the basis of the proposed Australian Constitution. Mr. Barton leans rather to the Canadian Constitution as the best model, and urges that in this case the law would become more uniform.

Prior to the appearance of Mr. Phipson's *Law of Evidence*<sup>2</sup> in 1892, of which the second edition is now before us, there was no work occupying a middle place between the highly condensed Digest of Sir James Stephen and the bulky volumes of Mr. Taylor, lately so ably edited and revised by Mr. Pitt-Lewis, Q.C. The present edition has been considerably enlarged by additions to the text and the number of illustrative cases, and the author has nevertheless retained his original object of presenting an exhaustive statement of the law of evidence in a comparatively moderate compass. Practitioners are certainly to be congratulated in the possession of such a handy volume upon such an important subject. An admirable feature of the book is the arrangement in separate parallel columns of illustrative cases according to their admissibility or the reverse, and wherever possible placed side by side when presenting analogous facts but different decisions. We have nothing but praise for this treatise, which is as excellent in its arrangements as it is reliable in its information.

*The Judicial Trustees Act*, 1896,<sup>3</sup> by Mr. Gerald John Wheeler, is an admirable example of a type of legal text-book which happily is becoming more common. It is based on the historical and comparative method, to which it must be confessed this particular branch of the law naturally binds itself. As Mr. Wheeler says, for more than 150 years judicial factors or factorial trustees of some kind have been appointed in Scotland, and since the present English Act is admittedly derived from the Scotch law, some knowledge of the latter is essential in any adequate treatment of the former. Accordingly Mr. Wheeler has drawn upon the Scottish decisions in construing the English Act by giving in the form of notes to the Judicial Trustees Act, 1896, and to the Judicial Trustee Rules, 1897, extracts from those decisions which apply to each section of the Act.

Short accounts are also given of the powers, duties, and liabilities of public trustees in our colonies of the Cape, Victoria, New

<sup>1</sup> *Notes on Australian Federation and the Draft Constitution Bills framed by the Conventions of 1891 and 1897.* By G. B. Barton, Barrister-at-Law. Sydney: William Applegate Gullick, Government Printer. 1897.

<sup>2</sup> *The Law of Evidence.* By Sidney L. Phipson, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. Second Edition. London: Stevens & Haynes. 1898.

<sup>3</sup> *The Judicial Trustees Act*, 1896. With Notes of the Practice, Cases in Scotland on the Judicial Factors Acts, together with the Rules issued under the 1896 Act, and an Appendix containing the English Trustee Acts, 1888, 1893-4, the Scottish Trusts Acts, and an Epitome of the Colonial Acts. By Gerald John Wheeler, M.A., LL.B., of Lincoln's Inn. London: Butterworth & Co. 1898.

South Wales, Canada, and New Zealand. The appendix is extremely valuable, containing, as it does, the English Trustee Acts of 1888, 1893, and 1894, and the Scottish Acts, viz., the Sederunt Act, 1730, the Trusts Act, 1867, and the Judicial Factors Act, 1880. Thus Mr. Wheeler's object of gathering into one book the general British Statute Law on this subject has been amply and successfully attained.

### VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

AS might be expected, *Everyday Life in Turkey*,<sup>1</sup> by Mrs. W. M. Ramsay, is a thoroughly readable book of travels. The wife of Professor William M. Ramsay, whose impressions of Turkey we noticed last year, the well-known archæologist and Eastern traveller, Mrs. Ramsay has had exceptional opportunities, and the book before us shows that she has made the most of them. The companion of her husband in his explorations for vanished cities and "written stones" in Turkey in Asia, Mrs. Ramsay was present at many of the Aberdeen Professor's most celebrated finds, as, for instance, the discovery of the tombstone of St. Avircius, which led to the identification of the five long-lost cities known as the Phrygian Pentapolis, of which the saint's native city Heirapolis was the capital. But it is not so much of buried cities and "written stones" as of the inner life of Turkish households that Mrs. Ramsay has to tell. From her pen we get descriptions of customs, habits, and ceremonies which have been rarely, if ever, recorded hitherto. Mrs. Ramsay's account of the ladies' banquet, from which men were excluded, and the agonies she suffered in the vain attempt to do justice to the countless delicious courses which succeeded one another, is delightful. In short, the book has many good things and few shortcomings.

### HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE biography of *David Hume*,<sup>2</sup> by the late Professor Henry Calderwood, is admirably written. The attempt made to show that, though philosophically a sceptic, Hume was at heart religious is scarcely successful; but this is really the only fault which we can find with the work. It is idle to deny that Hume's powerful argument against miracles proves his disbelief in the supernatural portion of Christianity. The analysis of Hume's principal writings is masterly. Altogether, this is one of the best contributions to the "Famous Scots Series."

<sup>1</sup> *Everyday Life in Turkey*. By Mrs. W. M. Ramsay. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1897.

<sup>2</sup> *David Hume*. (Famous Scots Series.) By Henry Calderwood. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier.

## BELLES LETTRES.

*A Stolen Life*<sup>1</sup> is the most absurd specimen of fiction that could possibly be conceived. Indeed, more unadulterated rubbish has never been written. Attempted suicide, hypnotism, poisoning, and broken legs are dragged into an incoherent narrative without rhyme or reason. If the book had been produced under the influence of intoxication or lunacy, it might be intelligible as a human document. But glancing back at the title-page we find that the author is Mr. Matthias McDonnell Bodkin, Q.C. Surely this must be a libel on the legal profession! We assume that the author has only taken this *nom de guerre* to conceal his ignorance of both law and medicine, which will be evident to any tolerably educated reader.

*The Sea of Love*<sup>2</sup> is a collection of very readable short stories and sketches. One of them, which, indeed, might have been omitted, is merely a repetition of a well-known story about the late Comte de Chambord. The best thing in the volume is "Pridham's First Brief." Mr. Dodge has the gift of style, but sometimes his subjects are too slender for literary treatment.

*The Romance of Glass-Making*<sup>3</sup> is a very interesting book. The chapters on Egyptian, Persian, Hebrew, Greek, and Roman glass are full of curious information. The last chapter, headed "Art in the Window," will also be read with interest.

*With Bought Swords*<sup>4</sup> is a dashing story. The scene is laid in South America, and there is an element of Spanish romance in the book that will interest many readers just now.

*Pelican House, E.C.*<sup>5</sup> gives a glimpse of the seamy side of syndicates which will be astonishing to the unsophisticated. The author, Mr. B. B. West, has much humour and understands the subject with which he deals. There is not a dull page in the book.

We have read better and worse novels than *A Difficult Matter*,<sup>6</sup> by Mrs. Lovett Cameron. There is a proud baronet, a wild son who marries an actress, and a charming young girl, the daughter of this *mésalliance*, in the book—a conventional trio enough, in all conscience; but Mrs. Lovett Cameron manipulates her puppets ingeniously, and, though the effect is by no means lifelike, the story can be read by the ordinary novel reader with pleasure.

A good edition of the *Tragedies of Æschylus*<sup>7</sup> should be acceptable to all students of Greek literature. Messrs. Macmillan have pub-

<sup>1</sup> *A Stolen Life*. By M. McD. Bodkin, Q.C. London: Ward, Lock & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *The Sea of Love*. By Walter Phelps Dodge. London: John Long.

<sup>3</sup> *The Romance of Glass-Making*. By Walter Gandy. London: S. W. Partridge and Co.

<sup>4</sup> *With Bought Swords: The Story of a Revolution*. By Harry Fowler. London: John Long.

<sup>5</sup> *Pelican House, E.C.* By B. B. West. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

<sup>6</sup> *A Difficult Matter*. By Mrs. Lovett Cameron. London: John Long.

<sup>7</sup> *Æschylus Tragedies*. Edited by Lewis Campbell, M.A., LL.D. London: Macmillan & Co.

lished an edition which has the merit of 'being well printed and having the various readings given at the foot of each page. The editor is evidently familiar with the work which German criticism has done for the emendation of the text of the great Greek dramatist. In the introduction Mr. Campbell gives an account of the most important MSS., and also discusses the general character of the works of Æschylus. He describes Æschylean tragedy as "the meeting-point in the region of the imagination, of Bacchic enthusiasm, of epic tradition, and of Orphic pantheism, with the triumphant energy of Athenian civil life." This is perhaps slightly fanciful, but in the main it is correct.

*Life's Wheel*<sup>1</sup> is one of those works of fiction which seem to be produced by some species of mechanism utterly independent of observation or knowledge of life or style. The story begins in a London attic and ends at Cairo. The characters are all puppets of much the same sort as those usually found in cheap novelettes. Why are such books published?

*The Ambassadors of Commerce*<sup>2</sup> is a lively little book dealing with an important class—commercial travellers. It is interesting to learn that amongst the successful men who commenced life as commercial travellers must be included Sir James Whitehead, Bart., J.P., D.S., F.S.A.

The *Hippolytus* of Euripides<sup>3</sup> is one of that great Greek dramatist's best works. The edition of Messrs. John Thompson, M.A., and B. J. Hayes, M.A., has the advantage of an excellent introduction giving a good analysis of the play. The notes, though short, are very useful, many of them giving translations of difficult passages.

A good literal English translation of the same play of Euripides<sup>4</sup> has been brought out by Messrs. Thompson and Hayes. The English version reads smoothly, though here and there it is rather stiff, and it is a pity it is not more free.

## POETRY.

Is there such a thing as the poetry of medicine? It would be hard to say that medicine and "sweet poesy agree," and yet Mr. Henley has proved that there is a poetic glamour about even the dissecting

<sup>1</sup> *Life's Wheel*. By Lola Morley. London: Digby, Long & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *The Ambassadors of Commerce*. By A. P. Allen. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

<sup>3</sup> *Euripides: Hippolytus*. Edited by John Thompson, M.A. Camb., and B. J. Hayes, M.A. Lond. and Camb. London: W. B. Clive.

<sup>4</sup> *Euripides: Hippolytus*. A Translation. By John Thompson, M.A., and B. J. Hayes, M.A. London: W. B. Clive.

knife. A volume of poems, bearing the title of *Nightshade and Poppies*,<sup>1</sup> by Dugald Moore, M.B., contains many effusions which deserve to be regarded as genuine additions to the treasure of true song. "The Dead Lover," the supposed soliloquy of a suicide, is grimly pathetic. The long poem "Vesallus" deserves the honour of a quotation. It reminds us of Browning, of which it seems a very faint echo. Take the following lines :

"I can bear these false prophets no longer—knowledge, 'tis knowledge I crave,  
Not the dull mumbering of ages, the musty dry-rot of the schools,  
Give me the man as God made him, and fresh as a groom from the grave,  
I ask but no aid but my scalpel to fling truth in the faces of fools."

This is poetry, after a fashion, rough and masculine, and with a note of daring in it that will please the mind of youthful manhood. But, at the same time, there are many rather poor things in the book.

Mr. Lloyd Mifflin showed in his volume entitled *At the Gates of Song* that he is a true poet. In his new collection of poems *The Slopes of Helicon*,<sup>2</sup> he sustains his reputation. Sometimes he becomes too imitative, as in the verse called "The Dethroned," which are too manifestly an echo of Swinburne. Take the first four lines :

"They were younger than day or than night was,  
And younger than Darkness and Doom ;  
They were born in the prime, after Light was,  
Or ever the world was in bloom."

There is, however, enough of originality in this little volume to show that Mr. Mifflin needs no model. Some of his sonnets are exquisite, especially that which commences :

"A thousand years I think I have been dead."

There are, moreover, some beautiful lyrics in the book.

*The Chords of Life*<sup>3</sup> is a volume of verse, of which we cannot speak very highly. The patriotic poems in the volume are the best, for the author is evidently in earnest when he sings of his country's heroes. The lines on Washington, Grant, and Garfield are very spirited, though not artistically perfect.

<sup>1</sup> *Nightshade and Poppies*. By Dugald Moore, M.B. London : John Long.

<sup>2</sup> *The Slopes of Helicon and Other Poems*. By Lloyd Mifflin. Boston : Estes and Lauriat.

<sup>3</sup> *The Chords of Life*. Poems. By Charles K. Crandall. Printed for the Author, Springfield, Conn.

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THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION  
IN CAPE COLONY.

CAPE COLONY, and South African affairs generally, have occupied so large a place in English politics during the past two or three years that an account of the existing political situation may be of interest to readers at home. The situation is all the more interesting from the fact that the elections for the Legislative Assembly, the first election since the Jameson Raid, will take place during the present year. To what extent the Raid has influenced political life in Cape Colony, intensifying racial prejudices and dissolving and recreating party divisions, can only be estimated by those who have been brought into contact with the peculiarities of Cape politics. The coming elections will probably show to what extent these racial prejudices and new party divisions are likely to influence the work of the next Parliament.

I need not waste the time of the reader in dwelling at any length upon the influence of the Raid on Imperial politics. That side of the question has been discussed *ad nauseam*. But I must refer to the influence of the Raid on domestic politics in Cape Colony, and to do this it will be necessary to give the reader as clear an idea as I can of the political forces and movements now at work. Let me say, by way of introduction, that it would be a mistake for the reader to suppose that there is anything analogous to the English party system in Cape Colony. The Government is not a party Government. Even though defeated on some important question, it may still continue in office, simply accepting and obeying the dictates of the House on that particular question, and may even continue the administration of the country without a majority of confessed

adherents. The Government has large spending powers. Its administration in connection with agriculture, horticulture, irrigation, surveying, and railways—the latter being in the hands of the Government—places immense patronage at its disposal, and its patrons help to keep it in power so long as it appears to their interest to do so. Hence, the party system as we know it in England is virtually unknown in Cape Colony; and there being as yet no sign of the rise of any great industrial movement as in England, America, and some of our Colonies, it is likely that the present system of government by groups may continue for some time. Ibsen says somewhere that a party is like a sausage-machine—it tends to grind all the heads together in one mash. That may be true, but it is truer still of a system of government which knows no principle save that of self-preservation and continuance in office.

One of the most important of the groups to which I have alluded is, of course, the *Africander Bond*. This body is a political organisation composed mainly of Dutch *Africanders*—that is, the descendants of Dutch colonists. The Bond, however, is not a party organisation. It is, first and foremost, a nationalist organisation, existing primarily for the strengthening of national or *Africander* sentiments and the promotion of *Africander* interests, and, therefore, includes men of diverse political views, both progressive and retrogressive. As, however, the strength of the Bond lies mainly amongst the farming community and in the small country towns, the population of which, by their very position, cannot be constantly or closely in touch with modern ideas, it may be described as more retrogressive than progressive. It was by the help of this organisation and its nominees that Mr. Rhodes and his Government were placed in power, and maintained there up to the time of the Raid. This combination naturally produced an antagonistic combination, composed of English, and Dutch or *Africander*, Progressives. There were thus three groups: (1) the Rhodes group, dominated by ideas of Imperial or colonial expansion, but outwardly on friendly terms with the Bond as a means of gaining and retaining power; (2) the Bond group; (3) the Progressive group, or the Opposition, disliking the Bond because of its conservatism, and disliking Rhodes because of his subservience to the Bond.

Immediately the Raid took place and the history of its organisation became known, these three groups underwent a process of reformation. The Rhodes group and the Bond, once bosom friends, became sharply divided, and are now at open and bitter enmity with each other. Each of these two groups, however, received considerable accessions of strength at the expense of the progressive group—the former, by detaching from the anti-Bond party those members who, filled with Imperialist ideas, were ready to unite with Rhodes the moment he cast off his subservience to the Bond; and the latter, by detaching from the Progressives those *Africanders* who.

place nationality and loyalty to their brethren in the Transvaal before domestic political reform. This, under the circumstances, was perfectly natural. In the present stage of human history national and race ties are much stronger than the ties created by aspirations after abstract political justice. Hence, the Progressives who preferred to stand alone rather than join either the Rhodes group or the Bond suffered in every way, and they now form—under the leadership of the Hon. J. Rose-Innes—by far the smallest group of the three. The position is complicated, however, by the fact that there are now progressive elements in the two larger groups. That is, the Rhodes party contains members who unite Imperialism with progressive aspirations; and the Bond party contains a few progressive members who place Nationalism before Imperialism, and who prefer sound domestic legislation to the, to them, doubtful benefits of colonial expansion. It should be said here that the Bond also contains a few members who are still willing to support Mr. Rhodes, but these seem likely to form an organisation of their own, under the name of the “Colonial Union.”

The interest of the situation, then, lies in the fact that not one of the groups, alone, is sufficiently strong to form a government, so that the leader of the next administration will have to choose between an alliance with the Bond, or an alliance with the new small Progressive group which has been denuded of much of its strength by the foolishness of the Raid and the consequent revival of racial prejudices. The questions, then, arise: Is the Rhodes group—which being the strongest, is likely to be called upon to form an administration—sufficiently strong to form an alliance with the small Progressive group which has hitherto opposed Mr. Rhodes's retrogressive tendencies in domestic legislation? On what terms would the Progressives be justified in forming such an alliance? Or, on the other hand, is it likely that the Bond, forgiving Mr. Rhodes's past “mistakes,” will again give him their support for such a *quid pro quo* as would protect their former constituents from legislation which the latter would regard as inimical to their supposed interests? In order to answer these questions it is necessary to ascertain what are the leading issues in Cape politics, and the attitude of the various parties thereto.

Take first the question of taxation. It will scarcely be credited by English politicians that, while in Cape Colony the necessities of life, such as bread-stuffs, tea, meat, butter, cheese, bacon, and matches, are heavily taxed,<sup>1</sup> such luxuries as diamonds, native wines and spirits, and large incomes are untaxed, and property and unearned increments generally contribute but a very small proportion of the total taxation of the country. For example, while in Great

<sup>1</sup> A proposed Customs Convention with Natal and the Orange Free State is now before the House of Assembly, by which the duties on food-stuffs would be modified. But it is not likely to be adopted in its present form.

Britain the taxation on wine, beer, spirits, and tobacco brings in nearly one-half of the total taxation revenue, in Cape Colony taxation on the same articles brings in only one-ninth of the total taxation revenue, the duties on the necessities of life bringing in over one-fifth of the revenue raised by taxation. This being the case it is no wonder that the cost of living in Cape Colony, especially in the towns, is excessively high. The rapidly-increasing value of landed property—which contributes comparatively little in taxation—and the consequent rise in rents, swells this excessive cost, so that a working man earning 35s. a week in Cape Town is really no better off than one earning 20s. at home.

What, then, is the attitude of the Bond and the Rhodes parties towards this question of taxation? The Bond, in the interest of its farmer constituents, is resolutely opposed to the abolition of the duties on food. The Rhodes party is divided on the question. A considerable section, consisting mainly of those won over by Mr. Rhodes's right-about-face towards the Bond, is in favour of the abolition of the duties. Mr. Rhodes himself has declared in favour of a compromise, which may mean a good deal or may mean very little. Now, whatever decision the Rhodes party may ultimately come to, the duty of the independent Progressives is clear and unmistakable. To 'tax food and other necessities, while diamonds' and large incomes remain untaxed, is one of those iniquities which are too manifest to argue about. Even assuming, with Mr. Rhodes and the Bond, that some form of protection is necessary in the interest of the agriculturist, who has suffered much by drought, rinderpest, locusts, and other natural calamities, and who will continue to suffer until large systems of irrigation are adopted, the most obvious and just way of protecting such interests is to tax those who are depleting South Africa of its rich mineral wealth, and by these means pay a bounty to the farmer in proportion to the amount of produce which he brings to market. I do not say this because I am in favour of the bounty system. I am not. There are always unseen disadvantages connected with bounties, the effect of which it is impossible to estimate. But where, through natural disadvantages to a necessary industry, or even through lack of wisdom on the part of a majority of the electorate, protection for such industry becomes a necessary part of the fiscal policy of a country, that protection should be furnished by those who are profiting most largely from the other rich resources which that country yields, instead of being filched from the pockets of the poorer classes by means of duties on food-stuffs. As Mr. Bryce, in his *Impressions of South Africa*, has pointed out, "So far as minerals go, South Africa is now living, not on her income, but on her capital, and in twenty-five years half the capital may be gone." While, then, the country is being slowly

<sup>1</sup> I am doubtful about the economic wisdom of a *direct* tax on diamonds. The most politic way would be, I think, to tax them indirectly through dividends and incomes.

drained by speculators and company promoters of those mineral resources with which Nature has so richly endowed it, the chief burden of taxation is being borne by those who are struggling to settle the country by means of those stable and permanent industries which must always serve as the foundation of a nation's real and lasting prosperity.

Up to the present, then, no party in Cape Colony has outlined a firm and definite policy on this question of taxation. The Progressive party has agitated for the abolition of the duties on the necessaries of life, and a few of its influential members are pressing, though not with that unity and persistency which one would desire, for the taxation of dividends and incomes, and the increase of the legacy and succession duties; but it has not yet unitedly and formally placed the principle of graduated taxation on its programme. Whatever the policy of the Bond or the Rhodes party may be, the Progressive party, if it is to retain its name, must insist on the application of this fundamental principle. Were it to do otherwise it might as well commit, and, indeed, would have committed, political suicide. The word "progressive" is so loosely used in South African politics that this question of taxation might well be used as one of the most important tests of a man's political faith. If he refuses adherence to the principle advocated by almost every political economist since the time of Adam Smith—the principle that each citizen should contribute to the expenses of the State in proportion to his ability to pay—then his "progressiveness" is of very doubtful quantity and quality indeed.

Next, as to the native question, which includes in itself the labour question also, complicated by differences of race and colour, I must say at once that, generally speaking, the treatment of the native by the British colonist is as fair as, perhaps fairer, on the whole, than, his treatment by the people of other nationalities. Unfortunately, however, of late years British colonial sentiment on the native question seems to have undergone a marked deterioration. Owing, probably, to the increase of speculation, gold-mining, diamond-mining, and the extension and strengthening of the purely commercial spirit, the native has come to be regarded, not as "an end in himself," as Kant would say, but, primarily, as a means for the production of wealth or profit for others. A recent example of this deterioration of sentiment may be found in the treatment of the Langberg prisoners. The facts are too fresh in the public mind to need more than a bare recapitulation. Owing to a rebellion in the Langberg—a wild part of Bechuanaland, a rebellion, which, according to some who speak with a full knowledge of the circumstances,

<sup>1</sup> In speaking of the "Rhodes party" and the "Progressive party" in contradistinction to each other (for the Rhodes party claims to be progressive) I use the first term as referring to those who place adherence to Mr. Rhodes first and principles second; and the second term as referring to those who place adherence to principles and measures first, independent of men.

might have been prevented by the exercise of a little more tact and patience—the Cape Government despatched a force to crush the leaders and punish their followers. After a long and dispiriting campaign—a campaign dishonoured by, amongst other things, the horrible mutilation of the body of one of the native leaders, Luka Jantje—the rebels were crushed and their lands confiscated. The question then arose, “What shall we do with the people?” a question which was answered by deporting the whole population involved, men, women, and children, innocent and guilty alike, in true Babylonian fashion, to Cape Town, hundreds of miles away from their homes, and thence indenturing them as labourers or apprentices to the Cape farmers, for a period of five years. It is true a sort of Hobson’s choice was put before the prisoners—something after this manner: “Will you take your trial for treason and rebellion, or engage yourself to work five years on a farm?” and the prisoners, knowing absolutely nothing of what might lie behind such formidable words as “trial for treason and rebellion,” chose the latter alternative. How the whole of the women and children could be guilty of treason and rebellion is somewhat difficult to understand. But the most disconcerting and, indeed, alarming thing about this matter is, not only the usurpation of judicial functions by the Administration—a most dangerous precedent—nor the setting at nought the principles which lie embedded in the framework of the constitution; nor the introduction of a system which, though not slavery in the full sense of the word, smacks very much of it; nor the condemnation of a whole population as guilty without a proper opportunity being accorded them of proving their innocence; nor the confusion of all notions of right and justice in the sweeping punishment which was accorded to all degrees of guilt and innocence alike: all this is bad enough. The most alarming and depressing thing about the matter is the example which it affords of that deterioration of public moral sentiment of which I have spoken. The Government, apparently with the full consent of the majority of the electors, acted towards black people, subjects of the Crown, in a matter of law and justice, as they dared not have acted towards white people in the same circumstances. Thus, the very conception of justice is tainted, and where this is the case the evil does not stop at difference of colour, it spreads like a miasma throughout the whole of the State, obliterating those fine but clear distinctions of right and wrong which, in their healthy play and activity in the daily life of men and of nations, are as the very life-blood of a progressive commonwealth. I am well aware that the Government had a very difficult problem to deal with, and that it has been said that the natives would have been in a far worse condition if they had been left to face the ravages of drought and rinderpest than they will be under their apprenticeship to the farmers. This, however, is the very point in dispute. They might, indeed, have been worse off in their own

homes if the Government had neglected its duty. But when a Government crushes a section of the native population and confiscates the property of the disaffected people its responsibilities and obligations are thereby largely increased. It then becomes its duty not to deal with problems in the easiest and cheapest possible way, but to solve them in accordance with the recognised principles of law, equity, and justice. The whole story of the Langberg campaign and its sequel bears out my contention that the public moral sentiment of the South African colonies has been, or is being, degraded to the view that the natives exist like so many cattle, for the sole, or at any rate the primary, purpose of furnishing profit to the white man. Against that view it is the duty of every Progressive to protest, not from the philanthropic and theological standpoint of Exeter Hall, but from the simple dictates of common morality.

What, then, is the attitude of the various political parties in Cape Colony towards this question, which is simply a part of the far larger problem of how to deal with uncivilised races? The Bond, having in mind its former constituents, who are glad to have a supply of cheap labour, is silent. The Rhodes party is divided, but is, I fancy, strongly swayed by the commercial view of the subject. The only influential member of Parliament who has spoken out clearly and straightforwardly against the Government on the subject is the Hon. J. Rose-Innes, the virtual leader of the now small Progressive group. Whether on the general question of native policy any form of compromise is possible between the Rhodes party and this Progressive group it is difficult to say, but, judging from the ideals which occupy the minds of the respective leaders, I should say it is exceedingly doubtful. On such matters men cannot sell their principles. The prejudice against colour is very strong and very widespread, as may be judged from the fact that if Prince Ranjitsinhji came to South Africa he would not be allowed, according to the rules of the Cape cricket clubs, to play in a first-class match, so contemptible are some of the forms which that prejudice takes. So long as such a feeling prevails I am afraid the true Progressives will have to be content to act as an educational force. Indeed, it is but fair to say that the Government is not in the least behind public opinion on the subject. The complaint of the Progressives is that it might have led public opinion in a worthier direction.

On the question of education, which is in a very backward condition in Cape Colony, there is a general consensus of opinion that *something* ought to be done; but here, again, many of the country members are against compulsion, whilst others are by no means enthusiastic in its favour. The average attendance at the schools is only 74½ per cent. of the number on roll, in the Cape division it is only 69½ per cent., while there is a woful discrepancy, especially amongst coloured children, between the number on roll and the number of children of school age. Out of every seven

school-going children three are white and four are coloured, whereas, according to the Census of 1891, the coloured population outnumbered the white by three to one. The standard of attainment is very low—45 per cent. of the children being below Standard I. and only 6 per cent. above Standard IV. In the mission schools, which are composed mainly of coloured children, only 3 per cent. are above Standard IV. The payment of teachers can only be described as wretched, and the quality of the teaching is consequently very poor. One inspector reports: "In a poor school in Maclear I found that no fees were any longer paid, that the teacher had nothing but the Government grant to depend upon, and that she had even to keep the schoolroom in repair. In another, the teacher received, in lieu of board and lodging, only £10 per annum, out of which she had to pay the rent of the schoolroom." No wonder that the inspector of another district reports, with reference to an examination of *acting* teachers, that "as many as seventeen gained less than twenty marks out of a hundred for arithmetic, ten of these practically receiving no marks whatever"; while in spelling, "eighteen students out of a class of thirty-three had an average of thirty-four words wrongly spelt out of fifty given." Of course it must be remembered that this is in the wild country districts, where educational ideals can hardly be said to exist. To quote again from one of the inspectors: "For such apathy there is no remedy but compulsion, and recourse must be taken thereto if a large portion of the rising generation is to be saved from hopeless ignorance and worse degradation." On the other side, it must be recorded, in fairness to the present authorities, that considerable progress has been made during the past five years, and the Superintendent-General of Education is trying hard to induce the Government to introduce a system of compulsion. Several influential supporters of the Bond are good educationalists; Mr. Rhodes has declared in favour of a system of "permissive compulsion," by which those districts which will not adopt compulsion shall be made to contribute to the educational expenditure of those which do; while the Progressive party is practically united on the question; so that the outlook here is much brighter than on any other subject at present within the sphere of practical politics.

On the question of the imposition of an excise and the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquor to natives, Mr. Innes, the leader of the little band of Progressives before alluded to, has long striven to obtain the assent of the Legislature to these desirable measures. Mr. Rhodes, who in the past has voted against an excise, has now declared in its favour, provided that its incidence can be made to fall on the consumer, not on the producer—a difficult matter. He is also in favour of prohibiting the sale of liquor to natives. Here, again, the Bond is divided, many of the farmer members being strongly opposed both to an excise, and—though less strongly—to

Mr. Innes's Liquor Bill. On the latter question I need hardly say that the need for legislation is most pressing. The Civil Commissioners of the various districts and the inspectors of native locations report most strongly on the demoralising effects of the liquor traffic on the native races.

These, I think, may be said to be the most important domestic political questions which are now agitating the Cape colonial mind, with the exception of a proposed redistribution of seats, which is too purely local a matter to refer to at any length here. But the situation was rendered almost ludicrous for some time by this fact—that the Rhodesian group of Progressives, having formulated a forward policy, found themselves, on almost every important point, in direct opposition to the past domestic policy of their chief. In the past Mr. Rhodes has voted against an excise: he has frequently declared himself in favour of the duties on the necessaries of life, and opposed their abolition, and in 1895 he even supported in the House of Assembly a proposal to increase the duty on bread-stuffs. This situation was, of course, intolerable to all self-respecting men; so a few days before the recent elections for the Legislative Council Mr. Rhodes was induced to come forward and make a speech in support of the Progressive candidates and declare a new Progressive policy. In this speech Mr. Rhodes formulated a domestic programme, of which the following are the chief points: (1) abolition of the meat duty; (2) probable reductions of duty on other food-stuffs; (3) compulsory education permissive by districts; (4) excise levied on canteens, but not on the farmer; (5) restriction of the sale of liquor to natives; (6) an annual contribution of £30,000 towards the Imperial navy. About this programme there is much difference of opinion. As the reader will at once perceive, with the exception of the first and last items, there is room for considerable latitude of interpretation. The *Cape Times*, the chief Rhodesian organ at the Cape, describes it as a "big and significant curve" on Mr. Rhodes's previous policy; some of the supporters of the Bond, who are not inaccessible to progressive ideas, declare that Mr. Rhodes has stolen their political clothes; while the more advanced members of the Progressive party, who have advocated a tax on dividends and incomes, the imposition of a legacy duty, and the total abolition of the food duties, have either to pocket their policy or to desert their leader—to choose between measures and men. Unfortunately, in the present stage of South African politics men take precedence over measures. So little has Mr. Rhodes's declaration of policy cleared the air, and so weak and indefinite is the programme he has outlined, that both the Rhodesians and the Bond claim to have secured a majority in the recent elections for the Legislative Council.

The reader will be able to gauge for himself the measure of Mr. Rhodes's "progressiveness." As a matter of fact, Mr. Rhodes is progressive in one direction only—the direction of colonial

expansion, and even in this his past career seems to have been mainly actuated by the doubtful maxim that "the end justifies the means." On questions of domestic reform he is an opportunist pure and simple. Any one can see that his heart is not in the business. He calls all such questions "parish-pump politics," apparently ignoring the fact that if the head pump draws foul contaminated water, the distant conduits and streamlets are not likely to smell very sweet or wholesome. In an interview with a representative of the *Cape Times*, three or four months ago, he said: "I do not pretend to be a town politician. I can conceive a time when people in the towns, who have stood by me so well in my time of failure, and for whose demands I hope to do something now, will say that I am too moderate for them in my politics; but I think there is a good deal of work that we could do together first." That means, if it means anything, that as soon as the towns cease to be of use to Mr. Rhodes he will seek other means for the accomplishment of his ends, just as now, the Bond having ceased to be of use to him, he seeks the aid of the towns. It is no wonder that the little group of Progressives led by Mr. Innes look askance at such a leader. As one of the prominent members of this group remarked to me a little while ago: "Mr. Rhodes has virtually lain in the bosom of the Bond for the past ten years, opposing every measure for which we have been fighting, and now we are expected to welcome him as a Progressive leader!" It is hardly to be expected that men who have any respect for their principles will fall in very heartily with such a proposal. Had Mr. Rhodes been a Progressive at heart he would have seized his opportunity and have formulated a policy which would have rung true to progressive principles all the world over, a policy based on the first principle of progress—namely, that each member of the State should contribute to the expenses of the State in proportion to his ability to pay, because it is by and through the organisation of the State that he obtains a field for the exercise of his abilities. Such a policy would have come with all the greater grace and weight from one who is himself a millionaire, whose fortune has been built up by the exploitation of those natural resources which should go to benefit the whole of the people, and who has himself wisely arranged that in Rhodesia 50 per cent. of those resources shall be appropriated towards the expenses of Government and so benefit indirectly every member of the State.

It is a great mistake, however, to suppose that Mr. Rhodes is merely a self-seeking capitalist. That is a very short-sighted notion indeed. Referring, in one of his speeches a little while ago, to the tragic death of Mr. Woolf Joel at Johannesburg, he said: "Why do all these human beings go on heaping up capital, capital, capital, and never think of a public development, and one day they are taken suddenly, and what becomes of all this wealth? It disappears. But how much better it would have been if they had had the good

fortune of having instilled into them some public effort, some public development, or a study of the labour or some other question of the day! You can only be thankful when a spirit is influenced by ideas. And where they come from you do not know. If I talked to you fairly I could not tell where the ideas come from, and if I tried to reject them I could not." And the idea which dominates the mind of Mr. Rhodes is that of Imperial expansion from the South to the North of Africa. But one may be excused for declining to accept that as the full content of the word "progress," or even that it can only be accomplished by the adoption of a comparatively conservative and palpably unjust domestic policy. That is the failing of Mr. Rhodes, as of many another Imperialist; they cannot see the indissoluble connection there is between domestic political justice and Imperial honour and security abroad.

One word as to the relation of the Colony to the Transvaal, and the influence of that relation on domestic politics. It must not be forgotten that the material prosperity of the Colony depends to a certain extent on the financial policy of the Transvaal Government. So long as the policy of the latter is inimical to the full development of the resources of the country, so long will Cape Colony, and, indeed, all South Africa, feel the effects of such a policy. No one can pretend that the Government of the Transvaal is a just Government, and yet every sensible man feels that the injustice does not reach such a point as to make war justifiable, especially when one knows that the *arrière pensée* of those who would urge war is mainly a desire for gold, or, in other words, a desire to accumulate wealth quickly. For those who wish to *earn* a modest competence by honest labour rather than by feverish speculation there are millions of acres of land in South Africa waiting to be tilled, and it must be remembered that Cape Colony does not by any means feed itself. Hence, the mother country ought never to countenance or allow, and I feel sure that the influence of the best minds in Cape Colony would be used to prevent, any outbreak of hostilities, which, whatever its pretext, would be mainly motivated and stimulated by one of the most contemptible instincts in human nature—the instinct of greed—and which would inevitably leave undying hatred behind it. If, then, war is out of the question, what is the most sensible and practicable policy to adopt? It is that the best and most thoughtful men of both parties and races should drop their present bitter war of words with respect to the Transvaal, and work steadily and persistently for those great principles of just government which are above all questions of race or nationality. At present public life in Cape Colony is, as it were, seamed and rent by the fiercest and most bitter race feeling. On the one side, every shortcoming of the Transvaal Government is flaunted before the public eye by the anti-Transvaal Press; on the other side, nearly every political move made by the supposed

enemies of the Transvaal, the English, is regarded by the Dutch colonists as an indirect design on the independence of their fellow-countrymen. The evil is all the more regrettable in that it tends to divide, and therefore weaken, progressive effort; it is all the more condemnable in that it will gradually diminish, and ultimately disappear, by the natural evolution of economic and social forces. The population of the Transvaal cannot, from the nature of things, be continually recruited and increased by Hollander colonists. Already the European element largely outnumbers the Dutch, and the continual stream of immigration must, in time, have its inevitable effect, and so produce a State more in accordance with European ideas and models. As Mr. Bryce well says: "No political" (by which I suppose he means revolutionary) "agitation or demonstrations in the Transvaal, much less any intervention from outside, need come into the matter. . . . Natural causes are sufficient to bring about the result. The country must, after all, take its character from the large majority of its inhabitants, especially when those who form that large majority are the wealthiest, most educated, and most enterprising part of the population. . . . It is, therefore, not only considerations of magnanimity and equity, but also considerations of policy, that recommend to the English in South Africa, and to the British Government, an attitude of patience and strict adherence to legal rights."<sup>1</sup> When all is said, however, human passion and vindictiveness will run their course—the main business for those in authority should be to take care that they shall not override the sober sense of the community.

RAMSDEN BALMFORTH.

SHORTLY after the above article was written the Cape Ministry was defeated on a direct vote of No-confidence. A day or two previously it had carried the second reading of its Redistribution Bill by a majority of seven. The Hon. J. Rose-Innes voted for the Redistribution Bill, and, although not a supporter of the Government, against the No-confidence motion, giving as his reason that he thought the Redistribution Bill a just and necessary measure, and, as the present was the Government's last Session, it ought to be given the opportunity of passing the Bill before going to the country. He reaffirmed, however, his previous declaration that Mr. Rhodes "would be doing a great service to South Africa if for a time he retired from taking a leading part in the politics of the country." One or two of Mr. Innes's own group voted against the Government, on the ground that its past policy ought not to be condoned. The real issue underlying everything is—Shall Mr. Rhodes return to power? The Redistribution Bill was strongly opposed on the ground that it would increase the chances of the Rhodesians at the elections. The present Government is looked upon as a Rhodes Government, and its triumph at the polls will probably mean the return of Mr. Rhodes to power as Premier of the colony. Hence, the real battle-cry will be "Rhodes or Anti-Rhodes?" real progressive principles in the meantime being forgotten or subordinated to personal issues. The result will be known about the end of August.

R. B.

<sup>1</sup> *Impressions of South Africa*, pp. 592, 593.

## EDUCATION AND THE NATIONAL WELFARE.

"Genuine culture promotes and preserves the health of the mind and makes it alert, inventive, and self-sustaining."

—SIR MORELL MACKENZIE: *Essays*.

CONSIDERING the great importance of education and the increasing attention which it is receiving, it seems remarkable that the importance of preserving the individuality of the pupil has not been more fully recognised. The reason for this will, I think, be found in the fact that the vast majority of men holding responsible positions have been trained under conditions which permitted greater freedom of thought, and therefore educationalists, while acknowledging the tendencies of modern education, do not realise how powerfully they act upon any individual so trained.

From Ascham, Milton, Locke, down through Herbart, Spencer, Bain, and even to some extent in Huxley and Matthew Arnold, to educationalists of the present day, the one prevailing undercurrent seems to be that children, taken early enough, are in reality so much plastic material, with, perhaps, faint distinctive tendencies here and there, which, in a skilful teacher's hands, may be easily moulded to his will, and consequently that the *formation*, rather than the *development*, of pre-existing characteristics of the child's mind should be his special object.

The positions I wish to maintain in this article are :

(1) That the present system of examinations tends to increasingly dwarf mental power.

(2) That education, when conducted on proper lines, must be beneficial both to the individual and the community.

(3) That to be successful any system of education must carefully develop the special tendencies of the individual, with the view to forming a *natural* preference for some one branch of knowledge, which will be taken up as a subsequent employment, and it would therefore necessarily preclude any method that would teach the same subjects in the same manner to all.

As competition among nations becomes keener the need for an education that enables it to be successfully met becomes increasingly imperative. Particularly is this so in our own country, with its

isolated position, its distant colonies and possessions; and yet few civilised nations have done so little to reduce this education to a definite system.

That a love of individual liberty, and therefore dislike of any legislation which hampers it, is characteristic of the English race history has clearly shown. That this characteristic is largely responsible for the numerous independent systems of education which divide authority in this subject may be also true; and any system which the country adopts must take this factor into consideration. But a central authority is not necessarily inconsistent with liberty, if properly limited by necessary restrictions, and this authority would supply a need of our country in particular, by seeing that no branch of knowledge was absolutely neglected. Whether this central authority should be formed from representatives of all the great educational institutions, or be only an extension of the present Council of Education, it would be able, at least, to accomplish much, by causing greater uniformity of method and less waste of material than at present.

That most commercial men are beginning to be very dissatisfied with our present methods is evident from the discussions which have occurred in different parts of the country during the past few years. But, at the same time, I believe it is not nearly so generally recognised in the nation at large how fatal to original thought and work the present system must be if continued.

"The immense and, in many respects, disastrous development," says Poulton,<sup>1</sup> "of the competitive examination system since that time (1831) has almost banished from our universities the type of student represented by Darwin—the man who takes the easiest road to a degree and obtains it with the minimum of effort, but who all the time is being benefited by residence, studying, without any thought of examinations, the subjects which are of special interest to him, and seeking personal contact with older men who have reached the highest eminence in these subjects."

If one attempts to realise, however faintly, the extreme importance of genius to a nation, the excessive gravity of continuing a system which eliminates it can hardly be over-estimated. Or, again, if we turn to the criminal and his associates, it may be stated, as an axiom of criminology, that any system which makes it difficult for the individual to successfully compete for his livelihood, and at the same time gives him little or no interest in his work, will tend to multiply the occasional offender and also, though to a less extent, the habitual criminal.

If, therefore, it can be shown that modern education tends to develop only one set of faculties, and at the same time to choke independent effort, the present system must be considered to be

<sup>1</sup> *Charles Darwin and the Theory of Natural Selection*,

responsible both for a greater number of criminals than would have been present without that system, and also for a diminution in the amount of genius in the nation.

If we consider the claims of modern education we shall find that they naturally group themselves under two main heads :

*Firstly, the necessity for more general education.*—This led, first, to the establishment of voluntary schools, and then, when the need for better education still continued to grow, of Government schools ; coincident with this change the system of apprenticeship gave place to technical training at special institutes, which also are passing into public rather than private hands. That this nationalising tendency is favourable to the nation as a whole is generally accepted, the point of dispute resting only in the extent to which it should be encouraged or interfered with.

*Secondly, the substitution for the old system of nomination of either a competitive or a pass examination.*—It is to the present method of carrying out the numerous examinations, rather than to the examination system itself, that the chief objections have been raised, which I will now endeavour to summarise.

(1) It does not allow proper scope for individual differences.

(2) In reality, it is a test mainly for three qualities, which, though of some value, are not of primary importance in education. These qualities are : Firstly, it is essential to possess a memory which can rapidly acquire, even if it can as rapidly forget, facts. Secondly, it is more or less a test for self-confidence, which is not invariably a desirable quality. Thirdly, it affords opportunity for concise, though frequently erroneous, methods of expressing thought. And it leaves, to a large extent, out of consideration the inclinations and tendencies of the student, his method of acquiring knowledge, and his capability, or otherwise, of applying that knowledge under practical conditions.

(3) No trouble is taken to foster and train the imagination, and thus not only is the student's interest in his study largely destroyed and consequently the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, but also by the loss of this trained imagination originality will be largely destroyed ; hence more or less absolute stagnation in all forms of knowledge.

“ To test the intellectual capacity of two or three hundred students on the same set of papers is a gigantic farce, and a degree based on such a system is absolutely no evidence that the student has received any education whatever. These two or three hundred students, if they are really educated, ought to have come under the influence of individual teachers and individual methods of thought, and yet, as a test of their reasoning power, they are requested to show a knowledge of *facts*, carefully limited to a particular schedule. It is at this point that the chief evil of the

present system arises; *it destroys all originality in the teacher and therefore checks the best incentive to growth in the student.*"<sup>1</sup>

The originality of the student is equally destroyed, because it is impossible for the teacher to notice, owing to the near prospect of some examination, those individual differences in the student which, by being encouraged, would ultimately reveal some decided bent, and consequently lead to specialisation on lines suggested by nature. In this way both teacher and student are spoiled, and the result in both is the substitution of mechanical and routine methods, rather than the general interest of the subject. Further, in the vast majority of cases, no opportunity is given the student for criticising any part of the subject he is examined in, and thus one of the most valuable tests of individual knowledge is lost; in short, *it is not the student's, nor the teacher's, but the examiner's ideas which are considered of importance, and, while this is so, no amount of secrecy or of precautions taken can prevent a skilful crammer from coaching any person, short of the mentally imbecile, from passing even the hardest examinations.*

Hence the final result is

"that our boys at the lyceums are crammed with ideas they do not understand, with facts over which they have no control. Are the facts true? Are they false? That is not their business; they have to keep them in their heads, not to criticise them."<sup>2</sup>

By this means imagination, reasoning, observation, being all subordinated, will tend to disappear from the mind that has not found use for them, while the real desire to excel in what is worth knowing is substituted for a desire to have so many degrees after the candidate's name, and when the list is complete, there is little else but financial success to strive after, and the four to eight most impressionable years of life have only ended in a doubtful supremacy of memory and the formation of petty aims.

If these statements of the defects of this system are even partially true, they are of so grave and serious a nature that, unless the advantages are overwhelming, the disadvantages must condemn it absolutely and finally.

I hope now to prove that not one of the so-called advantages can be fully substantiated:

(1) *It is claimed that it destroys patronage, and by this means allows of free development taking place.* This argument really only asserts the principle it ought to prove. That patronage has decreased no man acquainted with the facts can deny, and that the decrease is more or less synchronous with the introduction of modern education is also true. But this period is not merely noteworthy for the decline of patronage; it is the period when intellectual activity of

<sup>1</sup> Prof. K. Pearson in *Sacrifice of Education to Examinations.*

<sup>2</sup> J. M. Guyan, *Education and Heredity.* See also Hertel's works on *Over-Pressure.*

all kinds is equally apparent, the age in which steam and other forces, together with the expansion of trade, have given an impetus to civilisation; the cause should rather be sought in the colonisation of far countries and the increased trade resulting, that has placed more money and increased opportunity at the disposal of all, than in the introduction of the examination system.

(2) *It is stated that there must be some means of testing knowledge, and that, though admittedly unsatisfactory, it is the best that has been offered.* But, if a system can be found which is not open to the objections previously raised, then this argument ceases to have weight.

(3) *It is urged that it is necessary to have some object which will induce the average child to work.* It has been previously shown that competition only engenders lower motives, and is therefore unsatisfactory; but, further, if it is of use at all, it must be to those rather heavy, idle children, who will not work. And it is just these that the system fails to reach, for if competitive systems are the tests, then the prizes go to the brighter pupils, and if only pass examinations are employed, then, if hard, sufficient inducement is not present in the examination itself; and, if easy, they are useless; while genius, when present, pursues its own methods of study, and is either unaffected by the training, is stifled by it, or is obstinately confirmed in its own individuality from having to contend with regulations which fetter it.

(4) *It is said that the teacher would be very apt to abuse his power if scope were given for his own methods of teaching.* This argument at best only leads to the conclusion that more care must be taken in the choice of a teacher, and increased inspection of schools and colleges by competent men.

(5) *It is said that, although it may be harmful to the few talented and to the very dull, yet, by raising the average tone of education, it more than compensates for these disadvantages.* This argument has already been partially met by the answer to No. 3. But if the assumption is granted, it brings about its own downfall, for, if all are brought to a similar, though slightly higher, level in the first generation, the destruction of talent will prevent further rise, and therefore future progress will be at least somewhat impeded, while, at the same time, by neglecting the dull portion of the nation, the growth of the criminal element will be favoured, and therefore subsequent averages will be lowered.

What is education? Upon what principles does it ultimately rest? These two questions ought to be realised and answered before any attempt at developing education is considered.

(a) "Taken in its widest sense culture means preparation for complete living."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Spencer, *Principles of Ethics*.

(b) "Instruction is but the least part of education."<sup>1</sup>

"Of education information itself is really the least part."<sup>2</sup>

(c) "The object of education. It is commonly considered as a means of imparting a knowledge of facts and not as a process of developing and training the intellectual faculties to cope with facts in after life."<sup>3</sup>

(d) "There are three great questions which in life we have over and over again to answer. Is it right or wrong? Is it true or false? Is it beautiful or ugly? Our education ought to help us to answer these questions."<sup>4</sup> "If education has not in all cases been successful, this has been the fault, not of education itself, but of the spirit in which it has too often been undertaken."<sup>5</sup>

(e) "As the teacher, like the farmer, has to do with very different sorts of soil, education, it may be safely said, would produce a far greater number of prominent scholars, would far oftener influence success in professions and other pursuits, and be less often injurious to the health of those preparing for examinations, were advanced pupils classed according to their natural gifts, that these might be specially cultivated."<sup>6</sup>

(f) "The end in education should be the major end. It should be the very biggest thing in life; the most general and far-reaching good the mind can formulate. We cheat ourselves, we cheat the children, if we express the end in anything less catholic than this. It may include good citizenship, wise parenthood, successful bread-winning, but it is not any one of these things. The greatest thing in life is life, life in its fullness and totality. It is this that education should set its face towards."<sup>7</sup>

(g) "Do you know that every man has a religious belief peculiar to himself? Smith is always a Smithite. He takes in exactly Smith's worth of knowledge, Smith's worth of truth, Smith's worth of divinity. And Brown, from time immemorial, has been trying to burn him, to excommunicate him, to anonymous article him, because he did not take in Brown's worth of knowledge, truth, beauty, and divinity. He cannot do it any more than a pint pot can hold a quart, or a quart pot be filled by a pint. Iron is essentially the same everywhere and always. But the sulphate of iron is never the same as the carbonate of iron. Truth is invariable, but the Smithate of truth must always differ from the Brownate of truth."<sup>8</sup>

I have chosen these seven quotations, many more might without difficulty have been added, but each of these positions represents, I believe, a distinct aspect of this question, and to increase the number would not increase their clearness.

(a) The essential element which lies at the root of Spencer's definition is, I believe, that no element of an individual's character can be neglected without injury.

(b & c) That the object of education is so to train the *faculties* of each individual that he may be in the position of easily acquiring knowledge requisite for his special development.

(d) That *underlying principles* rather than facts should be taught, and that evil results have never arisen from the results of true education, the evil in all cases being due to a false system or to faulty application of its principles.

(e) That the instructor must never forget that each individual,

<sup>1</sup> Locke.

<sup>2</sup> Butler, quoted by Matthew Arnold.

<sup>3</sup> Professor K. Pearson.

<sup>4</sup> Lubbock's *Use of Life*.

<sup>5</sup> Stewart, *Our Temperaments*.

<sup>6</sup> *Jim of Education*, by Dr. C. H. Henderson, *Popular Science Monthly*, 1896.

<sup>7</sup> O. W. Holmes, *Professor at the Breakfast Table*.

while possessing all the qualities of another, yet possesses them in different proportions. That these proportions must be gauged and regarded in relation to the individual as a whole and not as being made up of so many disconnected faculties.

(f) That education should develop the individual so that he will be able to grasp the general purpose of outside life and apply that purpose to his own development.

(g) Lastly, that grand principle of toleration for another man's honest views and the realising that by endeavouring to understand another's position we are actually coming nearer to truth by forming a sort of mental composite picture by which the truth common to all must be more clearly outlined, and hence that education must as far as possible deal with facts and principles, only dogmatism being carefully avoided.

*Education should aim at the consistent development of the higher and progressive subordination of the lower qualities of the individual, consistent with the personality of each. The inculcation of general principles, while increasing the natural interest of the student in his pursuit, should produce a character which, though stable, possesses the necessary adaptability to mould its purpose according to its surroundings, and should, in addition, conduce to the general health of the student.*

In this definition I have not alluded to morality as a factor for two reasons.

*Firstly.* I do not consider that education should have morality as its sole aim; progress should be the object in view; although true education ought to be a powerful auxiliary in conjunction with other and more direct forces which tend to raise the moral tone of a nation.

*Secondly.* It is universally admitted that "example is better than precept," and the selection of only those teachers whose characters would bear rigorous examination would do more than anything else, except home life, to form honest characters. Affection governs children and perhaps all creation far more despotically than reason.

It is for these reasons that I object to Herbart's statement that "The one and the whole work of education may be summed up in the concept morality."

Before proceeding to consider the general principles on which true education rests I shall endeavour to deal with some objections which are raised to higher education.

The first and I believe the most weighty objection, as well as one which is steadily gaining ground, is that higher education tends to cause loss of manual workers. It is said, if you properly educate all, what will become of agriculture? labourers are scarce now, and become more so as time goes on. Who would be a shopkeeper if he could become a musician or a scientist; a servant, when by the help

of education he might become a master—in short, what would become of the menial work under such a system?

Now I believe the whole answer to this question will be found to lie in the natural divergence of tastes, and, if so, then the fundamental principle of this argument is really in favour of and not against higher education. Science has shown that, if anything, the power of heredity has been underrated in the past, and that differences do not depend so much on environment as was formerly supposed but far more upon our initial tendencies. Medicine, anthropology, and its branch criminology, show most clearly what an exceedingly important factor heredity is. And if it is the aim of true education to accentuate these differences in individuals, then it will surely favour diversified employment. The reason why agriculture is deserted to-day is not because it is menial or considered such—for there probably is at least as large, if not considerably larger, proportion of cultivated men taking up this subject than formerly—it is because agriculture everywhere, but particularly in England, has yet to be brought into line with other subjects and become a science, thus making it both interesting and profitable, that it is deserted to-day.

Let Government teach agriculturalists how to compete with the foreigner by convincing them that their methods are crude and their notions antiquated, place libraries at easy walking distances, at which reliable and up-to-date information can be obtained, give moreover the tenant some guarantee that his landlord cannot turn him out unless he has proved himself to be a bad tenant, and agriculture will regain, if not exceed, its former popularity.

But it will be urged that since the introduction of Board schools, &c., and compulsory education, the tendency to exchange manual for clerical work has largely increased, this, too, when men might have frequently more wages and leisure by remaining labourers or mechanics like their parents. But true education can hardly be said to have commenced. Our present system trains all students under one process, without heeding their special peculiarities, and if it mainly develops memory and pays little heed to other faculties, the result is only what any one would predict if an employment which required mainly memory, such as office work, is found to be overstocked.

A few men strong, determined, original, may resist a system which would affect them perniciously; but far the majority of human beings are undecided, circumstances greatly influence their development. It is not so much that their tastes are absent, but rather that they are undeveloped; habits, whether beneficial or evil, are easily formed, their will-power not their tendencies being defective. It is therefore in the present system of education, which would train all equally, and not in true education, which is to develop rightly an individual's special tendencies, that the fault lies.

But it may still be urged that there is a class of occupation that must be done by somebody, but is nevertheless irksome, unpleasant, and can correspond to no individual's special bent, such, for instance, as cleaning of sewers, servants' housework, &c., and therefore that higher education, in its true sense, will tend both to give a taste for a more interesting employment, and at the same time, by abolishing class distinctions, to diminish very rapidly the number of individuals willing to undertake such work. Suppose that at a certain date Parliament passed a Bill, stating that all work belonging to every household must be done by the individual owners or occupiers of the house, and that employment of any person for this purpose would henceforth be treated as an offence against the law and subject the owner to heavy penalties. Assume also that the Act was tolerated. What would be one of the results of such a measure? Every man who had any inventive power would immediately set to work to design appliances both to make the work shorter and more agreeable; in course of time the Act would probably be regarded as having been distinctly beneficial in its tendencies, owing to the greater privacy and comfort that would result from having every household free from servants, the new inventions having at the same time so shortened labour that very little extra work would be needed.

Now just such a process is, I believe, going on at the present time, only at a slower rate, all over the civilised world.

That there must always be a certain amount of work that is disagreeable must be admitted, but it will probably become somewhat pleasanter than at present. There will, however, always be people who prefer short hours at a disagreeable occupation to long at an agreeable one, either from laziness, or because they desire extra time to prosecute some subject which interests them. If these statements are correct, the most serious practical objection to higher education loses most of its weight.

*The second objection, that education promotes dissatisfaction, and is therefore dangerous to society,* is also very prevalent at present in the popular mind. The present feeling of discontent is undoubtedly a very real danger, but is due to faulty systems of education, which do not satisfy the needs of the individual. Education does produce a form of dissatisfaction, but this dissatisfaction arises from the perception of defects which it has the power to rectify, and is wholly distinct from a mere destructive discontent which is rife at the present moment.

*Thirdly, expense.* Any reliable system of education must be expensive; but at the present and still more for future times it is a deliberate choice between good education on the one hand, and the downfall of the nation which neglects it on the other. That a nation at the present stage of civilisation can only hold its own by

being to the front in all forms of knowledge, and that the moment it begins to lag behind its neighbours, it has started on its downward course, are facts which admit of no dispute, and are so obvious that, but for the frequency of statements containing this so-called objection, I should not have considered them worth mentioning. It is, of course, equally obvious that this expenditure should be wisely laid out.

*Fourthly, it is frequently urged that higher education is a mistake for women.* (a) It is said that it makes them bad housewives. (b) That money spent on a woman's education to fit her for some occupation is often wasted by her subsequent marriage. (c) It weakens their constitution, and is therefore prejudicial to the race. (d) That it increases the number of competitors for any situation. (e) That by letting both men and women go out into the world, the children are ceasing to have that purity of thought which was formerly so noticeable from constant contact with a woman whose mind was, as far as possible, pure and free from the knowledge of evil. (f) That it causes dissatisfaction at home between husband and wife, and thus by dividing authority allows of too much license in the children.

These objections are nowhere enforced with the same vehemence as formerly, and it is significant that the point of dispute has changed from the doctrine of right to one of expediency, but nevertheless a strong prejudice still exists in the minds of many which, by being half vanquished, is all the more difficult to eradicate.

I will now proceed to answer these objections in the order named :

(a) That mental work as at present carried on does more or less develop a dislike for housework any thoughtful observer may easily convince himself. The reason for this will be found in the fact that a woman whose mental range has become widened by education begins to realise that the treatment which she receives from the world generally is unsatisfactory in reality ; for although nominally on an equality with man, she finds that her less educated sisters regard her as a sort of natural monstrosity, while most partially educated men still retain their former prejudice on this matter ; thus she finds herself in a position of isolation which is always unpleasant, however produced. Added to this the fact that housework as at present carried out is needlessly uninteresting and irritating. And the remedy will be found in improving the real status of women, and putting a little science into household occupation, and not in limiting education.

(b) The technical education of a woman who subsequently marries is not wasted, for the realising of difficulties that have to be overcome before a livelihood can be secured will help her to take an increasingly intelligent interest in her husband's affairs, and to realise the importance of education in her children, and perhaps,

most important of all, aid her own mental growth, just as it ought to do in a man, and by this means give a definite purpose to each individual's life.

(c) Any system which weakens the constitution of either sex is bad; consistent development should always be sought. And there is no rational or moral justification for assuming that health in women is more important to the race than in men.

(d) That women have increased the number of competitors for situations, and have seriously lowered wages at the same time, is incontestable; it has done so, I believe, for three reasons—firstly, that women have begun to earn their livelihood too early, and have, therefore, put inefficient labour on the market, which has depreciated all; secondly, they are frequently supported by parents who merely wish their daughters to earn sufficient for personal expenses, and, therefore, have required and could take less than a living wage; thirdly, women are not supplied with organisations which are strong enough to prevent wages falling below a reasonable figure.

It might, however, be urged against higher education that the increasing employment of women is in itself a cause of the evil it attempts to remedy, as the competition of women decreases the wages of men, and thus, by preventing marriage, augments the number of women seeking independent employment.

While admitting that considerable weight must be attached to this objection, I desire to urge three considerations which greatly mitigate, if they do not entirely counteract, its force.

These are—

(1) The increasing divergence of taste induced by education.

This opens new fields of employment, and so increases the demand for labour.

(2) That increasing education continually elevates the standard of living, and, therefore, necessarily tends to raise the minimum wage.

(3) The inherent tendency towards marriage. The desire for companionship is likely to increase rather than to diminish as the struggle for existence becomes keener.

Moreover, the advantages of education are so great and numerous that it is worth taking the risk of a possible residual disadvantage in order to obtain them.

(e) *That there is a general lowering of the moral tone of society which has run a parallel course with the greater liberty of women.* The general statement that the moral tone of civilised countries is lower than formerly is exceedingly difficult either to prove or disprove. For the moral status of any given community does not necessarily bear any direct relation to criminal statistics or to those numerous public and private acts which help forward charitable institutions. For in the latter case these institutions may be supported largely by one section of the community, or it may be that

owing to more systematic organisation the appeals for charity are able to reach a larger section of the community, and thus, though individual contributions are less, the total collected may be greater, the converse also being true with reference to diminished funds, and in addition the various factors determining the prosperity or poverty of a nation as a whole being so numerous it makes it difficult, if not impossible, to draw positive conclusions from data so formed. In the former case of criminal statistics it is well known the great difficulty criminologists experience in determining whether crime is increasing in a country or not, owing to the varying strictness of the administration of the law, the richness or poverty of a nation, the stress of conditions. But if it is difficult to determine the amount of actual crime, it is even more so to estimate by statistics the actual feeling of that nation towards crime. Further, some of the worst offences against moral laws are not noticed by the laws of communities, and consequently there is no reliable data to form even an inference upon.

This being so, little more than a general impression can be formed in reference to the moral status of a nation, but I think most observers will admit that there is more apathy, less religious feeling, less enthusiasm for knowledge, and greater prominence given to wealth with its accompaniments, sensual and physical amusements, than was given twenty to thirty years ago.

Admitting, therefore, the general statement that the condition of society has deteriorated coincidently with the higher education of women, I, nevertheless, feel convinced that this association is wholly accidental, because this deterioration can be quite satisfactorily explained by various tendencies, such as migration from country to town life, increased difficulty to obtain a living, and greater possibility of luxury to those that are able, faulty education, &c. Besides this, it has never been shown that seclusion from knowledge of vice has strengthened the love of virtue, while the history of religions have afforded only too many instances of the abuse which seclusion may foster. I believe it will ultimately be found that, with higher education, women will tend more and more to resemble in tone those women who belong to the upper middle classes, who, in fact, out of all the classes of society, can alone be said to have received anything like an approach to satisfactory education. The lowered moral tone may be more reasonably compared with the steady rise of all nerve stimulants and narcotics (alcoholic and non-alcoholic) during the last twenty-five to thirty years, and both probably due to development of steam power producing great nervous strain through excessive competition.

(f) *It is sometimes said that better education of women will tend to interfere with the proper government of the country, owing to it causing dissension between members of the same family and between husband*

and wife, &c. This objection is purely theoretical, and it would be more rational to assume the converse position, for the qualities found in men and women, although possessed in a greater or less degree by both, differ fundamentally in their relative preponderance in each sex, and therefore on political matters their combined opinions would be found nearer to truth than either sex alone. And again, with better education, men and women will marry more from unity of sympathies than at present, and will therefore differ less.

The sex question has unfortunately been allowed to drift far too much into a mere wrangling dispute, in which prejudice has been opposed by prejudice, and far too frequently vulgarity and coarseness have replaced argument and desire for truth.

If there is one point which science has clearly shown, it is that sexual characteristics do not decrease, but rather increase, with advancing civilisation, and it is just what might be expected from the laws of evolution. Differentiation and increased specialisation are the laws on which all forms of progress depend, therefore one may expect man to grow more manly and woman more womanly, but each will, if the nation is to progress, become further removed from the savage, and it is possible that the removal of this savage element has given rise to the impression of this convergence of the aims of the sexes.

Much of the misconception on this subject arises from remnants of the savage which still cling to ideas about marriage, and are present even in our laws and customs of the present day. There must come a time when the primary object of marriage will be companionship founded on the mental differences and affinities which will tend to become increasingly prominent as civilisation advances in each sex. It is mental and emotional power, rather than animal, which has raised man above animals and one race above another, and it must become increasingly prominent in the races that will survive in the future.

Having thus endeavoured to answer the chief objections to education, there still remains two practical difficulties which have always stood in the way of further progress.

The first is the want of teachers. Many more teachers would be found if the status of the teacher was raised, and if teaching determined the method of examinations, and not *vice versa*. Mr. Sidney H. Wells has suggested that a teacher scholarship should be attached to all trade classes. If this suggestion were made universal, it might largely remove the difficulty of obtaining teachers.

The second difficulty is whether religious dogmas should be introduced into education. In view of the fact that these doctrines that would be thus introduced are not settled and definitely proved

truths,\* it necessitates their being accepted on faith, resting therefore on a different principle to all the other teaching which the child is subjected to. Further, religion, if it means anything at all, should be the deepest conviction of a man's nature; but, until the child is old enough to feel the responsibility which such thought ought to bring, it cannot be said to be taught religion, but merely learns parrot fashion what it is told. Is it possible that such a method can be productive of good results? Again, if a scientist desired to prove a point which was of vital interest to him, a point, too, in which individual bias was extremely difficult to avoid, would not his first endeavour be to collect all facts and theories bearing on that subject, and not attempt to form any opinion on the subject until he felt he had mastered thoroughly the outside principles, and then, when this was accomplished, turn his attention to the point at issue, proceeding from certainty into doubt, and not *vice versa*? Surely the same methods should be pursued with regard to children and religion. Train them first to discriminate between simple differences; give them certain examples of morality if this is thought necessary, but let example always be of first importance. Then, when the child is growing into manhood, let him be brought gradually face to face with the most difficult, and, at the same time, the grandest, problem that life has to offer—the problem of his purpose on this earth. The history of the effect of dogma on education is a melancholy one; it has fought every fresh advance made, and then, by suddenly changing tactics, has appeared to favour what it has found itself powerless to resist. If any are mistaken enough to think that bigotry is past, let them observe the gradual change that is coming over the Church in England, an inspired Church gradually and surely taking rank with an inspired book, the increased ceremonial, and the increased tendency to interfere with school life. In the light of past history it means one thing, and one thing only—preparation for a fresh struggle. It is because I would like to see every man's honest and carefully thought out religion respected, because I believe it to be dogma, and not religion, that fears the advance of truth, that I think that all men who love liberty of thought should stand firmly and resolutely for an unbiassed education.

There is gradually creeping over us an apathy on all subjects which make life worth living. It does matter what a man believes, for on his present belief his future action must depend, and strength and nobility of belief are necessary to the vitality of a nation and to the full development of man. "A man who looks on his profession as nothing better than a means of extracting as much money as he can from his fellow-creatures cannot be said to achieve success, however rich he may become; he lives altogether for the lowest part of his nature and hardly deserves to rank higher in the hierarchy

of creation than a successful beast of prey.”<sup>1</sup> This gaudiness and display has become the one great aim of life, it is fast sapping our principles of humanity, and daily places men of wealth in positions of responsibility which should have been reserved for talent and worth. Society is daily mocked by men whose only claim to prominence is their possession of wealth; it has replaced an hereditary aristocracy which was bad, by an aristocracy of wealth which is worse.

#### SCHEME OF EDUCATION.

It has been my endeavour to prove in the previous portion of this article not merely that the present system of education is defective and totally unfitted for the present state of civilisation, but also, that as the current system is mainly based on defective principles, there must be something more than a remodelling of certain parts: it is necessary to have the whole educational system revised if any permanent good is to result.

I wish now to point out what appear to me to be certain obvious truths drawn from modern psychology and evolution, which throw much light on the education question.

One of the most remarkable tendencies of mental science is the increasing importance that is given to emotional tendencies and their influence on the development of the intellect.

“That the intellectual aspect is not the noblest aspect of man is a heresy which I have long iterated with the constancy due to conviction. There never will be a human philosophy capable of satisfying the demands of humanity until the truth is recognised that man is moved by his emotions, not by his ideas, using his intellect only as an eye to see the way.”<sup>2</sup>

This idea has been specially emphasised in Kidd’s *Social Evolution*.

“The nature of ‘spontaneous attention’ in any person reveals his character or at least his fundamental tendencies.”<sup>3</sup>

“But what indeed is a vocation but attention discovering its way, its true bearings for the rest of life? No finer instance of spontaneous attention could be given, for this does not last for only a few minutes or an hour, but for ever.”

“The mind is less strained the more it reacts on what it deals with, and has a native play of its own and is creative. It is more strained the more it has to receive a number of knowledges passively, and to store them up to be reproduced in an examination.”<sup>4</sup>

The above ideas, although less distinctly put, seem present in most modern psychologists. *It is in this reaction of spontaneous attention.*

*Essay on General Culture and Professional Success.* By Sir M. Mackenzie.

G. H. Lewes, *Comte’s Philosophy of the Sciences.*

Ribot, *Psychology of Attention.*

Matthew Arnold, *Reports on Schools, 1852-82.*

to environment which discloses the bias of each individual, and which shows the line on which any given mind will act most readily and with the least strain to that mind, that the whole solution of the problem of education lies. To develop and fix this attention when discovered and turn it to use in after life, this should be the true aim of education.

If this theory is correct, then it follows that each stage passed through in infantile development must be specially adapted to special classes of ideas, and education must, therefore, proceed upon the general principles of mental evolution if it is to be thoroughly successful.<sup>1</sup>

It is unfortunate that no authoritative psychologist of the modern school has worked out the stages of development which the intellect and the emotions have respectively passed through, in the race, the nation, and the individual.

The following scheme is merely intended as provisional, and is pieced together from many sources.

(a) The earliest stage. One of simple attraction through sense stimulation, such as any bright, gaudy object may excite, is present in savages, in early stages of infantile life; the more distinctive the colour the greater the attractive power it will possess. Stage of instinct predominance.

(b) Increased activity of observation and activity of memory; other perceptions such as size and sound in addition to colour perceptions are stored up. The stage of wonder.

(c) *Direct Generalisation*.—Observation, sensation, memory continue very active, dawning of reason (an attribute common to two or more objects constitutes sufficient reason for believing other attributes of these objects to equally correspond).

Thus, a child having tasted a strawberry, which it has found pleasant and wholesome, concludes that all RED berries are equally beneficial.

(d) *Memory, sensation, observation* still continue active. Reasoning develops with realisation that each object has more than one attribute, and that one object must resemble another somewhat closely to be classed with it; no abstract ideas of attributes are yet appreciated, such as redness, and consequently each object is assumed to have a separate individuality; imagination comes into activity at this stage, but is not in any sense creative, it merely accentuates or diminishes impressions, but does not rearrange attributes to constitute an ideal.

Reasoning being largely undeveloped at this stage, everything appears wonderful and incomprehensible, and the imagination acting on these perceptions produces fear, which is characteristic of this

<sup>1</sup> It was by realising the collective side of this position that Pestalozzi and Froebel were able to lay down the fundamental principles of true education.

stage. The vividness with which gruesome stories act on young children and savages are instances of this.

These first four stages are well marked in the child, and terminate at the commencement of the transition stage previous to adult life. It is well seen in the savage, with his crude superstitions, his ideas of personal causation, because the only force that he is directly conscious of being his own, he assumes that every other cause external to himself must be some greater or less force of a personal description similarly endowed with faculties, particularly well illustrated by the Norwegian legends.

So, too, in the history of nations and in the development of children, the preference for gaudy colours and vivid contrasts, rather than those delicate shades and tints which merge into one another so insensibly, are preferred because they can be appreciated by the imagination, which is too undeveloped to grasp the ideas of sequence, succession, and evolution. It is found also in the pathology of the mind that degenerate individuals choose the same distinct positive impressions, while the imagination becomes, as it was in childhood, filled with exalted and exaggerated notions.

(c) Analysis of attributes and conception of elementary and compound ideas, qualitative estimation of easily verifiable abstractions, such as colour, while perhaps the conception of truth might not be understood, imagination continues to develop, but memory and observation tend slightly to decline.

(f) Quantitative estimation of these abstractions and necessary generalisations deduced therefrom. Development of imagination, tending to pass into constructive stage.

(g) Laws and estimations of probabilities in determining properties of matter, force, &c.; rapid growth of imagination, which becomes markedly constructive in tendency; development of emotional side of life, accompanied by increase of passions. Owing to this excessive development of imagination, unusually wide and more or less unwarrantable deductions from some few hastily formed generalisations. It is at this stage that synthetical and experimental tendencies begin to be evolved.

These three second stages are peculiarly well marked in early and undeveloped civilisations; thus, the strong mystical tendencies which characterised ancient Egyptian thought, and which is seen equally distinctly in their architecture, become more rational and more probable when these tendencies are absorbed and modified by Greek schools of philosophy and art. So, when the fall of the early civilisations had begun and Rome and Greece were beginning to feel the effects, the mystical tendencies appeared once more, and increased in popularity in spite of the influence of the Stoical school. When Europe was beginning to emerge once more from barbarism, early Christian thought passed through these same stages, accompanied by

the rise of a philosophy which gave place to the investigation of nature and accumulation of facts.

These stages in the development of man correspond to the transition period which culminates in adult life.

(h) Deals with probabilities and uncertainties. Era of experimental development, rigid examination of facts both by synthesis and analysis, carefully planned experiments, estimated probability of any generalisation. Development of high emotional ideals empirically formed.

(i) *Emotionalism* founded upon and developing out of broad truths, its fundamental principles being no longer empirical.

*Reasoning* examination of facts and general principles for arrival at conclusions about final forces, qualities, &c.

These two stages mark the latest development in man and civilisations.

No age can be definitely fixed for any stage, as they may occur earlier or later in different individuals. But the order in which they occur should be the same in all. Each stage merges, more or less imperceptibly, into the next.

If we note these nine stages we shall find that they may naturally be divided into three distinct periods: *Receptive Period*, covering the first four stages; *Formative*, which covers the next three; *Purposeful*, or creative, which will be made up of the two concluding stages.

*The Receptive Period.*—This period should be entirely in the hands of women teachers; there should be free association of children of both sexes with each other, thus giving opportunity for the development of courtesy by habits formed largely by imitation of the teacher, which tend to refine, and by unsuspectingly directing their games to this end. Objective system of teaching, fables, &c., which suggest principles which will be remembered afterwards; ideals should be evolved by pleasing and interesting but accurate descriptions of history, short hours and open air being very necessary. This period should terminate somewhere about 9 to 10 years.

Separation of the sexes during the next period seems essential both for physical and mental development.

The second period, from 9 to 15 years, is necessarily the most important and the most dangerous.

On passing from the receptive into the formative period the student should be in possession of most of the elementary truths, and having them so well grounded will be able to grapple with difficulties which are now before him.

This second period should have two aims—firstly, to discover the bent of the student; secondly, to encourage that bent until it develops into a permanent and well-determined purpose.

The total compulsory work in this period should never exceed five

hours per diem, and no part of this time should be spent out of the teacher's presence. Voluntary work and physical exercise should have ample opportunity, and the teacher should be recognised by his pupils as their friend quite as fully as their master, so that they may come to him in any case of difficulty without fear.

The first half, therefore, of this second period should be devoted to giving simple and accurate descriptions of the different forms of knowledge, so that the student may be familiarised with fundamental ideas which lie at the root of each subject; these descriptions should, where possible, be objectively taught, and consist of historical explanations in which homeliness and clearness should be conspicuous. The student, having now got a kind of outline of the paths which lie open before him, should be wisely encouraged by the observant teacher to take a close and more careful survey of the paths which he shows a preference for. This preference a good teacher, provided he has not too many pupils, should have little difficulty in discovering. A book kept for the purpose of jotting down stray observations on each scholar would not occupy much of the teacher's time if kept on the desk before him, and these observations would soon be numerous enough to help his judgment, and might materially further the scientific study of the mind.

The bent having been found, the second half of this period should be spent on cultivating this tendency. As far as possible all subjects, except those absolutely essential for the fulfilment of general education, should now be dropped and the time devoted solely to the subject the student has chosen; his interest in this subject will, by its own natural tendencies, lead him to study all subjects which have any bearing on the subject chosen for specialisation. I am convinced that the large bulk of students have their interest dulled by having to study subjects at a time when they are not able to appreciate the application of them to their own speciality.

The teachers should encourage all forms of healthy exercise, especially games which tend to develop individuality and organising power. It is essential at this period that a good library should exist in every school, and should have books on every form of knowledge, literature not being excluded, but great care should be taken in choosing only those books that have a thoroughly healthy tendency.

Immense care should be taken during this period concerning ethical codes, duty of citizens, political economy, &c.; these subjects should be taught to all, and if treated historically by illustrations, especially from Greek and Roman history, might be made exceedingly interesting. These subjects have not had the attention they deserve; they form the only branch of education, outside of the three R's, of which it can be justly said that a knowledge of it is essential to every member of the community.

If the chief cardinal principles were thoroughly mastered many of

the difficulties between capital and labour, unreasoning despotism on the one hand and equally unreasoning discontent on the other, would disappear, while real evils would be much sooner remedied. The danger to civilisation all over the world is at present very great, owing to crude and narrow ideas held both by employers and employed alike. Measures of real value are too often stopped by class prejudices, while for the sake of appeasing discontent among the working classes Bills are introduced and hurried through Parliament that no well-informed and honest politician would pass had he time to think of the remote effects to the country at large, which are often more important than the immediate results.

Any boys or girls of great ability should have some chance of developing their powers; at present the child of poor parents has very little chance of coming to the front if he happens to have great talent owing to the fact that he must either compete for some scholarship, which only too often necessitates his sacrificing his own tastes, or if he determines to acquire his knowledge independently, then the books and appliances needed to keep pace with the times demand an outlay which is altogether beyond his means. Some method should be found by which these talented few may be selected, and thus the individual and the nation benefit by the result.

The third period should be devoted to the application of the bent which had been determined on and developed in the preceding stage. It will be in this stage that the widening out into collateral subjects and side issues will begin to occur. This period should be largely passive on the part of the teachers if the preceding stages have been properly carried out, but to the student the progress made will be very great. It is, therefore, important that clever teachers with a keen interest in their work and with a great desire to impart knowledge, rather than observers of character, should be selected to fill the posts in this stage. The latest inventions should be at the disposal of the student, with a thoroughly up-to-date and well-catalogued library for reference in all institutions which cover this period. The objects of these institutions, which are to qualify the individual to hold his own with other individuals of the same nation, and that nation with others, should never be lost sight of. The whole of the country should be mapped out so that within reasonable distance authorised institutions should exist for every specialisation except the very highest, which, owing to the small number of students whose tastes lie in these directions, must be limited to a few centres. This period should last for two years or thereabouts, opportunity being given for finishing classes for two years after this, or four to five years after the end of the *second* stage.

This system could be carried out with moderate outlay, provided most of the big institutions and schools could be placed under a central governing body. We are prepared to lay out millions of

pounds in war preparations, and appear to forget that no military power can hold its own in the present age unless it is great commercially, too. Nothing can save a nation that is half a century behind its neighbours.

The system might be worked out somewhat as follows :

*The First, or Receptive Period.*—This elementary stage might easily be arranged at the numerous Board and Voluntary schools now in existence with only slight structural modifications.

*The Second, or Formative Stage,* should present practically no difficulties.

*The Third, or Creative Stage,* is the only part of this system of education that would present any difficulty; but if Government grants could be extended to all the more important societies and colleges throughout the United Kingdom, arrangement being made at the same time for study at such places, these difficulties would be largely overcome.

The numerous science and art schools and technical colleges might supply the need for ordinary technical education, a few new institutions being formed where necessary. For those who wished to gain a more thorough and scientific knowledge of any subject, arrangements might be made for special classes at these various institutions, and also for continuation of their work at the universities of Great Britain, while for those few individuals who have shown capability sufficient to mark them out for special instruction the various learned societies might be open, their ability being tested by their capacity for original work when they had passed through the third stage.

There should be scholarships in all stages, wisely chosen both for the talented and the genius, to enable them to rise; where possible the expense of education should be borne by the parent in proportion to his income and necessary expenditure.

For testing the capacity of individuals some such idea as the following might be followed :

*No regular stated examinations should be held; the inspectors should call at times which could not be foreseen, and should have the power to demand an examination by the teacher whenever he thought necessary. Certificates of proficiency should be given to each individual, ample scope being allowed in these examinations for original opinions of the taught, provided they understood the principles on which these opinions rested. The teachers should retain their posts permanently, except where want of capacity or dishonesty of any kind could be definitely proved. Inspectors should not visit the same institution twice running.*

Examinations should not be too frequent, and the aim of the teacher should be the actual knowledge possessed by the student, and

his capacity for applying it, and to see that no important principle is left out.

By this means the evils attendant on examinations would be largely obviated, the presence of the inspector reducing the risks of partiality on the part of the teacher, while the pupil being examined by the same individual who has trained him will not be liable to the crotchets of outside examiners; further, the date of the examination being unknown special preparation and cramming would be seriously hampered if not altogether abolished.

Teachers and lecturers should be appointed with great care, their characters should be strictly inquired into; but, when chosen, they should be allowed great liberty in their methods of teaching. Educationalists only should be appointed, and specialists, unless so over a very wide area of knowledge, should not be accepted.

Teachers being thus appointed for life, the salary (substantial payment by results) should be abolished; a school or college that is not satisfactory should be reported to the central body by the inspector, and should be at once inquired into. Promotion from lower to higher appointments should be on merit alone, and opportunity for talent to rise rapidly to the highest positions should be given.

All training colleges for teachers should be under the control of Government. No doctrinal test of any kind should be permitted; the only limiting test being that of character.

It is extremely deleterious to education that, as at the present time, the vast majority of training colleges should be in the hands of religious bodies with their own particular dogmas to enforce.

By these means it is contended that a system of more or less working efficiency could be established, without either the stress or the ill-health of the present, which would select the best individual for each department, and could be brought about with little alteration, a few new institutions being formed to supplement the already existing one; the methods, on the other hand, should be remodelled.

Before closing this article, I should like to point out certain fundamental truths which seem common to the aims of the great educationalists, particularly Matthew Arnold.

(1) All great changes should be made so that the transition from the old to the new should appear, as far as possible, naturally continuous.

(2) A system giving *undue* proportion to any class of students as compared with any other must be considered as defective, and when opportunity arises should be remedied.

(3) Any system which aims at uniformity of teaching should be absolutely condemned, progressive individual development being regarded as the main object of education.

(4) A teacher to be satisfactory should be broad-minded enough to realise and demonstrate the possibilities of the subject he teaches.

(5) Teaching should be historical in character, and should adapt itself to the receptive power of the student.

(6) The quality of the work done should always take precedence of the quantity.

(7) Education should be as economical of time as thoroughness will permit.

(8) The more mechanical the disposition of the individual taught the more objective should be the methods adopted by the teacher.

(9) The sequence of subjects into which the pupil's tastes naturally lead him should be followed.

*In conclusion*, I have endeavoured to demonstrate the fact that education has become a matter of vital importance to the race, that our present system is faulty throughout its entire course, and that the whole aim of education has been mistaken, the true object of education being to find out and develop the bias of the student, and, by developing his interest in the work which he has already a preference for, give him a definite purpose in life, entirely denying that any training can be good for children which forces them to do work which they have no liking for. A definition of education was attempted which should embody the requirements of the ablest educationalists. I then endeavoured to show that the objections to higher education were not valid, and that the highest development<sup>1</sup> of the individual was equally necessary to the existence of the State. The necessity of keeping education free from unnatural bias; particularly to guard it from being fettered by religious dogma, believing that the true development of religious feeling can only take place when the mind is free and the emotions can exert their natural influence. I finally endeavoured to show how such a system of education might be brought about; and lastly, that the dangers of the present examination system might be obviated without reverting to the system of nomination.

At the present time we are fast losing our position among the great nations of the world. Germany is gradually and surely creeping up to us in commerce. Are we to lose our position simply through the employment of defective methods, which we can, but will not, alter? If, in spite of better methods, we still fail, then the fault will not be ours, and we shall sink before a nation which is our superior in ability. If such a fate be ours, there will be no disgrace, but to fall without a struggle in idle laziness or apathy is ignominious in the extreme, and, viewed in the light of our past, almost inconceivable. No nation can succeed that places money before every other aim, because the strongest incentives to progress,

<sup>1</sup> Not necessarily greatest happiness.

love of humanity and love of knowledge, are thereby crushed. We want new faith, new ideals, and must realise that behind this race for wealth, which enables only a very few to reach the prize, a vast multitude of men and women, hungry in body and in soul, are growing justly disheartened, dissatisfied, and tired of the life they are partially compelled to lead, and are becoming daily an increasing menace to civilisation.

Humanity will never be satisfied with mechanical drudgery, and a race that can see some of the grandest views of nature insulted by huge advertisements of some worthless sham, that can be contented to go its daily rounds without one thought for beauty, has begun to take its pleasure in a lower form—such a race is a danger not only to itself, but to its neighbours. If we persistently neglect these signs coming to us from all sides, they will at last force themselves upon us unasked.

“There is a poor blind Samson in this land,  
Shorn of his strength and bound in bonds of steel,  
Who may in some grim revel raise his hand  
And shake the pillars of this commonweal,  
Till the vast temple of our liberties  
A shapeless mass of wreck and rubbish lies.”

—LONGFELLOW.

J. LIONEL TAYLER.

## THE TRUE SECRET OF MR. GLADSTONE'S GREATNESS AND INFLUENCE.

THERE is a German proverb which says: "Man darf nur sterben um gelobt zu werden" (We need only die in order to get praised). This, we cannot help but admit, is fairly true in a general sense, and, if we required any proof or confirmation, the epitaphs in cemeteries, churchyards, and churches would readily furnish it. Indeed, if we had no other testimony to go by than these pious inscriptions, we might almost fancy that men and women had arrived at such a state of perfection that they were little less than angels. Death, like time, is a great healer of wounds, a great soother of passions, a great calmer of turbulent thoughts, a slayer of enmity. He is the peacemaker *par excellence*, having caused the saying to gain general currency that we should say nothing of the dead but what is good. Among the laws of the "Twelve Tables," compiled by the Decemviri, there was one which in fact *forbade* to speak injuriously of the dead. It is in exchange for this, doubtless, that we are always doubly anxious and ready to vilify the living.

But although in a general way we must make due allowance for this feeling of respect and reverence, which not only bids us refrain from speaking injuriously, but rather induces us to dwell upon and extol the good qualities or points of the person that has passed away, exaggerating these in a thousand ways; when we come to witness such a manifestation of feeling, sympathy, and regret as we did in the case of Mr. Gladstone, we are forced to look for something deeper, for something beyond the ordinary causes and circumstances. We have to ask ourselves: What is this mysterious something by which people of all classes and shades of opinion, political and religious, are moved and affected? What is this mysterious tie by which the hearts of the people of all nations and climes are tied to this English statesman? What is the cause that, being dead, he should dominate our thoughts, making us feel as if the loss had been a personal one—as if a near relative or friend had passed beyond the veil?

Various answers have been offered in explanation of these questions, the most common and generally accepted one being that

it was in virtue of his avowed and strong religious opinions, in virtue of his strong Christian faith, that he gained the unique position which for so many years he enjoyed. Indeed, to a serious and impartial thinker, the manner in which a great number of our orthodox religious leaders have tried to make capital out of the accidental colouring of Mr. Gladstone's religious opinions has been anything but edifying. It is said that all means are fair in love and in war, and it would seem as if we should have to extend the principles involved in this questionable axiom to religion as well. When, however, we view the explanation thus offered in a critical light, we perceive it, without much difficulty, to be fallacious, and *not* the true one, for the question immediately suggests itself: How is it, then, that not only Christians, but men of all religious denominations, men strongly and strangely opposed to each other in religious thought, men of creeds and no creeds, vie with each other in their admiration and love for the great statesman?

*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona multi.* There have been great Christians (so called) before Mr. Gladstone, men of strongly orthodox opinions, men who have sacrificed their worldly possessions and shed their blood for their faith, men who in point of orthodox thought and religious devotion far outshine Mr. Gladstone. What has become of them? Where is *their* influence? What claim have they to our love, admiration, and gratitude, save that we shall always admire resolution, fortitude, and strength of conviction, however much we may question the wisdom underlying these qualities? Or let us take an example of another kind, and a living one, to wit, the German Emperor—although one rather begins to hesitate in mentioning his name, inasmuch as it seems to slip into all and every controversy and on all occasions, very much as King Charles's head had the habit of slipping into Mr. Dick's famous memorial. No one will deny that his Majesty is of an intensely emotional and religious turn of mind. He, more even than Mr. Gladstone, believes in the rule of all worldly affairs by a personal Providence, which same Providence specially created and chose him to direct the affairs of the German nation. Now, with all due deference to his Majesty, we do not think, devotional and religious as he is, that his death would call forth such a chorus of regret, esteem, and love as we have witnessed in the case of Mr. Gladstone. When, therefore, we see the dissenter and the Jew, the atheist and agnostic, the rich man and the poor, the Englishman and the foreigner, drawn with irresistible strength towards Mr. Gladstone; when we find that he not only commands universal admiration but also universal love; when strong men shed tears and the heir to the throne stoops to kiss the hand of his widowed consort: we must, indeed, look for a different and truer explanation than the one which orthodox Churchmen, and many of their dissenting brethren, have presented to us.

And in order to solve the question which we have set ourselves, and arrive at a clear, true, and convincing answer, we must have recourse to history, applying to its study common sense and our logical faculty. In such questions, which are more of a philosophical nature, requiring cool and unbiassed judgment, and which are consequently outside the province of the mere theologian, empirics play an important part. Mere dogmatic or *ex parte* statements, of which our religious leaders are so fond, do not help us in the least. And in consulting history we find that there have been other great men, differing greatly from Mr. Gladstone in their religious views—indeed some diametrically opposed to him in these—who have nevertheless, equally with him, been able to command the admiration and love of all sorts and conditions of men. It will scarcely be necessary for our purpose to pass in review many of these, nor will chronological order be of importance. When we have examined a few, each reader may extend his research at his own leisure if he thinks it necessary. He will find no difficulty in accumulating further proof if he requires it. Let us then at once begin with a very striking example, the great Marcus Aurelius. When he died the whole Roman Empire mourned his loss. The people felt that they had not only lost a wise and just ruler, but a friend. Like Mr. Gladstone, the great Roman ever had the welfare of the people at heart. He was a man of the strictest veracity and probity, doing good to all, and fully convinced that he was responsible to a Higher Power. Indeed, so great was his influence that St. Augustine did not hesitate to hold him up as an example for Christians to follow. And even to-day his *Selbstbetrachtungen* give unbounded enjoyment and instruction to all who read them. And Marcus Aurelius was not a Christian. No such motto as "*in crucifixo gloria mea*," which might do for Mr. Gladstone, could be applied to him. Like many other great and noble men, he found his salvation outside the Christian Church, his splendid life being a standing proof that religion has many and varying channels, all leading to the one eternal mystery, the Unknown and Unknowable. "*Il y en a peu qui gagnent à être approfondis*," says a French proverb. Few men rise in our estimation on a closer examination. Marcus Aurelius stands, with Mr. Gladstone and some others to whom we shall refer, in the category of exceptions. Such men as these remind one of Homer's words (Pope's translation):

"To few, and wondrous few, has Jove assign'd  
A wise, extensive, all-considering mind:  
Their guardians these the nations round confess,  
And towns and empires for their safety bless."

Let us pass from this Stoic philosopher to another philosopher—to one who, though he held no high position to enable him to shine

as the friend of the people, yet by his pure and exemplary life and high moral teaching has exercised a very great influence upon the world. Like Marcus Aurelius, he was no Christian, but rather attacked the Christian dogmas without hesitation. Like another great benefactor of the human race before him, he was born a Jew. We mean Spinoza. As Mr. Gladstone was on many occasions misjudged, misunderstood, and vilified by his own co-religionists, so the gentle Spinoza, too, suffered from blind and unjust persecution. But the time of his recognition and triumph was bound to come. All sorts and conditions of men have been attracted by his noble life and spotless character. Thousands have, and millions to come will, worship at his shrine. Men and women of such diverse views as Lessing, Goethe, Heine, Shelley, Coleridge, George Eliot, Schleiermacher, have been influenced by him. Heine did not hesitate to compare him with Christ Himself. His testimony is well known, but it bears repetition: "Konstatirt ist es," he says, "dass der Lebenswandel des Spinoza frei von allem Tadel war, und rein und makellos wie das Leben seines göttlichen Vetters, Jesu Christi. Auch wie Dieser litt er für seine Lehre, wie Dieser trug er die Dornenkrone. Ueberall wo ein grosser Geist seine Gedanken ausspricht, is Golgatha." Yes, like Mr. Gladstone and other great men, Spinoza too had his Golgotha. Equally famous, and doing equal credit to the understanding and the heart of the writer, is the testimony of the famous Berlin theologian Schleiermacher, who tells us that the great thinker was full of religion and the Holy Spirit, and requests us to sacrifice with him in all reverence, "eine Locke den Manen des heiligen verstossenen Spinoza." He is no longer rejected now. Indeed, Mr. E. Belfort Bax, in his useful little *Handbook of the History of Philosophy*, reminds us that the works which have been published during the last half-century dealing with the Dutch thinker would fill a library.

Let us now take a man of a different character, but still one outside the pale of the Christian Church, a man who has played a great rôle in history, and who also exercised the greatest influence on his fellow-creatures—Mahomet. Like Spinoza and Gladstone, he, too, had his Golgotha. For thirteen long years he was persecuted, jeered at, and insulted, walking in later years continually in danger of his life. He, too, gained such influence and obtained such hold on his people that they simply worshipped him, crediting him, in spite of his distinct denial, with miraculous powers. They almost refused to accept the evidence of their own eyes when at last death had overtaken him, when he had "paid the mighty fine imposed on length of days." The mourning was general and intense. Of his character, Washington Irving tells us—and the same words might be applied to Mr. Gladstone—that "in his private dealings he was

just. He treated friends and strangers, the rich and the poor, the powerful and the weak, with equity, and was beloved by the common people for the affability with which he received them and listened to their complaints." And, though he might have accumulated vast wealth, he died a poor man.

Or, again, let us take the great sage of China, Confucius. He lived at a time when corruption and disorder were rampant in the Celestial Kingdom. But his influence made itself gradually felt, and when at last he was made Minister of Crime for Lû, "a transforming government went abroad. Dishonesty and dissoluteness were ashamed and hid their heads. Loyalty and good faith became the characteristics of the men, and chastity and docility those of the women. *He became the idol of the people, and flew in song through their mouths.*" His grandson has told us that he showed himself of far-reaching intelligence and all-embracing knowledge; that he was magnanimous, generous, benign, and mild; accomplished, distinctive, concentrative and searching, never swerving from what he called the "mean" and correct. And he finishes his eulogy in these words: "Wherever ships and carriages reach, wherever the strength of man penetrates, wherever the heaven overshadows and the earth sustains, wherever the sun and moon shine, wherever frosts and dews fall, all who have blood and breath unfeignedly *honour and love him.*" How well these words apply also to Mr. Gladstone! Needless to say that Confucius was not a member of the Church of England!

Need we speak of other great men—of Lao-tzû, for instance, who enriched the world with the highest of all ethical precepts (viz., "recompense injury with kindness") long before Christianity came into existence, and whose disciple Chuang-tzû has another saying almost identical with a passage in the Sermon on the Mount—viz., "Wherever one's treasure may be, thither will the heart of man follow it"? "There are three things," says Lao-tzû, "which I regard as precious, which I grasp and prize: Compassion, Moderation, Modesty." And again: "The sage dwells in the world with a timid reserve; but his mind *blends in sympathy with all.* The people turn their eyes and ears up to him, and the sage thinks of them *as his children.*" It is such qualities, common to all great men and fully shared by Mr. Gladstone, that account for their great popularity and influence, for the reverence and love which their fellow-creatures bear them.

We think we have collected sufficient material now to enable us to correct the orthodox error (or prejudice), which reminded us very strongly at the time of the Italian proverb: "L'asino che ha fame mangia d'ogni strame" (The ass that is hungry will eat any kind of litter), and to give a clear and convincing answer to the question which we undertook to solve. Nevertheless, let each one continue

this historical research. Let him study the lives of the Buddha, of Socrates, of Plato, not forgetting that of Christ Himself. Such study broadens the mind and is productive of much good.

We say, then, without hesitation, that Mr. Gladstone's great influence and popularity are due neither to his prodigious learning nor to the accidental circumstance that his theological opinions were more or less in harmony with orthodox Christianity. They are due to the noble and unselfish life which he led; to his transcendent honesty, simplicity, and probity; to his intense abhorrence of all that savoured of meanness, selfishness, corruption, tyranny, and oppression; to his sympathy with the toiling millions, and the practical assistance he rendered to afflicted and downtrodden peoples. We do not love him because he was merely a Christian, but because he was a Man—because, like others to whom we have referred, he was made of that stuff of which in prophetic times the Sons of God were made. He does not belong to any particular sect or party. His place is in the Temple of Humanity in which all men worship, and in that temple he holds a prominent position as one of the saviours of mankind. Small minds may cavil at this or that which he did, may discuss the merits or demerits of this or that book which he wrote. His fame stands on securer ground. His claim to our admiration and love is independent of any human errors of judgment, of any literary merit or demerit. His *life* has been for our good, for the good of the whole human race, and small wonder that the human race repays him with affection and loving admiration. Small wonder also that, with such a splendid life behind him, he should look with such quiet confidence to futurity, that he should be "waiting, only waiting." May we all be as resigned and happy in those moments, for, like all truly great men, Mr. Gladstone has not only taught us how to live, but also how to die. May we like him be able to say, in the words of Thomson :

"When ev'n at last the solemn hour shall come,  
And wing my mystic flight to future worlds,  
I cheerful will obey."

R. DIDDEN.

## MILL'S HUMANITY.

MISS BETHAM-EDWARDS, in her recently published *Reminiscences*,<sup>1</sup> paints us a picture of J. S. Mill :

"His countenance, in its final conviction of a thinker whose mind upon weighty subjects was irrevocably made up, from whose ethic verdicts there was no appeal, had something awful, even sublime, in its rigidity and marble-like implacableness. You felt . . . that here were the immovable purpose, iron will, and unflinching self-oblivion of which, for good or for evil, the world's umpires and leaders are made."

It is a portrait of the author of *A System of Logic*, of *Liberty*, of the Inaugural Address, which no one of us who has read these or other of his monumental works can fail to feel to be lifelike if there be correspondence between face and mind.

To a generation who know him only by his work there is a danger of losing sight of Mill's humanity. The student of the *Logic* finds himself, in spite of his pride—his proper pride as a reasoning animal—in the presence of the infallible. It is a feeling he cannot get rid of; the *Autobiography* and Bain's gossip have no connection with this godlike majesty delivering divine truths. Has the master who was but half-an-hour ago in cricketing flannels, a comrade, anything in common with the being, gowned and awful, in the schoolroom?

There is a real danger in this feeling which Mill himself would have been the first to see, for it is a cause to stifle progress of knowledge, which is the foundation of all progress. If we dare not stand on the shoulder of the giant, we shall never certainly see beyond his purview, and may lose our way on the very ground he has so accurately surveyed for us.

There is evidence of concession to popular prejudice even in the pronouncement of one of Mill's best-known ethic verdicts.

Let us watch the "world's umpire" *pleading* before the Court of Truth.

Turn to the famous chapter, "Of Liberty and Necessity," in the sixth book.

At the outset it may be noticed that, though in the very first paragraph we are shown plainly which alternative Mill chooses, he entitles his chapter "Of Liberty and Necessity," instead of "Of

<sup>1</sup> *Reminiscences*. By M. Betham-Edwards. London: Redway. 1898.

Necessity and Liberty." Though of the two claimants before the Court he holds a brief for Necessity, it is as though he is ashamed to bring forward his disreputable client into prominence. There Mill lets him crouch behind Liberty, contenting himself at first with a curt, "This is my client." Then follows hastily his apology for bringing so strange an object before Truth's Court :

"I do not deny," he says, "that this doctrine as sometimes held is open to imputations. To admit human actions to be necessary may be deemed inconsistent with every one's instinctive consciousness, as well as humiliating to the pride, and even degrading to the moral nature, of man.' He stinketh in the nostrils, 'tis true; I do not gainsay it. Yet do I hope to show how he shall smell sweeter than yon false fair-seeming Duesssa.

"Surely you will grant that if we knew 'the person thoroughly, and knew all the inducements which are acting upon him, we could foretell his conduct with as much certainty as we can predict any physical event'? This admission will not deprive you of your feeling of freedom. 'We may be free, and yet another may have reason to be perfectly certain what use we shall make of our freedom.'"

But the Court note an omission here. "We may *feel* we are free . . . what use shall we make of our *feeling* of freedom," they murmur. Is the "world's umpire" afraid to shock false modesty, even in Truth's pure Court, that he hesitates to strip his client before it? Yet it is his only chance. Or has, for once, the habit of "unflinching self-oblivion" deserted the master-mind set down to prove its own mere mechanism? It is more probable that he is feeling throughout that there is danger in his conclusions of "paralysing the desire of excellence" in the human race; for himself merely his mind is made up, as ever, irrevocably, with its invariable final conviction. \*

After this check the "world's umpire" again confronts the Court with the "marble-like implacableness" of his countenance in expounding the meaning of causation :

"I have before in this place defined the cause of a phenomenon to be 'the unconditional invariable antecedent.' I now again assert that there is nothing in causation but 'invariable certain and unconditional sequence.' The mystical compulsion, then, supposed in the case of human actions is a misconception. It has arisen from the use of the word necessity, which has induced men to believe that in the case of human actions there is more than 'uniformity of order and capability of prediction.' I will add that this misconception is the only *raison d'être* of yon false Liberty; without it men's scorn would have withered her pretensions to a thing of no account. *Necessity* implies irresistibleness, incapable of being counter-acted; but in the case of human actions they are never under the absolute sway of one motive (except in some cases of mania). The causes, then, on which human action depends are never uncontrollable, and 'any given effect is only necessary provided that the causes tending to produce it are not controlled.'"

At this juncture Liberty holds up her head again. "Oh, if the

great master would but have added 'by the will!'" thinks she. Yet by some this may be implied, and she feels happier. And the "leader" notes the change in her, yet does he not correct his statement. "Add 'by the will' if you choose," he might have said, "it is even then true." Yes, but some would claim that you mean to allow the power of a first cause to the will. And Mill shrugs his shoulders. "If men will prate about an Ego, meaning a permanent unchangeable residuum in the individual, it is not my business to point out that, to have any true meaning, their 'Ego' must be considered as a manufactured article changing from moment to moment. My propositions are true if they are read correctly." And acting apparently on this hint, Mill proceeds, talking truth, but leaving a loophole to all desirous of bolstering their pride, of believing that their wishing to change or modify their characters is credit due to themselves. "A man's character," he says, "being, in the ultimate resort, formed for him, is not inconsistent with its being formed *by* him as one of the intermediate agents." "We are exactly as capable of making our own character, *if we will*, as others are of making it for us."

So far he proceeds unchecked, but is now compelled to answer the objection of an Owenite; and he does so in a manner which, perhaps, shows more plainly than anything else in this chapter his wonted double purpose. The Owenite is answered finally: "To think that we have no power of altering our character, and to think that we shall not use our power unless we desire to use it, are very different things and have a very different effect upon the mind." But Liberty? Cannot she force a meaning from this answer to suit her claims? And how would she read, "but the wish is formed 'not in general by our organisation, or wholly by our education, but by our experience—experience of the painful consequences of the character we previously had'"? Experience is implied to form in some way not only a new antecedent, but an antecedent differing in kind from ordinary causes; opening is left for the belief that there is something mysterious in the action of experience whereby spontaneously some essence inherent in the individual assumes the proportions of a first cause. -

Necessity is stripped before the "world's umpire" leaves the Court—stripped, truly, but habited, in the imagination of all but Truth, in beautiful robes, closely resembling those Liberty still wears. How few will stop to consider the contradiction inherent in "self culture," Mill's last word!

In truth, the language used nearly everywhere in this chapter is that proper to a champion of the doctrine of Liberty; and this is not helpful to the ascertainment of facts, however much it may be so to those who are apt to shirk responsibility.

Probably, in his great desire to stop the dry rot to human endeavour, Mill did not dare to state plainly that the man is ultimately an irresponsible agent.

Fatalism is successfully scotched ; but Necessity goes still clothed in a film of untruth, afraid of his nakedness.

G. O. S. PRINGLE.

## MR. BEERBOHM TREE'S MARK ANTONY.

THOUGH every one unites to praise the superb production of *Julius Cæsar* at Her Majesty's Theatre, there appears to be some difference of opinion amongst critics and playgoers as regards Mr. Tree's impersonation of Mark Antony. It has been said that, in his desire to make Antony's character sympathetic, Mr. Tree goes beyond Shakespeare, and that, in particular, his grief and indignation at Cæsar's death are too sincere; one critic adding that Antony was too good an actor to weep over Cæsar's corpse when there was no one by to see him do it.

It seems to us that these criticisms are founded on a misconception of Antony's character. The average man, if asked to describe Mark Antony, would probably reply that he was a dissipated reveller, a hypocrite, and more or less of a coward and time-server. This seems to be the popular opinion of Antony, and Shakespeare is freely quoted in support of the contention. It may be observed that, after all, Mark Antony is not a pure creation of the immortal bard's imagination, but a real historical personage, whose deeds are written in history and can be quoted as evidence of his true character. It will, however, be said that the actor is concerned only with Mark Antony as he appears in the play; that any attempt to improve on the character there depicted to render it more noble and consistent than it is there drawn is to be condemned, even should historical evidence be produceable to support the reading.

Let us, then, see what Shakespeare has to say of Marcus Antonius, taking into consideration his character as drawn in another play, *Antony and Cleopatra*, for, as a commentator has remarked, "Shakespeare, in *Julius Cæsar*, does not appear to have been thoroughly possessed of Antony's character. He has, indeed, marked one or two of the striking features of it; but Antony is not fully delineated till he appears in that play which takes its name from him and Cleopatra." There is little doubt that up to the time of Cæsar's death Antony was known only as a sportsman, a reveller, and a man of pleasure, though he also enjoyed some reputation as a soldier. He had served under Cæsar with some distinction; and Dean Merivale says that "hitherto Antony had been noted only for his bravery and dissipation."

Though no actual mention is made in *Julius Cæsar* of Antony's reputation for courage, there is in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act i., a reference to "his captain's heart, which in the scuffles of great fights hath burst the buckles on his breast." Further, in Plutarch's *Lives*, on which Shakespeare depended for his authority, we read that "Antony was in great estimation with soldiers, having been conversant of long time amongst them, and especially having a mind bent to great enterprises." We may safely conclude, therefore, that Shakespeare considered Antony a brave man.

That he was a lover of sports we know, for he is early mentioned as running in the races; witness also Brutus's reference to

"That quick spirit which is in Antony."

To his character as a reveller and man of pleasure there is abundant testimony, notably the reference by Cæsar to

"Antony, who revels long o' nights."

And Brutus' description of him as being given

"To sports, to wildness, and much company."

—(Act ii. Sc. 1.)

That ambition was not an over-mastering passion in Antony is sufficiently proved by the fact that, though he had been elected Consul as Cæsar's colleague, he was content to serve under Cæsar, throwing himself heart and soul into the pleasures of life in Rome.

It seems evident, too, that jealousy was not one of Antony's failings, since he appears to have viewed calmly and without bitterness Cæsar's preference for Brutus, which he might reasonably have resented, seeing that he, the faithful follower, soldier, and friend, was set aside for another who had no such claims to regard, for Brutus, until after the battle of Pharsalia, had fought under Pompey's banner.

Yet Antony throughout bears testimony to the pureness of Brutus' motives in joining the conspirators, and emphasises this by addressing himself almost entirely to Brutus in his interview with the assassins.

We have a further description of Antony in a sentence which refers to him as

"our courteous Antony,

Whom ne'er the word of No woman heard speak."

—(*Antony and Cleopatra*.)

These, then, are the grounds on which we have to form an opinion of Antony, from them to understand his actions in the play. It may here be remarked that, of all the conspirators, Cassius only seems to have seen below the surface, and to have perceived the soldier, the devoted

friend, the powerful enemy beneath the outward guise of the reveller and courtier. "I think it is not well," he says,

"Mark Antony, so well beloved of Cæsar,  
Should outlive Cæsar; we shall find of him  
*A shrewd contriver*; and you know his means,  
If he improve them, may well stretch so far  
As to annoy us all."

To which Brutus, who entirely misunderstands Antony, replies contemptuously that

"Antony is but a limb of Cæsar,  
For he can do no more than Cæsar's arm  
When Cæsar's head is off.

CASSIUS. *Yet I fear him,  
For in the ingrafted love he bears to Cæsar—*

BRUTUS. Alas! good Cassius, do not think of him:  
*If he love Cæsar*, all that he can do  
Is to himself, take thought and die for Cæsar,  
And that were much he should," &c.

—(Act ii. Sc. 1.)

We have insisted on Cassius' opinion of Antony as being important, since we are especially told that Cassius

"is a great observer, and he looks  
Quite through the deeds of men."

—(Act i. Sc. 2.)

The conspirators, however, think it advisable to draw Mark Antony out of the way before committing the murder.<sup>1</sup>

What is the next thing we hear of Antony?

That after the murder he is "fled to his house amazed," whence presently comes a messenger with assurances of Antony's friendship for Brutus and an appeal for a safe-conduct to his presence.

Is this to be set down to cowardice? We think not. Three courses were open to Antony on learning of Cæsar's death. He could have fled from Rome and joined Octavius, for undoubtedly he stood in danger of his life. In his own words of warning to Octavius—

"Here is a mourning Rome, a dangerous Rome,  
No Rome of safety."

This would seem the natural course to a coward.

Or, had ambition been his ruling passion, he might have boldly thrown in his lot with the conspirators. They were anxious to have him on their side, for he was not only an avowed friend of Cæsar's, but also chief magistrate of the city. Cassius assures him:

"Your voice shall be as strong as any man's  
In the disposing of new dignities."

<sup>1</sup> See Act iii. Sc. 1.

There can be little doubt, too, that Antony would have taken the lead amongst them, for Cassius lacked most of the qualities requisite for successful leadership, and it is not probable that Brutus, the philosopher and dreamer, would have long retained his hold on the party. This, then, would seem to be the course for the purely ambitious man.

The very fact (so strongly insisted on by most people) of Antony's love of pleasure and ease would surely have induced him to adopt this second course, since by joining the conspirators he secured his position in the city and yet remained free to give himself up to those revels and sports which he so loved. But Antony was, before all, a loyal friend. Why, then, it may be asked, did he not boldly denounce the murderers, and openly incite the populace against them? Surely it seems the devoted friend would not for one moment have held converse with the assassins; he would have died sooner than shake the bloody fingers of his friend's murderers. To have done this would have been to sacrifice his own life to no purpose. And though we believe Antony's devotion to his friend and chief to have been very real and sincere, he would be, we think, possessed, first of all, by a white heat of anger and resentment against the conspirators, and would not be likely to let sentimental considerations outweigh his burning desire to avenge the victim.

Never, we believe, for one moment did Antony entertain the idea of joining the conspirators; but his object was solely to gain time until he could try the temper of the people and learn how they did take the

“Cruel issue of these bloody men.”

For it must be remembered that no one knew how the people would take the deed. It was undoubtedly Antony's intention from the first to attempt to move the people in his funeral oration, and he had to obtain leave to speak from the conspirators. Here, then, we see the motive of his conduct in the scene with the murderers. They would the more readily permit him to speak if they believed him anxious only for his own safety and advancement. Had he asked leave to speak only as a friend of Cæsar's, he would certainly have been refused; had he joined the conspirators too boldly, he would have committed himself with the people. He preferred to maintain a detached position under the protection of the conspirators, but yet maintaining conspicuously his character as the friend and mourner of Cæsar.

It has been objected that Mr. Tree is too defiant in this scene, and that, had Antony spoken to the conspirators in the tone adopted by Mr. Tree, they would have murdered him on the spot.

This seems doubtful. They were in a state of panic and uncertainty, and might well have shrunk before the honest indignation and scorn in Antony's eyes; but, knowing how much they had to

gain from Antony's support, they would not, we venture to think, be inclined to resent his manner, and it hardly needed Brutus' protection to save Antony from attack.

There appears some doubt as to how far Antony's grief and indignation are real, most people seeming to consider him as an accomplished actor and nothing more.

Antony was not, we imagine, capable of very passionate and overwhelming affection for a friend, and though sincerely attached to Cæsar and truly and deeply grieved at his death, it seems probable that throughout the scene with the conspirators and the speech over Cæsar's corpse Antony was completely master of himself and his emotion, and keen to watch its effect upon his hearers.

He knew too well how much depended on his words to allow one syllable to escape him which might mar the effect he desired to produce. But it seems very possible that, having accomplished his end, after the strain and excitement of his oration, being left alone with the body of Cæsar, Antony would at last give way to his grief, and allow his own real emotion vent. This is a point which Mr. Tree indicates—the laugh of bitter mockery as the crowd disappears, and the sudden abandon of his grief as he kneels beside Cæsar, appear to us most natural and convincing. It is rather a pity that this effect should be spoilt when the curtain rises for the second time and Antony is seen on his feet wildly gesticulating.

With the fall of the curtain on this act Antony's part is practically at an end.

We have endeavoured to point out to those who see in the Mark Antony at Her Majesty's Theatre a somewhat overdrawn portrait that there is no characteristic indicated for which Shakespeare's authority cannot be quoted, and that Mr. Tree's study of Antony is carefully thought-out, and shines like a polished jewel in a really perfect and superb setting.

E. M. R.

## AN ANGLO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

THE fate of Cuba and the future of the Philippines are important issues, but the minds of those not immediately concerned are particularly impressed by the fact that the Spanish-American war marks the entry of America into the great arena of foreign and colonial policy, and so brings the question of an Anglo-American alliance at least "within the range of practical politics."

A word about this notable new departure, which thus brings nearer the "things" hitherto only "hoped for."

During the period of growth and consolidation in the States, both official tradition and popular sentiment had been against adventures and entanglements. The Constitution did not provide for colonies or for outposts and conquests over sea. Her navy was strictly a defensive force.

The *Maine* explosion may be said to have made war popular from New Orleans to Philadelphia. The peace-loving then declared for any amount of necessary sacrifices. But they would also demand compensation; a *quid pro quo* is required even by a Quaker.

The idea of expansion has grown with the progress of the war. The beginning was not truly aggression for aggrandisement and vainglory; but the goal is now a new Imperialism, or, rather, a great Reconciliation, for the effecting of which the former aspiration affords an impulse and incentive. America has, anyway, turned her back on the traditions and prejudices of a hundred years, and will henceforth take a position in the affairs of the world.

There may be still an influential faction in the States which, in its love for little Americanism, while boasting of everything colossal, would ignore the opportunities and forfeit the fruits of victory, attaching to the sayings of Washington a Confucius-like sacredness and a more than Chinese finality. But it is equally in the interests of the liberated and of the liberators that party tactics should be defeated.

It would be as little to the advantage of the Philippines to fall a prey to the rival ambitions of European Powers on the look-out for coaling stations, as it would be for America to fling away the chance of an excellent *entrepot* for China.

But the benefit to the liberators will be moral as well as material. Hitherto (barring the labour question) there has been a dearth of broad issues and a lack of serious problems in the United States politics.

It is a commonplace of American literature that lobbying in Congress has been too much concerned with tariff manipulation and concession-mongering, and with matters of no great moment to the nation at large. When Washington becomes a world-power, the best minds in the States may be expected to concern themselves with the affairs of the commonwealth.

With politics raised to a higher level, the *personnel* of representative bodies will be improved. Both political and municipal life will be braced by big maritime interests and things connected therewith, which give a clearer view of national and international relations.

Already consideration of the vast increase of recent years in the imports and exports between Great Britain and her colonies and the United States is claiming recognition for the truth that the English-speaking peoples have become interdependent. This better understanding of the mutual trade relations of the English-speaking peoples must strike a death-blow at the pernicious and false idea that in international commerce what one gains another loses—"the mediæval theory perpetuated under the name of Protection." A Boston correspondent of the *Statist* believes it is rapidly becoming apparent to most of his countrymen "that the benefit of commerce is mutual: that we (Americans) cannot continue to find a market for an increasing excess, unless we remove the obstructions to the purchase of the goods which our best customers have to exchange for our products. We cannot continue to import an excess of gold. . . . Why not spend it for the foreign goods which we want in greater measure?"

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of changed opinions on economics in the bringing about of an *entente cordiale*. This thoughtful statistician derives the assumed animosity of past years towards the United Kingdom, not from school-books, nor from impressions coming down from the Revolution, but from economic fallacies regarding exports as a loss to the country and imports as a war upon domestic industry. Thus, when the peoples who already have so much in unison, who live under the English common law, and who have established personal liberty, remain no longer at variance on questions of fiscal policy, few indeed will be the points of difference that can separate them.

If America surrenders her ultra-protection fallacies, have we not also mistakes on our side to admit? No allusion is here made to the original blunder, which was England's loss and America's gain, for reasonable men on this side agree, and always have done so, that we, or rather the King and Minister, were in the wrong. Americans may rest content that our own historians condemn George III. and speak with respect and pride of the other George—George the Great; and they should permit their text-book misrepresentations and occasional bitterness of Press articles to become a thing of the

past. Each nation goes its way well satisfied with the decrees of Providence. No need to speculate at present on the possibility of the Stars and Stripes being reunited with the Union Jack. Suffice it that the breach of separate destinies is being spanned by a rainbow of sympathy, sentiment, and enthusiasm which is bright with promise.

There are, however, lessons which we have still to learn both from the late war and from times of peace which we must not be too arrogant to lay to heart. Take just one example. Is it not time that we considered our false and dangerous position with regard to food supply? This, our weak point, is well known to our enemies, and whatever may be its real truth, it serves to inspire them with inconvenient courage in pressing unwelcome demands. In view of an alliance, would it not become our duty to ask, respecting these and other matters, "What says America?"

It is to this spirit of "give and take," and of meeting on equal terms, so remarkably represented in the present Government, that we must look for tangible results. And let us hope that the first-fruits may be soon apparent in the joining of the United States in the projected Penny Postal Union.

What with Continental conscription, and armed camps, and talked-of combinations to crush, and a Russianised "Yellow Terror," and all these factors of the situation made lurid by Napoleon's undoubted plan to subjugate the English first, and afterwards the Americans, there certainly are strong inducements to both sides to effect a defensive alliance. The interests of the States and England are in essentials the same. We both excite the same envy and the same dislike among foreign nations. And where, outside the magic circle of English-speaking peoples, are to be found genuine and abiding friendships for either? What we both want is a means of enjoying peace with security and with honour, without entangling ourselves with either of the great military confederations. We shun the crushing burden of conscription, and we desire the open trade door. The proposed Anglo-Saxon alliance solves the problem. Nor ought we to remain satisfied with the moral alliance which is, and always will be, and probably always would have been, formed at a pinch between the branches of the Anglo-Saxon race. True, it may be considered by our statesmen in their wisdom that the common interest will be served best by a secret alliance, or a more subtle understanding. Anyway, there is ample scope for the work of a league, or association, or for more than one, devoted to the great purpose of correcting misapprehensions and moulding public opinion on both sides. The Press must, of course, be the mainspring of the movement; but there is also room for an association that can devise methods beyond dinners and drawing-room meetings.

WALTER CHARLES COPELAND, M.A.

## THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

THE little work lately published at the Cambridge University Press, and briefly reviewed in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for June, derives peculiar importance from current events.<sup>1</sup> Uncle Sam's action in regard to the Spanish islands naturally suggests the question, How far is the principle likely to extend?

Signor Crispi has put it in this form: If the American Government finds itself obliged to interpose in the colonial affairs of one European Power, why should not that Government turn its attention to others? If the Yankees want Cuba to-day, may they not want Canada to-morrow?

This idea, propounded by an intelligent foreigner, seems not unworthy of attention by Mr. Chamberlain and others, who hope that the present state of things will end in the establishment of a new naval Power in sympathy with our nation. An Anglo-Saxon alliance is not to be founded on mere sentiment; and competing interests may have a hostile end. It may be well to ask how far the view of the ex-Premier of Italy may be visionary, or based on fact.

Now, it cannot be doubted but that so populous and advanced a nation as the federated Republic of English-speaking communities, usually regarded as paramount in the New World, must exercise on its neighbours a very strong attractive influence. Analogy is no argument; yet the law of gravitation may not unreasonably be assumed to act in politics. When France was ablaze a hundred years ago the fire spread to all her bordering nations, unless checked by sea or mountain; and excitement in the United States may well affect the less populous lands on north and south. Whatever may have been the origin or fundamental object of the Monroe Doctrine, a feeling such as is here indicated has evidently been concerned in the tenacity of its enforcement. When, on the suggestion of a British Minister, President Monroe pronounced the separation of American politics under the hegemony of the Republic, he may not have intended that this should entail the entire exclusion of European power. But the principle has proved liable to the usual effects of evolution: when Napoleon III. made his foolish attempt to found a "Latin Empire" in Mexico, he was quickly made to understand

<sup>1</sup> *The Monroe Doctrine*. By W. F. Reddaway. 1898.

that Uncle Sam forbade the banns; and our own experience in recent days has shown that the interests of a paltry Power like Venezuela were equally protected. All that is true; nevertheless, it does not by any means amount to a claim to disturb existing possession. To borrow an instance that will be quite familiar: the British Government would not tolerate the purchase of Burma by the French, yet it does not pretend to order them out of Pondicheri.

A certain amount of misconception is probably caused by the careless habit of calling the United States "America." It is somewhat unfortunate—in the interests of political science—that there is no handy word under which to generalise the citizens of the States; hence they have got to be known as "Americans"; and the transition to speaking of their country as "America" may be slovenly, but is not the less in the course of nature. In much the same way continental Europeans speak of all the natives of the British Islands as "Anglais," though one may come from Shetland, another from Man, a third from Jersey; and the next thing is to call the political aggregate under the Queen by the convenient name of "England"—sometimes deprecated by Scots and Irishmen. How far from correct is this practice we may perceive in our own case; it is not less so on the other side of the Atlantic. Except in population, the great Republic is not predominant even in North America, where Canada alone has a far larger area, to say nothing of Mexico and the other States of Iberian origin.

Nor does the Monroe Doctrine at all justify the interference of the States in Cuba; neither expressly nor by implication. When, in the first quarter of the century, Mr. Canning "called in the New World to redress the balance of the Old," he gave his epigram a meaning by his advice to Monroe, on which was founded the message to Congress. In this it was, in the first place, necessary to urge recognition of the new American communities—Chili, Mexico, Peru, &c. To that recognition was added the corollary that "with the Governments . . . whose independence we have . . . acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

That is the Monroe Doctrine: in which we can, indeed, discern a principle bearing on Napoleon's attempt in Mexico, but without any bearing whatever on the connection of Cuba with Spain. If the United States Government can absorb a Spanish island because it disapproves of the administration, there is nothing to prevent similar action in regard to Jamaica; whatever be the case in Canada, which is, doubtless, of a somewhat different kind. Canada will probably be left to obey the law of political gravitation in its own

way and time. But Jamaica does certainly present unpleasant features of similarity to Cuba. It is only less important to the command of the Carribean Sea—a command which the latest writings of Captain Mahan have shown to be a necessary antecedent to the piercing of the isthmus. Now, that the ill-planned and worse-conducted Panama scheme has hopelessly collapsed, a canal across Nicaragua has become a settled project; but the astute Yankees are not going to all that trouble and expense for other people. The canal cannot be completed until the United States have complete command of the American Mediterranean; and if Jamaica should be an essential condition of such command, it will soon be brought into the Cuban category. There have been insurrections in Jamaica; British administration has ruined its industry; manifest destiny is at work; and so on, in the familiar strain.

Hence, without attempting to defend Spanish methods, we Britishers are not obliged to give an indiscriminate sanction to all the proceedings of our energetic kinsfolk. Nor ought the Monroe Doctrine to be backed for more than it is worth.

H. G. K.

## THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION : ITS HISTORY AND ITS LATER ETHNOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.<sup>1</sup>

THE Institution of which the history is told in the first of the three works to be reviewed in this article is one which gives the world an object lesson of the great results to be gained by the wise and unremitting outlay of a small income in promoting the advance and diffusion of the scientific knowledge which is a chief factor in the advance of national prosperity. The history begins with the bequest of James Smithson, who died in 1829, and left his whole fortune, after the death of his nephew without heirs, "to the United States of America, to found at Washington, under the name of the Smithsonian Institution, an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men."

Smithson was a son of Sir Hugh Smithson, who became, by his marriage to the heiress of the Percies, Duke of Northumberland, and his mother was heiress to the Hungerfords of Studley. He was throughout his whole life an ardent student of chemistry and mineralogy, and hence arose his wish that his property should, on the failure of heirs descended from his mother's family whence it came, be devoted to the increase and diffusion of knowledge.

The bequest finally came into the hands of the United States Government on September 1, 1838, and amounted to £104,960 8s. 6d. = \$508,318.46. An addition of £5015 came to the fund in February 1867, on the death of Madame de Butot, raising it to \$550,000. This was almost all invested by the United States Government in Arkansas Bonds at 6 per cent. interest, which was paid by the Arkansas States up 1846, and since then by the United States Treasury. Thus this capital while intact brought in an income of about £6500 a year, and the subsequent private additions to it only amount to £42,500, given in the following gifts and legacies :

<sup>1</sup> *The Smithsonian Institution 1846-1896. The History of its first Half-century.* Publications of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution. J. W. Powell, Director. Vol. xvi. 1894-95.

*Report of the United States National Museums (Smithsonian Institution) 1894.* "The Suastika," by T. Wilson, Curator.

1847	Professor Henry	.	.	\$1000	=	£200
1874	Mr. Hamilton	.	.	\$1000	=	£200
1879	Dr. Hebel	.	.	\$500	=	£100
1889	Dr. Kidder	.	.	\$5000	=	£1000
1891	Br. Bell	.	.	\$5000	=	£1000
1891	Mr. Hodgkins	.	.	\$200,000	=	£40,000
				<hr/>		
	Total	.	.	\$212,500	=	£42,500

The whole of the work of the Institution has been done with this capital, the accumulated interest from the large savings made from 1838 to 1846, when the Institution began active work, and the subsequent expansion by Congress of the Endowment Fund to \$1,000,000 = £200,000, together with some small grants from the same body.

In September 1846, the first meeting of the fourteen Regents appointed by Congress to organise and superintend the Institution was held. Active work was begun on the appointment as secretary of Professor Henry, the distinguished electrician who discovered the methods of forming and uniting interacting magnets which made electric telegraphy possible. The form the Institution was to take was the first question considered by the governing powers. The proposals made to the Board were as follows: first, That it should be a post-graduate university for promoting original investigations and for giving instruction in the higher branches of practical and theoretic knowledge to the graduates of other universities who were students of natural philosophy, chemistry, geology, mineralogy, and other sciences; secondly, that it should be a great astronomical observatory; and thirdly, an institution for promoting agriculture, with experimental farms, manufactures, mills, and workshops, superintended by a staff of teachers and instructors.

After much discussion these plans were finally superseded by one founded on the experiences of the National Institution organised in 1840 to promote (1) astronomy, geography, and natural philosophy; (2) natural history; (3) geology and mineralogy; (4) chemistry; (5) their application to useful arts; (6) agriculture; (7) American history and antiquities; (8) fine arts. To the information gained by the attempts to organise this body were added the recommendations of Mr. Rush, of Pennsylvania. He proposed to make the Institution

“A permanent national organisation under the wing of Government, and indirectly under its control, which should maintain a staff of scholarly investigators, who, by their researches, publications, and lectures, should co-operate with and stimulate the scientific and educational work of the Government, and keep the United States in touch with the scientific progress of the rest of the world; also that it should maintain a press for publishing the communications of learned societies and individuals eminent in science and letters in every part of the world.”

On the proposal of the ex-President, John Quincy Adams, it was established as a principle in the management of the Institution that

only the interest of the fund should be used in its maintenance, the principal being permanently invested in the United States Treasury. It was also laid down as a rule by Professor Henry, the first of the three eminent secretaries who have managed the Institution for the last fifty years, that in order to use its funds most effectually for increasing and diffusing knowledge, no operation should be engaged in "which could be as well, if not better, carried on under the direction and with the funds of another institution." The Institution, under the guidance of these principles of organisation and management, became an American central scientific observatory, whence, in accordance with the will of its founder, knowledge was to be increased by the detection of gaps in general scientific acquirements which the investigators of the Institution could best fill up, and whence this increase was to be stimulated by the distribution to educational centres throughout the country of scientifically arranged collections of specimens formed from duplicates of those kept in the museum; and of these, 521,000 specimens had been distributed at the close of 1896. The diffusion of knowledge, the second object of the work of the Institution contemplated in Mr. Smithson's will, was also provided for by making it a centre where the scientific publications of other societies in America and the rest of the world could be collected and distributed for general use.

In carrying out this programme half the income of the Institution was set aside for a library and museum. The library was to be one of science, and to contain (1) all books needed in the scientific departments, especially those not to be found in other libraries of the United States; (2) the bibliographical works, descriptions, histories, and catalogues of similar institutions; and (3) a methodical collection of complete sets of the memoirs, collections, and journals of learned societies, scientific periodicals, and publications of academies and universities throughout the world.

The museum was formed by Professor Baird, who became assistant-secretary to the Institution in 1850, and succeeded Professor Henry as secretary in 1878. It arose from the union of a national collection of models and natural products held hitherto in the custody of the Commissioners of Patents, but transferred to the Institution in 1858, with a small private but most scientifically arranged museum collected by Professor Baird himself. To this united collection was added twenty-three others made by different field-parties of the Pacific Railroad Survey, the Mexican Boundary Survey, and other Government expeditions engaged in exploring the national domain.

"All these parties were fitted out at the Smithsonian Institution with all necessary instruments and apparatus for natural history research, much of it contrived with special reference to the requirements of the particular service involved, and full instructions were supplied, by which persons without previous practice were enabled to master all the general

principles required for making observations and collections of every kind."

In some cases a naturalist of known experience and abilities was supplied by the Institution.

For the diffusion of the information stored in the library and museum, a system of national exchange of all scientific publications was arranged for, and rules for the wider distribution of duplicate museum specimens were drawn up. The system of national exchange of scientific publications was first started by agents appointed by the society in London, Paris, Leipsic, Amsterdam, and Norway, but it was completed under treaties made by the United States with England, France, Germany, Russia, Belgium, Brazil, Italy, Portugal, Servia, Spain, Switzerland, Uruguay, and Peru. It was through the exertions of the Smithsonian Institution in the exchange of scientific literature that Mr. Spofford could report, in his account of the libraries of the United States in 1876, that the library contained "the publications of more than 2000 societies and institutions without the limits of the United States, besides those of nearly all American societies which print their transactions or proceedings." A similar system of interchange was provided for with regard to colleges and other establishments to which specimens were presented, these being given on the understanding that the recipients should furnish, when desirable, collections from places in their neighbourhood.

To the immense work required for the maintenance of the library and museum and the interchange of publications and specimens, there was added that entailed by the establishment of a system of organised meteorological reports, recorded by voluntary observers distributed over the territory of the United States. This organisation was one of the first tasks undertaken by Professor Henry on his appointment as secretary in 1846. Its original object was the solution of the problem of the laws governing American storms. A pamphlet of *Directions for Meteorological Observations* was prepared by Professor Guyot, who was also entrusted with the duty of selecting a standard set of improved instruments, consisting of a barometer, hydrometer, wind vane, snow and rain gauge. These instructions were sent to the 412 persons who had volunteered their assistance, and to those who bound themselves to comply with the rules of the service sets of instruments were given by the Institution. These were also sold at reasonable prices to those collaborators who were unwilling to work in strict accordance with the rules. Under this system, and with the assistance of the electric telegraph, the Institution was able, in 1858, to furnish a daily map of the weather over a considerable part of the United States. The meteorological appliances of the Institution were, in 1890, increased by the Astrophysical Observatory. This was built under the superintendence of

the third secretary, Professor Langley, and was devoted chiefly to meteorological observations as to climatic changes of heat and cold indicated by the bolometer, an instrument of his invention capable of indicating a change of temperature of the hundred-thousandth of a degree, thus giving weather warnings far more accurate and minute than those recorded by the instruments hitherto used.

Besides the direction of the library, museum, national meteorological observations, and the interchange of scientific publications, the Institution devoted its efforts to the increase and diffusion of knowledge in astronomy, physics, mathematics, chemistry, geology and mineralogy, palæontology, botany, zoology, anthropology, and geography. With this end in view, it defrayed the expenses of publishing, with illustrations, new and valuable works recording discoveries in all these sciences which were not likely to recoup the heavy expenses of their publication by the profits of an early and rapid sale. Shorter papers, throwing fresh light on the subjects of these sciences, and written not only by Americans but also by foreign, and especially by English, authors, were published and circulated in the series of thirty-two quarto volumes entitled the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, the thirty-eight octavo volumes called the *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, and the eighteen volumes of the *Proceedings of the National Museum*. General surveys of the progress of these sciences were also written in the *Annual Reports* of the Institution.



Annual series of scientific lectures were also provided for by the Institution, which was chiefly aided in its labours by the voluntary assistance given in all branches by recognised scientific authorities and young students.

The work entailed by all these numerous functions proved too much for the funds of the Institution and the establishment it could afford to maintain, and hence the library, museum, and meteorological bureau were gradually transferred to Government. The library became that of Congress in April 1866. In 1875 the museum was made the National Museum; and the series of annual publications, called first the *Bulletin of the United States National Museum*, and afterwards, in 1879, the *Proceedings of the National Museum*, were begun as a continuation of the *Smithsonian Annual Reports*. In 1873 the Meteorological Bureau was transferred to the Signal Office, War Department; and in 1874 further assistance was given by Congress to the ethnological work of the Institution by the organisation, first, of the Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, and afterwards, in 1879, of the Bureau of Ethnology, supervised by Major Powell. It was he who, with a few associates, began, in 1867, the systematic exploration of the country to the west, between the Rocky Mountains and the Colorado. The work thus begun was continued under the supervision of the

Smithsonian Institution, the cost being paid from an appropriation made by Congress in 1871. Major Powell was made the director, and still continues in chief charge of the work, with the assistance, since 1893, of the present ethnologist in charge, Mr. W. T. McGhee.

In addition to the geographical and geological work first begun by the survey, the Bureau has, since Congress added in 1881 archæology to the list of authorised inquiries, prosecuted a detailed inquiry into the languages, arts both æsthetic and industrial, institutions, and religious beliefs of the American Indian races. The information collected by the large staff of trained explorers employed by the Bureau has enabled it to publish, under the editorship of Mr. J. G. Shea, who bore part of the expenses, a complete library of Indian grammars and vocabularies, illustrating the languages of over eight hundred Indian tribes belonging to the fifty-nine stocks which have been examined under the control of the Institution. It has also issued five volumes of bulletins relating exclusively to Indian vocabularies, grammars, and texts, nine volumes of a bibliography of Indian languages, and retains a large collection of still unpublished linguistic manuscripts. These collections include inquiries into sign language, pictography, hieroglyphics, decoration, painting, and tattooing, of which the results have been collated in several of the society's publications. Among these may be specially mentioned the large volume by Colonel Mallery, No. X. of the *Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology on the Picture Writing of the American Indians*, published in 1893; the "Notes on Maya and Mexican Manuscripts," "Aids to the Study of the Maya Codices," and a "Study of the Mexican Troano," in vols. iii, v., and vi. of the Bureau's *Annual Reports*. The information thus collected, together with that acquired as to the institutions of this people, the transition of widespread confederacies from nomad to settled life in stone houses and populous cities, their progress in art work, such as basket-work and pottery, with its associated symbolism, enable us to trace the developments of Indian life in America as probably that of the civilisation of a primitive type of immigrants from Asia, beginning with the rude Esquimaux. But the gradual progress of these people does not seem to have been attained by the unaided efforts towards self-improvement by the primitive settlers and their descendants. These would probably, like the Esquimaux of the present day, have continued to reproduce from generation to generation the unchanged customs of their forefathers, the first immigrants, if the original stock had not been added to by the advent in successive waves of new types of warrior, agricultural, and seafaring tribes. These two last were, when America was discovered in the sixteenth century, represented by the Muskhogi-Choctas of the territory extending from the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico, the sun-worshipping Natchez, the Maya, Zuni, and Nahuatlán tribes, who were the ancient Toltecs of Mexico and the Peruvians. They

are the descendants of the Mound-builders of Ohio, who reproduced in America the high places of South-Western Asia and Europe, called by the Phœnicians the "hills of Semiramot," or of the exalted (ram) name (shem) of God; of the powerful and well organised seafaring races, who are shown by the Government surveys to have raised the quays and coastlands of Florida by ramparts of shells; and of the city builders of Mexico and Peru.

It was these nautical immigrants who first brought to America the sacred sign of the Su-astika—that is to say, of the Bird (su or khu) of the Astika, or eight- (asti) cornered vault of heaven marked by the eight points of the compass. This sign, in its two forms of the female or left-hand Sū-astika , and the male or right-hand  Su-astika, is an Indian symbol still used by the traders of Western India to mark the annual course round the heavens of the sun-bird beginning its year at the winter solstice with the six months of the left-hand Sū-astika, when the sun goes northward, and ending it with the six months of the right-hand Su-astika, when the sun leaves the north at the summer solstice, and returns back to its southern home.

It was these people who, as is shown in the map of the diffusion of the Su-astika given in Mr. Wilson's treatise on the sign, spread its use along the coasts of the Atlantic, Mediterranean, and Pacific, from Norway to Mexico; and they brought to America the earliest form extant of it, represented in Mr. Wilson's Figure 263. This is the Sū-astika formed of the heads of four woodpeckers revolving in the annual course of the sun-bird round the circle of twelve months, indicated by the twelve points girding the central Cross of St. George. They also brought with them the story told in the *Rigveda*, and reproduced in the Cross at Palenque depicted in Mr. Wilson's Plate 20. This tells how the year-bird was, on its return to the south at the close of its career at the winter solstice, shot by the arrow of the heavenly archer Krishānū, the storm-god; this arrow forms the shaft of the cross. The bird thus slain to make way for its successor, the sun-bird of the coming year, is depicted in the Palenque Cross as cut into two parts by the augur, who is examining the entrails to discern the prognostications they give as to the events of the future year. This bird in the Palenque Cross is the turkey, the mother-bird of the corn-growing Zunis, the American form of the indigenous sun-bird of India, the domestic fowl worshipped by the Mundas of Chutia Nagpore and the ancient Greeks and Romans. The mythology of the Romans of Italy and that of the Algonquin Indians, whose territory in America adjoins and intermingles with that of the Maskhogi-Choctas, shows that this fowl was a successor of the earlier woodpecker, the year-bird of the wood-

land races, the first founders of villages. They both look on the red-headed woodpecker as their national sacred bird, and the Romans call Picus, the woodpecker, the son of Saturn, the sowing (sēro, satūm) god, the first founder of agriculture. He is the grandfather of Latinus, the son of the god of the Lat or gnomon wooden pillar marking the daily or annual course of the sun. This genealogy, translated from mythological metaphor into the history it enshrouds, tells us that the first growers of cereals, the rice cultivated in the forests of Southern India by the original founders of village life, revered the woodpecker as the sun-bird; also that this primæval bird was succeeded as a measurer of time in the course of generations by the wooden gnomon pillar, which marked the course of the sun-bird more accurately than the changes of the year shown by the forest-trees, and the nesting, procreation, and growth of the tree-bird.

These forest-born sons of the year-bird were the first reckoners of the year, and their descendants, after the evolution of ages of national growth, produced the Indian reckoning of the year of the flying sun-horse. The history of the institution is clearly told in the *Mahābhārata*, the epic history of India. There it is described as the year of Parikshit, meaning the Circler, the son of Uttarā the Pole-star goddess, and of the blade of Kusha grass (*Poa cynosuroides*) placed in her womb by Ashvatthāman, the god of the *Ficus religiosa* (ashvattha), the parent fig-tree of the corn-growing races who had come to India from Asia Minor. The sun-god was born weak, feeble, and almost lifeless, like the tender spring grass his father, and was only brought to life by the reviving touch of the god of the spring sun, the black antelope-god Krishna, who had come to India as the totem god of the corn-growing races, who also called themselves the sons of the Kusha grass, the antelope's favourite food, and used its sheaves as thatch for their altars, seats for the corn-growing fathers at the national funeral feasts, and the materials whence their Prastara, or magic rain-compelling wand, was made.

The sun-god Parikshit, the white horse of the sun, started, after his revival by Krishna, on his annual course round the heavens. This began on the full moon of Chaitra or Cheit (March-April). Thus his year began in the beginning of April, the month sacred to St. George, the plough-god Geourgos, the worker (ourgos) of the earth (ge), whose cross forms the centre of the woodpecker Sū-astika of the Algonquin Indians. It succeeded the year beginning with the vernal equinox of Arjuna or Phalguna, the ploughing bull-god of Phalgun, the month before Cheit, as in the *Mahābhārata* story of Parikshit's annual circuit Arjuna follows the white sun-horse,

On his return at the close of his year's journey, that is to say at the end of his year, this sun-god was sacrificed, and we are told that eighteen sacrificial stakes, six of the Bilva-tree (*Ægle marmelos*)

and six each of the Khadira- (*Acacia catechu*) and the Palāsha- (*Butea frondosa*) trees were erected on the sacrificial ground. To them were bound eighteen victims, one for each month of the year of the sun-horse. Of these trees the Bilva was the mother-tree of the sun-physician worshipped in South-Western Asia as the first form of the male sun-year god. The Khadira-tree was also a medicinal tree yielding the drug catechu and a red dye. It was the parent tree of the first corn-growing races, the red men who measured their year by the ten lunar months of gestation. They first instituted the custom of sacrificing a victim to each month of the year, and set up on their sacrificial ground the first series of posts made of the Khadira-tree, to which these victims offered at the two solstices were bound. They, as we are told in the *Brāhmanas*, were first ten in number, corresponding with the months of gestation of the mother-cow of the bull-sun, and then afterwards became eleven, to coincide with the eleven lunar months of the gestation of the sun-horse. These eleven were increased to eighteen at Pārikshit's sacrifice; and the last six were made of the Palāsha-tree, the parent tree of the Munda worshippers of the sun-bird. This tree was, as we are told in the *Brāhmanas*, the offspring of a feather of the Shyena or frost- (shya) bird, the sun-bird of the winter solstice—the feather which fell to the earth when the sun-bird was, like that on the Cross at Palenque, shot at the close of its year's course by the heavenly archer, the rainbow-god.

This year of eighteen months measuring the independent course of the sun-horse, who traced his year path through the stars, was a new innovation. It replaced the former astronomical notion that the sun was a great star, the star of day dragged round the heavens by the Pole, which was turned by the creating Pole-star god as the fire-drill of heaven, taking the stars with it in its gyrations. They were the scintillations of the Garothman, or home of glittering (gar) light, the palace of the father god which gleamed through the openings of the heavenly tent shrouding him from mortal eyes. The annual course of this captive sun, the bull-god tied to the pole round which he treads out the corn, was, before the institution of this eighteen-months year, measured by his passage as the antelope-sun through the equinoxes and solstices.

The new year of the sun-horse was, like that of the original Munda sun-bird, divided not into the later weeks of seven days, those measured by the reckoners of the months and weeks of gestation, but into seventy-two weeks of five days each. This was the primæval year of the first cultivating Indian races called in North India the Panchālas, or men of the five (panch) claws (ala), the five-days week. It was also that of the Zends, symbolised in the seventy-two threads of the national girdle worn by both sexes, and of the Egyptians, who looked on it as guarded by the seventy-two assistants of Set

or Hapi, the ape-god. This five-days week and year of seventy-two weeks was also that of the Scandinavians, who worshipped the white horse of the sun, the horse Grani of their god Sigurd, the gnomon pillar (urdr) of victory (sig).

The eighteen months of this year each contained twenty days, and thus it exactly corresponds with that of the Mexican Mayas, Tzentals, Quiche-Cakchiquels, Zapotecs, Nahuatls, Zunis, and Tusayans. The report of Mr. Fewkes on the Tusayan snake ceremonies<sup>1</sup> shows that among these latter people the month was divided into "five groups of four days each," and that nine of these days were devoted to the secret ceremonies of the snake festival. This seems to point to the earlier division of the year into weeks of four days, as the week of the Indian Nahushas sons of the ploughing cloud Nagash or Nagur, who became in Mexico the Nahuatls. The Nahushas, called Vārshā-giras or praisers (giras) of rain, were, as we are told in the *Rigveda*, the rulers of the land of the Panchālas. They apparently counted their days both by the sacred "gundas" or fours, still used as the reckoning unit by all Hindoos, as well as by the equally sacred five, the five fingers of the great ape-star Canopus, who measured the year by dragging his wife the Queen of the Pleiades round the Pole, and these five fingers were perpetuated in the five weeks of the month. Also to judge by the sacred nine of the Tusayans, they may perhaps have preserved the reckoning of the Basque sons of Baso, the Indian Vasuk or Bāsuk Nag, who came into India from Asia Minor as the first corn-growers. They measured their week by the length of their couvade, called in Ulster the Noinden, or week of nine divided into four days and five nights.

Mr. Thomas's report on the Day Symbols of the Maya year<sup>2</sup> shows that they gave names indicated by hieroglyphic symbols to each day of the month, and each symbol seems to denote a god. In this they followed the customs of the Zends and Babylonians, who dedicated each day to a deity, and this custom is also shown by the list of Maori deities of the days of the month to be one existing in New Zealand. These Maories apparently left India later than the Mexican Mayas, for they, like the American Peruvians and the later measurers of the Indian and Zend solar year, reckoned thirty days in the month.

That this Maya year was also that of the Indian Magas, or worshippers of the alligator Mugger, the Maga-Sebek of the Egyptians, is rendered probable by one of the symbols of the god of the first day, called by the Zapotas and Nahuatls Chilla and Cipactli, the crocodile or water-lizard, which is shown as the god of the day in Plate lxiv., 16.<sup>3</sup> This is still worshipped as their parent god by the

<sup>1</sup> *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 274, 275.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 205-205. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Thomas Day, "Symbols of the Maya Year," p. 213.

people of Maghada or Behar in India, and by those of the adjoining province of Bengal. Mr. Thomas also shows further that older Indian gods than the alligator figure in the Maya calendar, for among the symbols and roots of the names Imix and Imox, given to the first day of the month by the Mayas, Tzentials, and Quiche-Cakchiquels, he mentions Maax, the monkey, and Maach, the crow (Plate lxiv., 7, 8), and these are, according to Dr. Seler, symbols of the rain-god Chac. This is clearly a revival on Mexican soil of the tree ape of India, the rain-god Maroti, who also appears in the monkey-god to whom the eleventh day of the Maya month is dedicated, and the black crow or raven, the Bindo bird of the Gonds, who became the mother-bird in the constellation Argo. To these coincidences must be added those given by the names and symbols of the fourth and fifth days. Those for the fourth day denote an ear or loaf of corn, the god eaten by every northern farmer in India in his yearly sacrifice of first-fruits, and depicted in symbols 5 and 6 of Mr. Thomas's Plate lxy., while those for the fifth day mark it as the day of the serpent or alligator (cipactli), and the biting snake (chichan), the guardian god of the Indian villages surrounding the mother-grove as the ring of cultivated land. He is also called in Zend, Azi Dahaka, the biting snake, the god with three heads and six eyes of the year of three seasons preceding that measured by months, who was slain by Thraetaona, the Indian Trita Aptya, the rain-god. This is the god shown in Mr. Thomas's Plate lxy., No. 5. All these three gods, the ape, crow, and snake, belong to the primæval Indian mythology before the Northern immigrants had brought the worship of the sun-bull and sun-horse to Northern India. Sun-worship was in India a cult of foreign origin, for the sun was looked on by the first forest farmers of the South as a deadly enemy; and the only sun-worshippers in India before the advent of the corn-growers of Asia Minor were the Mundas or mountaineers of the North-East, who were immigrants from the mountains of Southern China, whence they brought the worship of the sun-bird, the domestic fowl.

If space and time permitted I could add many more points of resemblance between Indian chronology and mythology and that of the Mayas as set forth in Mr. Thomas's exhaustive report on the day symbols of the Maya year. It seems to me that there can be little or no doubt that the Mayas brought to Mexico the Indian method of reckoning time current in the age of the worship of the sun-horse, and that, therefore, they who came to America by way of China belonged to the same seafaring race who, under the name Turvasu in India, Turaha in Egypt, Tursena in Asia Minor, and Tyrrhenians in Italy, were the first people to establish the vast commerce of the Phœnicians of South-Western Asia and Europe. They were the men of the island of Turos in the Persian Gulf,

the sacred Dilyun of the Akkadians, who afterwards transferred their chief trading port to Sidon and Tyre.

Indian history proves that this year of the sun-horse they brought to Mexico was instituted at the close of the Kaurāvyā and the beginning of the rule of the Pāndavas their conquerors, and hence we can fix approximately the date of this new method of measuring time. The Kaurāvyā or Kushika, sons of the Tortoise (kur or kush), conquered by the Pāndavas, were the sons of the Vulture star-mother Gandhārī, the rain-goddess, who wets (dhari) the land (gan), the Hindu name for the star Vega in the constellation called successively that of the Vulture, the Tortoise, and the Lyre. This star was the Pole-star from 10,000 to 8000 B.C., and it was worshipped in Egypt as the goddess Ma'at, the supreme goddess of law and order. It was she who laid the egg from which the hundred Kaurāvyas are said in the *Mahābhārata* to have been born, and it was at the close of their rule and the beginning of the era of the worship of the sun-horse that time-reckoning entered, as I have shown above, on a new phase—in the age when the Pole-star passed, about 8000 B.C., from Vega to a star in Hercules.

The slaughter of the victims offered at the sacrifice of the sun-horse Parikshit proves that the age was still under the influence of the rule of the Northern corn-growers, who began their year by feasting on the totem animals from whom they traced their descent, and it was not till after the sacrifice of Parikshit that Nakula, the younger of the two Pāndava twins, the god of winter, announced that henceforth animal sacrifices were to be abolished, and the year opened with a sacramental feast on barley, milk, the sap of plants, and running water. This was a return to the old Southern custom of the primeval age of the Twin gods Day and Night, the fathers of Nakula and his twin brother Sahadeva, the fire-god, when they turned the stars round the Pole, and the year was begun by the sacrifice and feast of the first-fruits of the harvests of the farms of the first forest villagers. This restored sacrifice became the Soma sacrament of the Hindoos, the Haoma of the Zends, that of the Eleusinian mysteries in Greece, and survives in the sacramental meal of flour, sugar, and butter, eaten yearly at their year's festival by the Thibetan Buddhists. The festival of the Sia rain-worshippers, who then eat a porridge made of corn-seed and corn-pollen mixed in the running water, is also a variant form of this annual tribal meal.

It is to the age of the Twin gods who turned the stars round the Pole before the sun-horse entered on his independent annual course, and the institution of this national corn sacrament, that I must now turn in reviewing the Tusayan snake ceremonies. These Twin gods are called by the Hindus Ushās-Naktā, Day and Night, and by the Mexicans Ma'asewe and Unanyewe; but their birth stories show that they are duplicates of one another. In the Mexican cosmogony

of the Sias, recorded by Mrs. Stevenson in vol. xi. of the *Annual Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology*, the dwarf sexless Twin gods of day and night are said to be sons of the sun-god, born of the mother Kochinoko, the yellow virgin of the North, goddess of the dawn and gloaming, daughter of the spider-mother the Pleiades, the Indian Krittakas or Spinners. This is exactly similar to the birth of the Indian twins, the children of Vivisvat, he of the two (vi) forms, the Zend Vivanghat, and of Saranyu, the cloud-mother, the feminine form of the male yellow father of the yellow race, Hari. She was the daughter of Tvashtar, the god of the Indian years of two seasons divided into periods of six months each, the year of the Pleiades, with its seasons from November to May and May to November, and that of the sun-bird of the year divided into the solstitial periods from the winter to the summer solstice when the sun goes north, the six months called the Devayāna, or Times of the bright gods, and from the summer to the winter solstice called the Pitriyāna, or Times of the fathers, when it goes south.

These Twin gods were, according to the Sia history, born to redeem the world from the state of anarchy caused by the irruption of the Northern Ogres, the Mexican Skoyo and Hindu Ugra, who were cannibal slaughterers of children and offerers of human sacrifices, the distinguishing rite of the early Semite ritual. Their father consecrated them to the fire-god, the Pole-star god of the fire-drill of heaven, by placing them in the sweating-house, as the Greek mother-goddesses Demeter and Thetis put the nursling-sun Demophoon and the young sun-god Achilles in the fire. He also taught them to tame the totem animals, the parents of the Northern invading tribes. He gave them each a bow and arrow and three rabbit sticks, the three Drupadas or sacrificial stakes to which the human victims were bound at the Vedic sacrifice of Shunashepa, denoting the three seasons of the year of the New- and Full-moon worshippers. These sticks or gnomon pillars were the sacred signs of the Mexican year of the rabbit, the first of the great cycle of fifty-two years begun at the culmination of the Pleiades in November,<sup>1</sup> and ruled by the zodiacal sign called by the Chinese the Hare. This moon-hare is the sacred animal of the New- and Full-moon worshippers, and its sanctity still survives in the moon-hares sold with Easter eggs by all confectioners in Germany. Its connection with the year of three seasons of Orion is shown by the place of the constellation Lepus, the hare, at the feet of Orion. These three sticks were a survival of the triangular gnomon-stone erected by the earliest sun-worshippers as the Menhirs or Great Stones, and their three sides, like the three stakes, mark the three seasons of the year of the Northern corn-growers, which replaced the year of Tvashtar. These three seasons are also, as we are told in the *Brāhmanas*,

<sup>1</sup> Prescott, *History of Mexico*. Sixth Edition. Vol. i. pp. 105, 106, note.

reproduced in the arrows shot from the bow of the rainbow-god, the heavenly archer, the feathers denoting the spring, the shaft the summer, the barb the winter; and it was with this arrow, representing the three stars in Orion's Belt, that, according to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, III. 33, Rudra, the rainbow-god, shot Prajāpati or Orion, the deer sun-god, at the close of his year's course, as he begot on Rohinī, the doe-star Aldebaran, the god Vashtoshpati, the lord (pati) of the fire of the house (vastos). It is a variant form of this story, given in *Rigveda* IV. 27, in which the year-bird is slain by the arrow which is depicted on the Cross of Palenque, which I have described above.

Thus these Mexican Twins began their career as the time-gods of the age of the year of three seasons reckoned by the corn-growing races of the South and North who had met in Asia Minor; but the basis of their origin from the sun-year of two seasons was not forgotten, for Ma'asewe was the year-god of the six months called Devayāna by the Hindu, and Unanyewe of those called Pitriyāna.<sup>1</sup>

They, when furnished with their race-uniting weapons, the gnomon-tree of the south and the bow and arrow of the north, went forth to kill the gods of time of the Northern invaders. They slew successively the wolf of the east, the tiger of the north—the totem-god of the Indian mountain races, and of the Chinese tribes of the south, called the Miao or cat races—and the bear of the west, keeping the hearts of the wolf and bear, the twin gods of Asia Minor, the wolf-god Apollo, and the bear-mother Artemis. They then slew the mother sun-bird of the winter solstice on the top of the mother-mountain, and thus conquered the four seasons of their new year measured by the equinoxes and solstices, and replacing the year of Orion. They completed their task as time reformers by destroying, first, the roots of the world's tree, the Polar tree, made to revolve from the south, that is to say, by burning Skoya, the fire-giantess of the southern nadir, on her own fire; and secondly, by killing the antelope-god of the zenith, the antelope-god Krishna of the Hindoos, whose home was on the top of the world's tree. This was on the top of the zenith mountain, the Hinda-pfal or hill of the deer (hinda), where Sigurd, the Northern sun-god of the pillar (urdr) of victory (sig) woke Brunhilda, the goddess of the springs (brunnen) from her winter sleep, and became the ruler of the year formerly governed by Fafnir, the snake-god.

After their victory over the gods of time ruled by the stars of night, and the institution of the sun-year of the year of four seasons, which made them rulers of the year instead of the puny gods of day and night, these Mexican dwarf sexless twins, the counterparts of the Hindu dwarf-god Krishna, went round the world attending the feasts of the equinoxes and solstices instituted to celebrate their

<sup>1</sup> Hewitt, *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, vol. ii. essay ix. p. 260 ff.

success throughout India, South-Western Asia, and Europe. Their drink at these feasts was honey-mead, the drink of the Ashvins or Twins of the *Rigveda*, and that made for the gods in the *Edda* from the blood of Kvasir, the leaven, by the Northern dwarfs. They were in Mexico received most hospitably by the men of Oraibi, where, as we shall see, the snake ceremonies are most significant, and by those of the Kat'suna village of the people born from masks, that is, from the Northern totems. They taught their hosts the arts of making mead, and of building the round houses of the Bronze Age in place of the long barracks of the Neolithic period, and turned those who refused to receive them into stone—that is to say, they made the stone gnomons measurers of the year. Having finished their task of reforming the world, they went up the rainbow bridge to their father, who placed them in the Sandia Mountain, the sacred mother-mountain of the Kushite race. This is called in Hindu mythology Durgā, the mountain, Su-bhadrā, the sainted (bhadra) Su, or mountain-bird, the twin sister of Krishna the antelope-god. She became, as we are told in the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa*, III. 1, 4, 1, the bride of the sun-horse, and is still worshipped at the great national temple of Juganath as the wife of Rāma-Chandra, the moon- (chandra) god previously called Sitā, the furrow. This last name was given to her when her husband was Rāma, the ploughing god of the age of the year of three seasons of the growing tree. She was originally the Akkadian, Hittite, and Phœnician mother-goddess Baau or Istar.<sup>1</sup> The successor of the Twins as the ruler of the year was the sun-god Poshai-yānne, born of a virgin mother, the tree-mother of the sons of the nut-tree, the parent almond-tree Luz of the Jews, under which Jacob, the Jewish twin sun-god of the year of the thirteen months, placed the sun gnomon-stone called Beth-el or the House of God (Gen. xxxv. 6, 7). Poshai-yānne's mother was made pregnant by two nuts of the Pinon-tree down which the Twins had descended from the mountain of heaven after slaying the mother-bird of the winter solstice. I have shown in Vol. II., Essay ix., pp. 275–278 of the *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, how the story of Poshai-yānne's conquest of power and his death reproduces the Hindu history of the fish sun-god who ended his year in the watery constellation Aquarius, just as Poshai-yānne after his marriage to the mother of the sun of the future year was stabbed by the spear of the winter-god, the god Hagen who slew Sigurd, and thrown into a lake.

Poshai-yānne was the Mexican counterpart of the sun-physician to whom, as we have seen, the Hindu and Mexican year of eighteen months was dedicated; and it was as the sun-physician that the Buddha was first born as the sun-god, according to the *Nidāna-kathā*.<sup>2</sup> The name of the Buddha becomes in Chinese Fo-sho, and

<sup>1</sup> Hewitt's *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, vol. i. essay iv. pp. 336–338.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys, David's *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 67.

the name is reproduced in the Mexican *Posnai*, called Yānne, the corn-god Ya.

The account of the mythic history of the Mexican Twin gods who ruled the year from 10,000 to 8000 B.C. has been introduced to show the great historical importance of the ritual of the snake ceremonies of Oraibi, described in Mr. Fewkes's report, which was, as we have seen, especially consecrated to the Twin gods. The first point to be noticed is the date of the festival. It was held in the three villages of Oraibi, Cipaulovi, and Cuñopavi, on dates between August 11 and 24, and lasted in each village for nine days. This week, as I have shown in my *History of the Week*, WESTMINSTER REVIEW, September 1897, pp. 246, 247, was that of the nine divisions of the magic ring of the fish sun-god Solomon, the Akkadian Salamānu, the Nundinæ, or nine days' fair of the Romans. It divided the year of 360 days into forty weeks, the number of the seven-days weeks contained in the year of ten lunar months of gestation, the sacred number of the Akkadian fish-god Ia, the god of the house (I) of the waters (a) (a form of the pregnant mother-cloud), and of the Hebrew Jehovah.

But the adoption of the month of August as that in which these snake festivals are held marks them as belonging to an earlier age than that of the sun fish-god. August is the mid-year month of the year beginning in February, the Hindu month Māgha (January-February), the year of 364 days and thirteen lunar months of twenty-eight days each, still reckoned in India by the Santals, Chiroos, Mundas, Nepalese, and Thibetans—the year of the thirteen Buddhist Theris or divine mothers, and, as we are told in the *Mahābhārata*, of the thirteen wives of Kasyapa the Kushite father, also the Jewish year of the thirteen children of Jacob, the sun-god of the almond nut-tree. This month (July-August), called Srāvana or the glorious month in India, is dedicated to the snake-mothers of the land. Their great festival, called the Nāg-Pañchami or festival of the five- (pañch) days week, is held on the fifth day of the light half of Srāvana. The year in which it is the chief month is also that of the Chinese, begun by their national ploughing festival of January 20. This festival—corresponding to our Plough Monday, the first Monday after the Epiphany—was, as we are told in the *Sata-patha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 5, 2, 3-5,<sup>1</sup> that of the Kuru-Panchāma of Northern India, held in the “dewy season,” the first months of spring. It was, as we are told in the *Nidānakathā*, the first festival attended by the Buddha, the young sun-god,<sup>2</sup> who was according to this story born at the winter instead of at the summer solstice, his later birth.

The month beginning this year (January-February) is that in

<sup>1</sup> *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xli. pp. 124, 125.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys, David's *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 74.

which the Thibetan Feast of Flowers, and the national Saturnalia of Chiroos, Ooraons, and Mundas are held. It is the Athenian month Gamelion, with its festivals of the lesser Eleusinia and the Anthesteria or flower (anthos) feast. In Rome it is the month of the Faunalia of the deer (faunus) sun-god. February 15 was the day of the Lupercalia, when the circuit of the city was made to consecrate it for the coming year. This was originally the festival of the goat-god of the ten lunar months of gestation, and thongs made of the skin of the two goats sacrificed to the two divisions of the year were carried by the priests in their circuit of the boundaries. This was probably the festival of the Quinctian guild of the Lupercal priests, whose sanctuary was on the Quirinal Hill, sacred to the mother-mountain goddess Kur or Gur, the Greek goddess Korē, mother of corn. The festival of these sons of the goat was superseded by that of the wolf and of the Lupercal Fabian priests of the Palatine or square Hill, the four-cornered altar of the Tusayan snake ceremonies, consecrated to the Roman twin gods Romulus and Remus. They were nursed under the sacred fig-tree of the corn-growing races of Asia Minor by the wolf- (lupus) mother.<sup>1</sup> This was also the hill consecrated to the father-horse of the Roman race—the sun-horse of the Indian Ashvins who was slain at the Equiria on October 15, and whose blood was on April 15—the month sacred to St. George and the Indian sun-horse Parikshit—mingled with that of a calf taken from the womb of a pregnant cow.

The wolf-goddess of the year of the Lupercalia who reared the Roman twins was, as we have seen, the god killed by the Mexican Twins at the beginning of their year, when they appropriated its heart; and hence this year of the Tusayan snake festival, beginning in the same month as the Lupercalia year of Rome, points to a year of thirteen lunar months, corresponding to the number of the snake priests at the snake dance at Cipaulovi, beginning like the other years I have quoted in January-February.

But it is in the history of the Celtic sun-god Lug that we find the crowning proof that this year, beginning in January-February, was the year of the race who, like the Greek believers in Apollo and Artemis the wolf and bear gods, trace the descent of their twin gods to the wolf-mother.

Lug, the Celtic sun-god whose worship extended through Western Europe from Lug-dunum (Lyons), the fort (dun) of Lug, to Ireland, was the son of Mackinealy, meaning the son of his wolf's head, begotten on Ethne, the daughter of Balor, the Pole-star god who had one eye in his forehead and the other at the back of his head, the stars of day and night of the age of the Twin gods. Ethne, like Danaë, the mother of Perseus the fish sun-god, was confined by her father in an inaccessible tower, the three-years cycle of the Twin age,

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Bk. I. chap. iv. People's Edition, pp. 51-55.

because it was prophesied that her child would slay him, and guarded by twelve matrons, the twelve months of the year. It was in the disguise of a woman and a flying bird that Mackinealy entered the tower, as Zeus entered that of Danaë in the form of a rain-cloud.<sup>1</sup>

The centre month of the year of Lug, the month of his marriage, was that of the Lug-nassad, or joining of Lug (July-August). The games then instituted by him were held a fortnight before and a fortnight after August 1, our Lammas Day. They thus correspond exactly with the Hindu month Śrāvana (July-August). This festival was held in honour of Taill-tiu, the nurse of Lug, the goddess who cleared the land of forests and covered it with clover flowers. She thus exactly answered to the Greek Athene, the flower (anthos) goddess, whose great festival, the Panathenaia, was held on August 15, when she was presented with a peplos, or garment, recalling the flowers with which she had clothed the year.<sup>2</sup>

But the land where the flowers and seed-grain succeeding the forests came to life in July-August was not only the North, with its autumn harvests, but India. It is then that the rice sown on the first rainfall of the summer solstice begins to sprout, and that every peasant hangs up in his house a bunch of the wild rice to bless the coming year. It is on August 10 that the Thibetans, who begin their year in Māgh (January-February), celebrate the birth of Pādma the lotus.<sup>3</sup> He was the thirteenth Buddha, called Padum-uttara, the Northern (uttara) lotus, the sacred flower first consecrated to the sun-god in Central India. It is in this month that the Oraons of Chutia-Nagpore and the Kharwar Chiroos of Behar (Magadha), the sons of the barley and the plough, hold their festival of the sprouting barley, in imitation of their predecessors the rice-growers. They wear shoots of the young barley in their hair as they dance round the kurruṃ almond-tree, and it is to this almond-tree—the reproduction in India of Jacob's almond of Syria—that the barley is offered.

Besides the evidence as to the Indian origin of these snake dances given in the season of the year when they are held, there are also many other proofs that they date from the Vedic age of the Twin gods. The division into snake and antelope priests shows the ritual to be derived from that of the votaries of the Indian antelope-god Krishna, the sun-antelope, and the snake-gods who protected the villages of the earlier Indian aborigines. The period of the transportation of these rites from India to Mexico is marked by the sanctity attached to the cottonwood-tree, of which the boughs form the Kasis, or priests' sheds. This is the sacred tree of the Twin-Ashvins, who, according to the *Rigveda*, X. 85, 20, brought the sun-maiden to

<sup>1</sup> Rhys, *Hilbert Lectures for 1886*. Lect. iv. "The Culture Hero," pp. 314-318. Hewitt, *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, vol. ii. essay viii. pp. 211 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys, *Hilbert Lectures for 1886*. Lect. v. "The Sun Hero," pp. 409-416.

<sup>3</sup> Waddell, *The Buddhism of Thibet*, pp. 502, 504.

be married to Soma, the moon-god, in a car made of shalmali or cottonwood, and kimshuka or Palūsha. The wedding was held in the month of Māgha, when the wedding oxen were slain; and hence it was the union of the sun- and moon-god, at the beginning of the year of thirteen lunar months. The story shows that in the ritual of this age the sacred fire-drill and fire-socket, the chariot which brings to life on earth the god who opens the year by the lighting of the national fires, was made of Palūsha and shalmali (*Bombax heptaphylla*) wood, instead of the sacred woods of the sons of the sun-horse, the Pipul (*Ficus Indica*), and the Khadira (*Acacia catechu*) used to kindle their sacred fires. That cottonwood is a sacred firewood in America is proved by its use with that of the ash to light the national fires of the Omaha and Ponka Indians, sons, like the Sia, of the corn-mother.<sup>1</sup>

The holding of these dances of the antelope and snake priests at sunset marks the ceremonies as belonging to the age of Pole-star worship of the stars of night, preceding that of the sun-rising at dawn. And this conclusion is confirmed by the direction taken by the circuits round the consecrated ground made by the priests: all these are made against and not with the sun.

Other most significant facts are connected with the Tiponi or sacred images of the corn-god. Mrs. Stevenson, on her account of the Sias, tells us that they are made of an ear of Indian corn crowned with eagle's and parrot's feathers, and placed in a basket of cotton wool. They are the Mexican counterparts of the Greek Palladia and the Tamil images of the goddess Mari-amma, made of the wood of the sacred mother-tree, the successors given to the earlier tree deities by the corn-growing races. They are only carried by the antelope priests, who alone, as the descendants of the Northern believers in totem ancestry, worshipped images. These were unknown to the first worshippers of the snake and tree village gods, who placed, as they still do, their offerings at the foot of the mother-tree of their village. The reddened sticks and stones which now appear on these shrines are the gods of the immigrant worshippers of fire and of the sun gnomon-tree.

The Tiponi is in the dance always carried on the left arm of the antelope priest, and these priests at Oraibi wore the sacred string over the right shoulder, together with a hank of wool round the left knee. This exactly corresponds with the description in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II. 4, 2, 2,<sup>2</sup> of the Hindu Kushika fathers, predecessors of the present Brahmins, for the former are said to wear the sacrificial cord over the right instead of over the left shoulder as the Brahmins now do, and to bend the left knee in turning to the left, contrary to the path of the sun.

Also in the Oraibi ceremony the antelope altar is an epitome of

*Publications of the Bureau of Ethnology*, vol. vi. Dorsey, "Study of Siouan Cults," pp. 361, 523, 525. <sup>2</sup> Eggeling's *Sat. Brāh.*: *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xii. p. 361.

the history of the measurement of solar time up to the age of the Ashvins, which is marked by the heads of their antelope-god placed at the corners of the altar.<sup>1</sup> At each side of it is a row of twelve sticks or sacrificial trees inserted in clay pedestals. These are the twenty-four lunar phases measuring the year of the sun-bird of the age of Orion, divided, as I have shown, into the twelve months of twenty-nine days each of the Hindu Karanas, and to these 348 days twelve days of work were added by the Scandinavians, Phœnicians, and ancient Hindus of the Pre-Vedic age, to make up the 360 days of the year. Behind the altar are two Tiponis, and at the back of each Tiponi or god of the year are ten feathers. These denote the twice ten creating months of the Ashvins' year, the twenty months necessary for the reproduction and rule of the sun-god born of a sun-mother and moon-father. This sun of life was the sun-god conceived at the winter solstice and born after ten months at the autumnal equinox, to rule the next ten lunar months up to the summer solstice, when his son, conceived at his father's birth at the autumnal equinox, succeeded him.

The only reference in all these ceremonies to the later sun-god who rose in the east as the god of day is in the snake race at Cipaulovi, which took place at sunrise on the morning of the eighth day of the festival, the day sacred to the sun-god of the eight-rayed star, the sign of god and seed to the Akkadians and ancient Chinese, the god Astika of the Hindus and Eshmun of the Phœnicians, both meaning the eighth, the god Krishna, eighth son of Vasudeva, the creating (vasu) god of the Pole-star age. This was in Greek mythology the race of Atalanta, the time goddess nursed by a bear, the bear star-mother, the constellation of seven stars of the Great Bear, which formed the seven gods of the series in which Astika or Eshmun, the sun-god, was the eighth. Her race was with the god called Hippomanes, the sun-horse (hippos), who stopped her in her career as the goddess of the flying weeks of time by the three golden apples, the three seasons of the year of Orion Prajapati. This sun-horse is the white horse of the sun, the British god Epona, who began the year of Stonehenge at the summer solstice by rising behind the great north-east gnomon-stone called the Friar's Head, and it is to the north of this stone that the chariot racecourse of Stonehenge is still to be seen.

I could fill many more pages with historical coincidences between Mexican and Indian mythology and astronomy such as those I have already traced, but space will not permit me to do so. I will only conclude my essay by hoping that we may soon see Mr. Voth's report on the secret rites of the Oraibi ritual, as I am sure that it will give those who are acquainted with the ritual of the Hindoos most valuable information as to its early history.

J. F. HEWITT.

## ETHICAL PROBLEMS RAISED IN THE WORKS OF MR. HALL CAINE.

It has been frequently pointed out that one characteristic note of modern fiction is an imperative tendency to teach—to insist upon some social, moral, or religious truth, and to illustrate this with all the charm and vividness of imaginative art; with, also, the attractive force and beauty of eloquent language. In this way it has been said that the modern novelist has in great measure invaded a province not strictly belonging to fiction, and assumed a position which belongs to the exalted mission of the divine and the preacher. It is only necessary to recall some of the works of our most eminent recent novelists in order to exemplify this. George Eliot and Mrs. Gaskell, as well as Thackeray and Dickens, no less than Charles Reade and Kingsley, of the middle part of this century, were pre-eminently “writers with a purpose”—an undercurrent of moral teaching unmistakably running through their works. It has, however, been reserved for contemporary writers, who, if not gifted with the same rare creative faculties as their predecessors, are, however, possessed of striking powers in union with broad and many-sided culture, to give a new complexion to this tendency, and to impress their works with the influence of the conflicting thoughts and feelings with regard to the various questions which have during the last half-century perplexed and divided the religious world. Of this particular description of novel, perhaps the one that stands out most prominently is Mrs. Humphrey Ward’s *Robert Elsmere*; but a later illustration is Mr. Hall Caine’s suggestive story *The Christian*, which appeared originally in the *Windsor Magazine*.

It will be a matter of satisfaction to most readers that the various questions which stir and trouble the hero of the story—John Storm, a Church of England clergyman—upon his reforming crusade, are of the broadest human character, outside dogma or ritual, and belonging to the fundamental conditions of life and society. The questions which nerve and excite the proselytising divine are part of the social problems which are ever arising, and at the present day are more and more pressing themselves upon the attention of thinkers, statesmen, and philanthropists.

*The Christian* had a varied reception at the hands of critics; but,

if we regard it simply from a literary point of view, much might be said in praise of its vigour, artistic effect, and eloquent graphic powers, and much, on the other hand, as to its detailed, and somewhat overwrought, descriptions of modern life, not always faithful or reasonable. But, as already hinted, something more than mere literary effect belongs to the story, which, while it is broadly conceived and well sustained throughout, has an underlying current of ethical teaching which lifts it into a region higher than the ordinary novel. We cannot, however, regard it as Mr. Caine's happiest effort, as we shall state more fully later. The main "gist" of *The Christian* lies in another attempt to carry practically into modern life the primitive law of love and goodness as taught and exemplified by the Divine Founder of Christianity. John Storm is not exactly a Joshua Davidson—to whom he bears some resemblance—in his realistic attempts to imitate the life and works of Christ, akin although he is to the hero of Mrs. Lynn Linton's story in his socialism. In his endeavour to battle with the vices and miseries of the metropolis, John Storm carries the spirit of a primitive age into the intricacies of our modern world in a manner which was certain to receive opposition; and the wonder is that he did not encounter more, and that the difficulties of his crusade were at first so readily surmounted. There are absurdities in the book which have been noted over and over again—such, for instance, as the attitude of Storm's uncle, "Prime Minister of England"; Storm's temerity in his visits to the two young men,<sup>1</sup> who are presented as typical of the fast class of life in society, the one a good, the other a bad instance; also his description of the life of hospital nurses, respecting which Mr. Caine came under the lash of many indignant individuals; and his picture of music-halls and music-hall life. But enough has been said with regard to these defective features; the point to which we wish now to refer more particularly is concerned with the attempt to give practical form to the ethical teaching of Christ among the rich and poor of our own day in this metropolis.

It may be asked why should this not be, if Christianity is to be anything more than a theory? What is the aim of our Established Church, of our nonconformist bodies, if it is not this—to transmute the teaching of Christ into the actions and aims of society? A religion degenerates into something akin to a theoretical philosophy if it is not embodied in the lives of those who profess it. Why, then, should John Storm's attempt appear so futile, and in some instances so impracticable, as delineated in the story of *The Christian*? The simple answer to this is that John Storm is not only an impracticable individual, but that the author's manner of planting in the midst of our nineteenth-century life an individual with the theories

<sup>1</sup> Lord Robert Ure and Mr. Deake, "Deake of the Home Office, you know."

of the first century, without any allowance for the change of time, is at the outset faulty. The notion which appears to have misled the hero of the story, and we may suppose the author himself, is that Christ would have endeavoured to have regenerated society in the way in which John Storm attempts to do so. This is the mistake of the work. There was nothing essentially communistic in the teaching of Christ. No doubt in that teaching everything is made subservient to the exertion of spiritual influence; but in Christ's teaching there is no violence, no encouragement of the professional poor, no trace of obtrusive interference; it is by generous self-forgetfulness and gentleness that the way is to be won to the heart of selfishness. Then, take the difference between the society of a modern city and that of the city to which the teaching of Christ was addressed. The individuals in the former are loose and scattered; those of the latter were united almost as closely as the branches of a single family. John Storm's great blunder lay in not perceiving that you cannot treat the vast societies of modern times as those of the early centuries. Or, as it has been said, "No conception can be more radically un-Christian than the attempt to establish communistic organisations for the general good of societies infinitely too large to be penetrated by those spiritual affections which can alone wield these organisations successfully." Where Storm again seems to us to miss the mark is that he wishes to dominate when conciliation would have advanced his views and position far more advantageously. Comparing this latest spiritual reformer with some of his former prototypes, it must strike every one that he is hard, overbearing, and somewhat unjust, in comparison to the gentleness and humanity that have marked many eminent names in religious history.

But it may be said that we are treating Mr. Caine's romantic conception as though he were an historical personage. In truth, the vigour, vividness, and daring of his dramatic representation of Storm is entitled to high commendation as a realistic work of art. His life is a tragedy; and nothing is sadder than its end, which is darkened by the failure of his visions as well as the manner in which he endeavoured to carry them out. Over these we shall not linger, but, in conclusion, say a word or two with respect to other works of Mr. Caine, two of which seem to us to reach a higher standard of excellence than *The Christian*. We should prefer to rest our estimate of his powers upon *The Scapegoat* or *The Bondman*, both vigorously and artistically conceived and executed.

Mr. Caine is a forcible, versatile, imaginative artist; his productions are, moreover, brilliant, captivating, thoughtful, and carefully elaborated. Some idea of how intensely Mr. Caine enters into his work may be gathered from what he has himself told us of the mental struggle over his novel, *The Shadow of a Crime*. "Shall I ever forget the agony of the first efforts? It took me nearly a fort-

night to start that novel, sweating drops of blood at every fresh attempt. I must have written the first half volume four times at the least." In concluding, Mr. Caine adds: "Every book that I have written since has offered yet greater difficulties. Not one of the little series but at some moment has been a despair to me."

*The Bondman* and *The Deemster* brought Mr. Caine into a prominent position among contemporary novelists, both these stories illustrating the writer's vigorous and sustained dramatic power and intensity, as well as his mastery of a style distinguished by its graphic and poetical eloquence. In the instance of *The Bondman* the title was held to be hardly adequate, and the epithet "prose epic" was added. *The Bondman*, as well as *The Scapegoat*, drew from Mr. Gladstone praise of the heartiest description, and, in a letter congratulating Mr. Caine on the latter work, the appreciative writer praised especially "the noble and skilfully drawn character of Israel."

Mr. Hall Caine's ethical purpose in all his stories is so vivid, distinct, and prominent, that it can hardly be passed over by the most hasty reader. In none of his books is this more beautifully or profoundly brought out than in *The Scapegoat*, that story of the long-suffering Israel and his stricken child, Naomi. The description of the communion between the dumb, blind girl and her loving father, and the account of how the gifts denied to her at birth became hers, are ideal in their pathetic beauty and significance :

"Although Israel did not know it, and in the hunger of his heart he would have given all the world to learn it, yet if any man could have peered into the dark chamber where the spirit of Naomi had dwelt seventeen years in silence, he would have seen that, dear as the child was to the father, still dearer and more needful was the father to the child. Since her mother left her he had been eyes of her eyes and ears of her ears, touching her hand for assent, patting her head for approval, and guiding her fingers to teach them signs."

Of the many fresh and powerful descriptions of the book, those for poetic and imaginative fascination, describing Naomi's delight and rapture when, having, almost miraculously, acquired sight, the sweetness, glory, and mystery of the natural world are first unfolded to her glance, are incomparable. One instance of this we cannot refrain from quoting ; it is her wonder and surprise at beholding her own features reflected in the sea :

"At that moment a new and dearer wonder came to her, such as every maiden knows whom God has made beautiful, yet now remembers the hour when she knew it first. For, tracing with her eyes the shadow of the cliff and of the continent of cloud that sailed double in two seas of blue to where they were broken by the dazzling half-round of the sun's reflected disc on the shadowed quarter of the boat, she leaned over the side of it, and then saw the reflection of another and lovelier vision.

"Father," she cried in alarm, "a face in the water! Look! Look!"

"It is your own, my child."

"Mine!" she cried.

"The reflections of your face," said Israel, "the light and the water make it."

"How beautiful!" she cried; "how beautiful!"

But as the romancer says: "to tell of how those first days of sight sped along for Naomi; with what delight of ever-fresh surprise, and joy of new wonder, would be a long task if a beautiful one."

In this romance, as in others of Mr. Caine's, much as we may admire the affluent fancy, grace of expression, and vividness of description, a profounder attraction is to be found in the consummate manner in which we are made to feel how the varied workings, the subtle, curious devices of the human mind are subservient to a Higher Purpose and Will; how man's destiny here is watched over and guided by a Divine Love. *The Scapegoat* may be taken as a lofty dramatic allegory of that grand but inscrutable Power by whom the ways of the children of men are determined, and the justice which is at the heart of the universe vindicated. "The irony of fate! the irony of God!"—words which occur towards the end of the story—would be profane as well as misleading if we thought they were meant to reflect upon His wisdom.

Mr. Hall Caine's teaching is of a noble and lofty character; a little eccentric at times; but at the heart of it sound as well as elevating. We have not space to follow it through his other contributions to literature, or it might be easily shown that the lesson of *The Bondman* and that of *The Manxman* is the same; the similarity between the characters of the two works is also singularly striking. The heroes in each case are Titans of a primitive vigour and freshness. We feel that Mr. Caine is more at home in dealing with characters of this kind than with those surrounded and affected by the perplexities of our confused modern life; and trust that we shall soon meet him again with a subject more suitable to his genius than that of *The Christian*.

THOMAS BRADFIELD.

## POLITICAL COUNSEL TO THE WORKING MAN.

PROPHECY is at all times dangerous, and, generally speaking, wholly unreliable, unless it be founded upon irresistible evidence. It appears that such testimony exists in sufficient dimension to warrant the assertion that the lot of the working classes will be in the future far more removed from slavery than hitherto. During the last fifty years the working man has achieved much in the way of emancipation from serfdom and oppression; that period has been remarkable for progress in this direction; such has, indeed, been one of the most prominent triumphs of the Victorian era—its speed has quickened year by year, if not in action, it has in the direction of the toilers acquiring greater discernment and claiming that which is, by the moral law, their own.

Taking a retrospective glance at the aforementioned time, it is seen that at its commencement the working man groaned under cruel wrongs which to-day are altogether inconceivable; it is simply amazing to think that men endured with comparative unconcern such shocking treatment. That it was wrong it is difficult to find any one to-day to question; yet people in bygone days appeared to require proof of it. Charles Kingsley and others, who condemned employers who subjected their servants to ill-treatment, a few years ago were stigmatised as fanatics and agitators, whose only object was to stir up strife and set class against class. *Yeast* and *Alton Locke* when published—setting forth, as they did without a sensation of exaggeration, the miseries endured by starving farm-labourers and the atrocities which were perpetrated in the sweating-dens, while landowners, farmers, and other employers fattened on the fruits—brought to their author a volume of abuse and insult; the majority of his fellow-clergy regarded him as unworthy of their acquaintance and beneath contempt; while Tory landed proprietors and capitalists considered him to be more a representative of the evil one than of man. When Mr. Joseph Arch came forward and pointed out to his fellow farm-labourers that they were not of brute creation, and that they were entitled to a living wage as much as a landlord was to his rent, and that they were justified in demanding a voice in the government and in the making of the laws of the land in

which they lived, he was assailed as a malignant disturber of the peace and an insane dreamer; and when Mr. Gladstone extended the Parliamentary franchise to the farm-labourer a chorus rose throughout the land from his political opponents to the effect that he was placing in the hands of a body of men a power which they were incompetent to exercise and to which they had no title. Yet who to-day would dare to say in public that Mr. Gladstone did wrong in the extension of the franchise? And who to-day can be found with sufficient courage to declare that Charles Kingsley was wrong in the course he took, and that Mr. Joseph Arch was, in agitating the farm-labourers, committing an act of immorality?

These facts show the progress towards the emancipation of the working classes and the disposition of the majority of the community to welcome, rather than oppose, such reform; but it must be borne in mind that the rescue from the fiery furnace is not yet accomplished, it is only work being done. The sufferings of the poor are yet only mitigated, merely reduced in volume. Working men have, in consequence of the extension of the franchise and amalgamation amongst themselves, found their way into the House of Commons, where they have made their power felt and proved that they have justification in complaint, and, further, that they are reasonable and honest in their demands and require only that which is their due. Trade-unions and other associations have sprung into existence, which have put into the hands of the defenceless weapons with which they can defend themselves and ward off the cruel blows of the oppressor, or at least lessen their force.

A successful commencement has been made, the machinery has been set in motion, and the only work now to be done is to keep it going; it is, however, obvious that caution and foresight must be to the movement as the governors to the steam-engine. Working men must not lose their equilibrium and permit success to intoxicate them, they must discard as poison any movement which savours of dishonesty, they must turn their backs upon all men who would lead them into a course of danger or mischief, and wholly ignore the proffered leadership of men whose views are extravagant or outside the pale of right. Excess in a political or social movement is a forerunner of disaster, and is bound to do injury to it if it be pursued. There is no necessity to attempt to reach a height which is inaccessible, nor is there any occasion to endeavour to attain a speed which would quickly spend the strength of the mechanism or even to strain it in the least degree. Honesty and fair play are characteristic of Englishmen; a prolonged violation of these great principles is what all friends of the toiling masses are bent upon frustrating. Associations of working men are acting to destroy injustice, dishonesty, and tyranny; they have met with success in destroying much; let them continue this destruction, but on no account must they con-

struct any species on their side of that which they destroy on the other. They are unfairly treated, they are suffering greatly from such ; but reciprocity in the form of unfairness is not what they must strive for ; it would be no remedy, but merely an evil. Equity all round is the remedy, and this, if demanded with perseverance and determination, can be acquired. *Tentes id, quod possis facere.*

It is no difficult matter to determine at what the fusillade of the toiling masses must be directed ; every working man with any sense is aware of the many matters in which not only his employer has an unjust ascendancy over him, but the owner of the house in which he lives and others with whom he comes directly or indirectly into contact, such as the magistrates and Poor-Law guardians. He must be put in a position in which he can assert himself, and, to deal with all these on an equal footing, he must be raised to the level of citizenship with all its powers and its rights ; until this be done he will remain a comparatively impotent and helpless creature.

The whims of some men who urge working men to believe that there should be no employers of labour, no capitalists, no landowners, and no Government are so absurd and puerile that few men amongst the working classes give them any countenance or support. Such political creeds, in various colours and shapes, have been brought forward from time immemorial by men who have known no better ; such ideas emanate more from profound stupidity than from any other source. The proposals, unfortunately, do a certain amount of damage ; they sometimes attract, occupy the minds, and confuse the thoughts of men whose attention should be given to practical, reasonable, and sensible reform. Further, if only a few working men, or so-called working men, advocate the adoption of predatory measures, squeamish people are frightened into the belief that in the future such opinions will largely prevail amongst the working classes ; people with this fear are consequently reluctant to extend the powers which the working man at present possesses.

There is, however, no ground for belief that working men will in the future give countenance to acts of dishonesty. Any movement which is novel, or has an air of the picturesque, such as the idea of making every man equally rich, is sure to secure a certain amount of attention, but the novel and the picturesque generally are found to be more attractive to the mind's eye at a distance and will not stand close inspection ; this is the case with regard to the senseless and impossible crotchets of certain men who, in their simplicity, imagine themselves to be practical politicians and monopolists of wisdom.

Working men must continue to embrace the practical ; they must act in combination, and strive for that which is within their reach ; it will no doubt occupy years to secure in its entirety, it is never-

theless worth working for and waiting for. Let the toiling masses not be so unwise as to put the hands of the clock back, or to break or injure the machinery which has been made to obtain for them their rights. That they will not be so devoid of sense as to follow a will-o'-the-wisp, and dash to the 'ground the possibility or, more than that, the certainty of their success, is the conviction and the opinion of all who are acquainted with their acumen and forethought. It is utterly impossible for any irremovable obstacle to stand between them and their just aspirations, unless they in a moment of weakness place it there themselves.

T. M. HOPKINS.

## ON THE INTERPRETATION OF EMILY BRONTË.

THOUGH Haworth Parsonage was not like Somersby Rectory in Tennyson's youth, "a nest of singing birds," it produced among its five versifiers one gifted singer. As if Nature would show how much she could accomplish with a single stock, the family which afforded material for some of the most fascinating biographies in the English language, and gave us some of the best novels, produced also a remarkable poet. Emily Brontë's right to the title is stamped upon all her work, and perhaps even more clearly upon her romance than upon her verse. For *Wuthering Heights*, if we have regard to its essential qualities rather than its accidental form, is not a novel, but a tragedy. Emily's place is not with Scott and Thackeray, George Eliot and Charlotte Brontë, but with the poets: her prose drama links her with Shakespeare, as her affinities in her verse are with Coleridge and Blake. Until this is clearly perceived much criticism of *Wuthering Heights* will be misdirected. In literature, as in science, comparison is only fruitful when the subject is placed in its right genus and class.

My concern in this paper, however, is chiefly with the poems of Emily Brontë, which even now have not attained to a full measure of appreciation. The little book in which they appeared, it is well known, fell stillborn from the press. And when, later, the Brontë novels attracted attention to them anew, the critics, from Lockhart downwards, were, as Charlotte bitterly complained, "blind as bats, insensate as stones," to Emily's merits. The lapse of half a century has brought about a certain quickening of this critical insensibility. Her swan-song, the pantheistic hymn she wrote as she stood on the threshold of the grave, now finds a place in every anthology of English verse, and lovers of literature are aware that several others of her poems are remarkable. But the impression still remains that the bulk of her verse possesses little merit.

This inadequate estimate is due to a variety of causes. It is accounted for in part by the inclusion of one or two pieces, probably written very early in life, which really are of small value. The average reader, who finds most of the poems a little difficult to understand, sees the defects of these at a glance, and passes judg-

ment accordingly. A more patient examination, however, would have shown how small the amount of loss really is. Once we have been at the pains to grasp their meaning there are few of the poems of Emily Brontë we should care to part with.

Another cause of the undervaluing of Emily's verse is to be found in the careless rhymes and faulty construction by which they are often disfigured. Sometimes these are obviously due to the printer's carelessness; but also it would seem that Emily Brontë, like the Brownings, affected to despise ornamental capitals and gilt edges, valuing rather weighty thought than elegant expression. Had she lived she probably would have learnt to value more highly the technique of her art. And in any case it would be a mistake to suppose she could not be mistress of sound as well as sense when she chose. A few of her lyrics are even exquisitely musical; some have the spontaneousness and inevitableness of an Elizabethan snatch, others the childlike grace and charm of Blake at his best. Let any one with an ear for the melody of words read "Hope was but a timid friend," or "The linnet's in the rocky dells" (correcting the obvious misprints of the first verse), or "The Lady to her Guitar," and he will not doubt that the gift of musical expression was a part of this poet's original equipment.

But the main obstacle to the wider recognition of Emily Brontë's poetical gifts is the prevailing notion that much of her work is hopelessly obscure. Those who grant her some of Blake's charm charge her also with much of his mad inconsequence. Even so sympathetic a critic as Miss Mary F. Robinson supports this notion: she speaks of the "incoherence" of the poems, likens them to scenes in a dream "rapidly succeeding each other without logical connection," speaks of their "uncertain outline bathed in a vague golden mist of imagination," and seems to think that many of them contain no meaning whatever: we may admire the vivid colour, but they are blotches of paint, not pictures! Can any one who has appreciated the masterly power of *Wuthering Heights* suppose that when its author turns to verse she becomes an intellectual sloven and incapable of logical expression? I believe, on the contrary, that, putting aside the few stanzas which are immature, there is not one of Emily's poems in which she has not some definite thought or thoughts to express, or in which she fails to utter them with precision. The obscurity vanishes once we are able to place ourselves in the position the poet occupied when she wrote them. Charlotte printed explanatory headings to one or two of the poems which were published after her sister's death. One of these runs:

"The genius of a solitary region seems to address his wandering and wayward votary, and to recall within his influence the proud mind which rebelled at times even against what it most loved."

Without these words the poem would have been as "obscure," as "incoherent," as any which bears Emily's name; but with them all becomes clear, and we read the verses with singular interest. I believe it would be possible to prefix similar elucidations to all the poems; and if it be asked how the clues may be found which will guide us to their meaning, I reply, by the very simple process of considering the circumstances and environment of Emily's life.

There is a superstition that Emily was independent of environment, that all her powers were self-evolved, and were unmodifiable by circumstance. This is not true of Emily, because it is not true of any author. On lately visiting Haworth I turned into a little dissenting burial-yard containing a few score graves. The first tombstone my eye fell on was inscribed with the name of Murgatroyd, and, glancing round, the names Earnshaw, Barraclough, Moore, Malone—all to be found in the Brontë novels—were met with in rapid succession; a proof that in small things as in great we are acted upon irresistibly by our surroundings. As nature can change sand into opals and clay into sapphires, and can transmute ordure into the fragrance and loveliness of the rose, so imagination can vivify and transfigure the commonplace experiences of which ordinary existence is made up, and bathe them in "the light that never was on land or sea"; but nevertheless the dictum holds true of the creative forces of nature and of imagination alike—*ex nihilo nihil*. Therefore, however wonderful was the magic wand which Emily's imagination wielded, her character and surroundings cannot but afford some clue to the nature of her thoughts and creations.

It is true that in a sense we know little of Emily Brontë; but this is because externally there was little to know. The world for her was comprised in Haworth Vicarage and the moors beyond it; humankind was represented by her own family circle. Charlotte tells us in the preface to *Wuthering Heights* that Emily hardly spoke to a soul in her father's parish, and during her short sojourn at the Brussels pensionnat she remained equally aloof. That her life was thus limited was not, perhaps, a matter to be deplored. Confined within such narrow walls, the stream of her imagination wore itself a deep channel. Had her experience been more varied that stream would have been wider, but also shallower and more like other streams: it would have reflected more things in heaven and earth, but there would have been none of those dark fathomless pools which have such a fascination for us. Nor does the narrowness of Emily's life make it more difficult to use it as a guide to the interpretation of her work. A career full of change and incident would have been too complex for our purpose; but here the clues are so few that it is easy to follow them out. The influences which shaped her work are easily catalogued. There was the intense attachment to her home and people, which made even a short separation positive agony;

there was the tragedy of her only brother's moral ruin ; the passionate love of nature ; the shyness of character and loneliness of life which intensified the pleasures of imagination and caused her to brood deeply over the problems of existence. To one or other of these influences almost all her poems may be traced.

Her intense *love of home* finds expression in the first three of her posthumous poems, which Charlotte tells us were all written in her sixteenth year, when, for a few brief months, she was an exile at school. The vividness with which she paints the beloved moorland around Haworth is very remarkable. Four lines suffice to focus the whole scene :

"The mute bird sitting on the stone,  
The dank moss dripping from the wall,  
The thorn-trees gaunt, the walks o'ergrown,  
I love them—how I love them all!"

Touches equally felicitous are to be found in all three poems—vignettes of nature such as none but a poet could have written, depicting the moors in spring, autumn, and winter ; but these are but foils to the keen pain at separation from home which these poems express. It is only, of course, in these juvenile verses that this passionate attachment to home finds direct expression ; but it must have coloured all her feeling, and so have subtly affected all her work.

We may say, too, of the *tragedy of her brother's fall* that its effect is not limited to those poems which directly deal with it. It partly accounts for her occasional pessimism, and for the undertone of sadness which may be detected in most of her writings. But two poems at least refer to Branwell in every line. One, "The Wanderer from the Fold," is a lament, after his death, over that misspent life, written with great simplicity and feeling. The opening verses give the keynote to the whole :

"How few of all the hearts that loved  
Are grieving for thee now ;  
And why should mine to-night be moved  
With such a sense of woe ?

Too often thus, when left alone,  
Where none my thoughts can see,  
Comes back a word, a passing tone  
From thy strange history.

Sometimes I seem to see thee rise,  
A glorious child again ;  
All virtues beaming from thine eyes  
That ever honoured men."

And so she goes on to depict his life as a voyage in which the traveller trusted "in pleasure's careless guiding"—a voyage begun in sunshine and gladness and ended in shipwreck amid gathering mists. The concluding verses are pathetic and characteristic :

"An anxious gazer from the shore,  
I marked the whitening wave,  
And wept above thy fate the more  
Because—I could not save.

It recks not now, when all is over :  
But yet my heart will be  
A mourner still, though friend and lover  
Have both forgotten thee."

The other poem—which is well known—was written before Branwell's death, though she speaks as if the subject of it were already in the grave. It was undoubtedly called forth by the spectacle of his vices. She records the varying moods—first sorrow and then moral disgust—which his conduct inspired in her ; and then follow the lines so often quoted :

"But these were thoughts that vanished too,  
Unwise, unholy, and untrue :  
Do I despise the timid deer  
Because his limbs are fleet with fear ?  
Or would I mock the wolf's death-howl  
Because his form is gaunt and foul ?  
Or hear with joy the leveret cry  
Because it cannot bravely die ?  
No ! Then above his memory  
Let Pity's heart as tender be ;  
Say, ' Earth, lie lightly on that breast,  
And, kind Heaven, grant that spirit rest ! '"

These words were written, be it remembered, before the doctrine of heredity had been preached and accepted—in 1846 they would be banned as merely dangerous. But the truth which Emily here discloses by a flash of intuition is now blessed by science and religion alike—the truth that character is largely conditioned by circumstance and inheritance, and that a man is to be judged "according to that he hath, and not according to that he hath not."

A third influence in Emily's life was her intense *love of nature*. How much of her inspiration came from earth and sky, how dearly she loved to ponder

"All Nature's million mysteries,  
The fearful and the fair,"

is well known. In the power of conjuring up some scene of exquisite beauty in two or three lines, to which I have already alluded, she was, perhaps, surpassed by no other poet but Coleridge. Take this as an example :

"Paled, at length, the sweet sun setting,  
Sunk to peace the twilight breeze,  
Summer dews fell softly, wetting  
Glen, and glade, and silent trees."

The comfort she derived from Nature's companionship is beautifully expressed in a poem entitled "Sympathy," in which she reminds herself that despair is impossible so long as the beloved objects of the natural world surround her :

"They weep, you weep, it must be so ;  
 Winds sigh as you are sighing,  
 And winter sheds its grief in snow  
 Where autumn's leaves are lying :  
 Yet these revive, and from their fate  
 Your fate cannot be parted ;  
 Then journey on, if not elate,  
 Still, *never* broken-hearted !"

Nature, indeed, shared with Imagination the empire of Emily's heart, but still it held an inferior dominion, and it need not be alluded to further here except so far as it serves to illustrate the master-influence of Emily's powerful mind.

The master-influence to which I allude was the *irresistible craving to exercise the creative faculty* with which she was so richly endowed. Imagination was to Emily all, and more than all, that Nature was to Wordsworth. It was something quite distinct from the pleasure which comes from communing with the natural world, and, indeed, as we shall see, often conflicted with it. It was the power of retiring into the recesses of her own mind, and there projecting creations as intensely real as those we find in *Wuthering Heights*. When we realise the influence of this power over Emily's life we have the key to much that is otherwise obscure in her work.

Imagination was in Emily's conception a real being—a spirit to be invoked with circumspection, and sometimes to be laid with difficulty. The poem entitled "The Visionary" describes how this mysterious visitor comes into the house at dead of night, silent, viewless, invulnerable :

"What I love shall come like visitant of air,  
 Safe in secret power from lurking human snare ;  
 What loves me no word of mine shall e'er betray,  
 Though for faith unstained my life must forfeit pay.  
 .  
 Burn then, little lamp ; glimmer straight and clear—  
 Hush ! a rushing wing stirs, methinks, the air ;  
 He for whom I wait thus ever comes to me :  
 Strange Power ! I trust thy might ; trust thou my  
 constancy."

Several other poems deal with the advent of this mysterious power. Emily's familiar spirit, however, was not allowed to come and go at will ; it was kept under firm discipline. To Emily was entrusted the supervision of the household affairs, and she was far too rigidly conscientious to allow anything to interfere with her practical duties. Her life exemplified the truth that "the spirits of the prophets are

subject unto the prophets." In the fragment called "The Prisoner"—an allegorical poem which hitherto seems to have been little understood—Imagination is represented as chained and imprisoned: the "Master" by whose orders she is thus treated is Emily herself, and the "jailer" is the embodiment of her own powerful will. When the Master visits the dungeon and taunts the prisoner with her impotence the mild captive answers that no bolts, or iron, or forged steel are strong enough to hold her. On this the jailer retorts that she will vainly seek to turn the Master from his purpose:

"My Master's voice is low, his aspect bland and kind,  
But hard as hardest flint the soul that lurks behind;  
And I am rough and rude, yet not more rough to see  
Than is the hidden ghost that has its home in me."<sup>1</sup>

But Imagination relates—in lines of wonderful power—how a mysterious spirit nightly comes to visit her, and that then all the miseries of her position are at an end. It would seem from these lines that when this strange power left her Emily experienced sensations so vivid as almost to resemble physical agony.

"He comes with western winds, with evening's wandering airs,  
With that clear dusk of heaven that brings the thickest stars.  
Winds take a pensive tone, and stars a tender fire,  
And visions rise and change that kill me with desire.

\* \* \* \* \*

But first a hush of peace—a soundless calm descends;  
The struggle of distress and fierce impatience ends;  
Mute music soothes my breast—unuttered harmony,  
That I could never dream till earth was lost to me.

Then dawns the Invisible; the Unseen its truth reveals;  
My outward sense is gone, my inward essence feels;  
Its wings are almost free—its home, its harbour found,  
Measuring the gulph, it stoops and dares the final bound.

Oh! dreadful is the check—intense the agony—  
When the ear begins to hear and the eye begins to see;  
When the pulse begins to throb, the brain to think again,  
The soul to feel the flesh and the flesh to feel the chain."

Besides the poems dealing with the advent of this mysterious power there are others in which Imagination and Nature are rivals for the singer's thoughts: for example, in the verses already alluded to as having an explanatory heading by Charlotte, the Genius of Nature expostulates with the dreamer:

"Thy mind is ever moving  
In regions dark to thee;  
Recall its useless roving,  
Come back and dwell with me,"

<sup>1</sup> Compare Charlotte's description of Emily: "Her will was not very flexible . . . her spirit altogether unbending."—Preface to *Wuthering Heights*.

and appeals to the intense love of nature which he knows possesses her :

“ Few hearts to mortals given  
On earth so wildly pine ;  
Yet few would ask a heaven  
More like this earth than thine.”

And sometimes this appeal is not in vain. In one of her finest efforts Emily records her determination to leave the strainful ecstasies of creative thought for the more soothing pleasures of communion with her beloved moors :

“ To-day I will not seek the shadowy region ;  
Its unsustaining vastness waxes drear ;  
And visions rising, legion after legion,  
Bring the unreal world too strangely near.

\* \* \* \*

I'll walk where my own nature would be leading :  
It vexes me to choose another guide :  
Where the grey flocks in ferny glens are feeding,  
Where the wild wind blows on the mountain-side.

What have these lonely mountains worth revealing ?  
More glory and more grief than I can tell :  
The earth that wakes one human heart to feeling  
Can centre both the worlds of Heaven and Hell.”

It is not often, however, that the encounter ends thus. In “ The Night Wind,” for instance, all Nature's blandishments are in vain :

“ I said, ‘ Go, gentle Singer,  
Thy wooing voice is kind,  
But do not think its music  
Has power to reach my mind.

Play with the scented flower,  
The young tree's supple bough,  
And leave my human feelings  
In their own course to flow.’ ”

So, too, in “ A Day Dream,” where the different objects on the moor upbraid her with being the only thing there out of harmony with the surroundings : having no defence to urge, she takes refuge with Nature's rival :

“ So resting on a heathy bank,  
I took my heart to me ;  
And we together sadly sank  
Into a reverie.”

Dear to her as were the wild moors and the changeful sky, the strange visionary power she possessed was dearer still.

It will have been gathered from the above passages that Emily's creative faculty was most active at night. All the many invocations

to Imagination are uttered when darkness is approaching or is regnant. Take as an example the opening verses of "How clear she shines":

"How clear she shines! How quietly  
I lie beneath her guardian light;  
While heaven and earth are whispering me  
'To-morrow, wake, but dream to-night.'  
Yes, Fancy, come, my fairy love!  
These throbbing temples softly kiss;  
And bend my lonely couch above,  
And bring me rest, and bring me bliss.'

It would seem, indeed, that the daylight was at times positively hateful to her as interrupting the activity of her imagination. Thus, in the original and characteristic verses entitled "Stars":

"Thought followed thought, star followed star,  
Through boundless regions on;  
While one sweet influence, near and far,  
Thrilled through and proved us one!

Why did the morning dawn to break  
So great, so pure a spell,  
And scorch with fire the tranquil cheek  
Where your cool radiance fell?

Blood-red he rose, and, arrow-straight,  
His fierce beams struck my brow,  
The soul of Nature sprang elate,  
But *mine* sank sad and low!"

She closed her eyes, but the sun blazed through their lids; she buried her head in the pillow, but

"... the pillow glowed  
And glowed both roof and floor;  
The birds sang loudly in the wood  
And fresh winds shook the door."

And so the poem concludes:

"Oh stars, and dreams, and gentle night,  
Oh, night and stars, return!  
And hide me from the hostile light  
That does not warm, but burn;

That drains the blood of suffering men,  
Drinks tears, instead of dew;  
Let me sleep through his blinding reign,  
And only wake with you!"

It was in the silence and solitude of night that Emily found her inspiration, and night's eeriness and mystery are in all she wrote.

That this lonely soul found a wondrous solace in the exercise of her powerful imagination ; that it created for her worlds as real and more beautiful than any the senses can reveal, she tells us again and again. Poem after poem is devoted to the praises of Imagination. In "Plead for Me" she bids this "radiant angel" explain to "Reason with the scornful brow" why it is that she shuns the common paths, and does not value the prizes which charm other mortals. It is because she has given all her worship to an "ever-present phantom thing" that is at once her king, her comrade, and her slave :

"A slave, because I rule thee still ;  
Incline thee to my changeful will,  
And make thy influence good or ill :  
A comrade, for by day and night  
Thou art my infinite delight,—  
My darling pain that wounds and sears,  
And wrings a blessing out from tears  
By deadening me to earthly cares :  
And yet a King, though Prudence well  
Have taught thy subject to rebel."

And so she holds herself justified in her unworldliness :

"And am I wrong to worship where  
Faith cannot doubt nor hope despair,  
Since my own soul can grant my prayer ?  
Speak, God of Visions, plead for me,  
And tell why I have chosen thee !"

How safe was the refuge she found in her own solitary thoughts she has proclaimed in her stanzas "To Imagination" :

"So hopeless is the world without,  
The world within I doubly prize ;  
The world where guile, and hate, and doubt,  
And cold suspicion never rise ;  
Where thou, and I, and liberty  
Have undisputed sovereignty.

What matters it that all around  
Danger and guilt and darkness lie,  
If but within our bosom's bound  
We hold a bright untroubled sky,  
Warm with ten thousand mingled rays  
Of suns that know no winter days ?

\* \* \* \*

For thou art ever there, to bring  
The hovering vision back, and breathe  
New glories o'er the blighted spring,  
And call a lovelier life from Death,  
And whisper, with a voice divine,  
Of real worlds as bright as thine."

What imagination can do for a life is again her theme in "The Two

"Children"—a poem which, I suppose, is usually reckoned among the "obscure." In the first part she depicts some neglected waif, such as she must often have seen in the slums of Haworth and Keighley—a "sunless human rose." She addresses him in the language of pessimism :

" Blossom—that the west-wind  
Has never wooed to blow,  
Scentless are thy petals,  
Thy dew is cold as snow.

Soul—where kindred kindness  
No early promise woke,  
Barren is thy beauty  
As weed upon a rock.

Wither—soul and blossom !  
You both were vainly given ;  
Earth reserves no blessing  
For the unblest of heaven ! "

Then suddenly the metre changes : at the closing in of night another child appears—a child with " sun-bright hair and sea-blue, sea-deep eyes"—who comes to share the waif's sadness and impart to him some of his own sunny joy. This second child typifies, of course, Imagination. Emily knew how much it had done to irradiate her own life, outwardly so lonely and so sad, and it solaced her compassionate heart to believe that its benignant power might be felt in lives even darker than her own.

If I have dwelt at somewhat wearisome length upon the dominance of this influence in Emily Brontë's life, it is because its significance has, I think, hitherto escaped recognition. Not only does it serve as a clue to the meaning of her poems, but it reminds us what was the secret of her greatness. It is the possession of an imagination of the purest and rarest kind which constitutes Emily a writer of greater genius than Charlotte. The characters in Charlotte's novels are reproductions ; they speak and act in her pages as they spoke and acted in her presence in real life. But Emily's was an imagination that transmuted or transfigured the material upon which it was exercised. Into the image ready-formed of clay Charlotte could breathe the breath of life ; but her sister could accomplish the greater wonder—from an Adam's rib she could make, not another Adam, but

" Daughter of God and man, immortal Eve."

If the poet is one who " is of imagination all compact," few deserve the name better than Emily Brontë.

The remaining characteristic which has left its mark upon her work was that *habit of pondering deeply the mysteries of human existence* into which she was driven by the loneliness of her lot.

Emerson has told us that the poet is not only one who is in closest sympathy with Nature, not only

“Lover of all things alive,  
Wonderer at all he meets :”

he is

“Wonderer chiefly at himself”—

one to whom the mystery of human life and human destiny has a supreme fascination. Emily Brontë answers closely to this description. In the slender sheaf of poems she has left behind her there is sufficient evidence that she brooded intently over “the painful riddle of the earth.” No doubt she never arrived at any dogmatic belief, and the views expressed in her poems are not always reconcilable with one another. But this much at least we may gather from her maturest and most personal utterances—that her speculations are the outcome of her own reflections, and that authority had no weight with her in matters of faith. She appears to have relinquished all belief in personal immortality. Death to her is always a deep sleep from which there is no awakening; her message to the dead is ever :

“Sleep on : Heaven laughs above,  
Earth never misses thee.”

Death is the one thing which is irretrievable. In one of her most exquisitely-expressed poems she tells us that the Tree of Life can recover from all other injuries :

“Sorrow passed and plucked the golden blossom,  
Guilt stripped off the foliage in its pride,  
But within its parent’s kindly bosom  
Flowed for ever Life’s restoring tide.”

Spring’s return brings back all its vanished beauty ; but when the stroke of cruel Death falls—

“Time’s withered branch dividing  
From the fresh root of Eternity,”

then, indeed, it will “never blossom more.” In another poem she says of the sea of death :

“I hear its billows roar,  
I see them foaming high,  
But no glimpse of a further shore  
Has blessed my straining eye.

Believe not what they urge  
Of Eden isles beyond.”

And yet death had little terror for her. Conceiving of Nature as a

living thing, she loved to think of the body as returning to that from which it sprung, and becoming

"An universal influence  
From its own influence free ;  
A principle of life—intense —  
Lost to mortality."

And as for the spiritual part of her, that, she believed, would be absorbed into the Being from whom it had emanated ; it solaced her to think that death would at least not mean subtraction from the sum of life. This, it appears to me, is the meaning of that wonderful poem in which she recited to the Eternal her last confession of faith :

"Though earth and man were gone,  
And suns and universes ceased to be,  
And Thou wert left alone,  
Every existence would exist in Thee."

These being her views of the ultimate destiny of human personality, her attitude to the religious world around her was naturally reserved ; we can well understand her eager approval of one who in her presence refused to state her religious opinions ; we are not surprised that she herself was never heard to talk upon religious subjects. Notwithstanding her outward conformity we may surmise that the consolations and pleasures which others found in religious exercises she sought in the play of imagination.<sup>1</sup> Secretly she was a little impatient of the controversies which went on around her. In the poem entitled "My Comforter," for instance, she blames herself in no measured terms because she had for a time forsaken her visions and allowed herself to be entangled in the maze of religious perplexity :

"Was I not vexed in these gloomy ways  
To walk alone so long ?  
Around me wretches uttering praise,  
Or howling o'er their hopeless days,  
And each with Frenzy's tongue :—

A brotherhood of misery,  
Their smiles as sad as sighs ;  
Whose madness daily maddened me,  
Distorting into agony  
The bliss before my eyes !

So stood I, in Heaven's glorious sun,  
And in the glare of Hell ;  
My spirit drank a mingled tone  
Of seraph's song and demon's moan ;  
What my soul bore, my soul alone  
Within itself may tell !"

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g. "How clear she shines !"

It must not be supposed, however, that Emily was always thus scornful of the religion which those dear to her professed. She was fully aware of what she had lost by her inability to accept the common hope, and in one remarkable poem—"The Philosopher"—she tells us how different existence would have been to her had she had faith—such faith, for example, as changed Anne's death into a triumph. Even Miss Mary F. Robinson seems to have given up "The Philosopher" as a poem hopeless of interpretation, but the obscurity seems to me entirely due to carelessness in placing the inverted commas. The speakers in these verses are two—the "Seer," who stands for religious insight, and the "Philosopher," the inquiring intellect which has probed the beliefs of others and found them wanting—in fact, Emily herself. To the Seer belong the first and fourth stanzas, to the Philosopher the second, third, and fifth, and when thus read the poem becomes perfectly lucid. The Seer chides the student for his profitless dreaming, and asks what is the end of all his musings. The Philosopher replies that he longs for the time when he shall "sleep without identity," for three gods are ever warring within his frame, and peace will never come till their struggles are stilled in death. The only doubtful point in the poem is, what are these three conflicting forces in the soul? Probably, judging from the last verse, they are power, will, and aspiration; but in any case the general sense is clear. The poem concludes with the Seer's prophecy of an immortality which shall consist of the perfect harmony of these three forces, and the Philosopher's mournful confession of his inability to accept this comforting belief. It is needless to add, perhaps, that the "spirit" in the first of the stanzas quoted is Faith, and the "inky sea" Death:

[THE SEER] "I saw a spirit standing, man,  
Where thou dost stand, an hour ago,  
And round his feet three rivers run  
Of equal depth and equal flow—  
A golden stream, and one like blood,  
And one like sapphire seemed to be;  
But when they joined their triple flood  
It tumbled in an inky sea.  
The spirit sent his dazzling gaze  
Down through the ocean's gloomy night;  
Then, kindling all, with sudden blaze,  
The glad deep sparkled wide and bright—  
White as the sun, far, far more fair  
Than its divided sources were.'

[THE PHILOSOPHER] 'And ever for that spirit, seer,  
I've watched and sought my life-time long;  
Sought him in heaven, hell, earth, and air,  
An endless search, and always wrong.  
Had I but seen his glorious eye  
ONCE light the clouds that wilder me,  
I ne'er had raised this coward cry

To cease to think, and cease to be ;  
 I ne'er had called oblivion blest,\*  
 Nor, stretching eager hands to death,  
 Implored to change for senseless rest  
 This sentient soul, this living breath.—  
 Oh, let me die—that power and will  
 Their cruel strife may close ;  
 And conquered good and conquering ill  
 Be lost in one repose ! ”

Truly in her creed, as in everything else, Emily Brontë was a being apart.

It is hoped that the endeavour here made to interpret these fascinating but enigmatical poems by means of the traits of their author's character and the circumstances of her life may help, in some slight degree, to a better appreciation of them. But, as I have already said, Emily Brontë's rank as a poet is to be measured, not by her verse, but by her single romance. The quantity as well as the quality of work must needs be taken into account in estimating \* the genius of a writer, and it may seem that a beginner's first volume forms a slender foundation for a claim to high rank. But if we look only to the *quality* of the imagination displayed in *Wuthering Heights*—its power, its intensity, its absolute originality—it is scarcely too much to say of Emily that she might have been Shakespeare's younger sister. To the many, of course, this will seem merely fantastic ; but the few who have really learnt to appreciate *Wuthering Heights* will see no exaggeration in the title. Putting aside the clumsiness of the framework—the only mark of the prentice-hand in the whole book—what is there comparable to this romance except the greater tragedies of Shakespeare ? The single peasant in the story, Joseph, is of the kin of Shakespeare's clowns, and yet is quite distinct from them. Heathcliff is one of the most vivid creations in all literature ; he fascinates the imagination, and in some scenes almost paralyses us with horror, and yet that subtle human touch is added which wrings from us pity and almost respect. He reminds us of Shylock and Iago—not, indeed, by any likeness to their characters, but by the sense of wonder he awakens in us at the power that could create such a being. Catharine Earnshaw, again, and Catharine Linton—are not these by their piquancy and winsomeness almost worthy of a place in Shakespeare's gallery of fair women ? The whole story has something of the pathos of *King Lear* and much of the tragic force of *Macbeth*, and yet both characters and story are, perhaps, as absolutely original as any that can be named in English literature. It is not, of course, meant that Emily Brontë achieved anything comparable to Shakespeare's greatest work : Shakespeare lived to become a great artist, while Emily only once tried her prentice-hand ; Shakespeare knew the world in all its phases, while Emily passed her life in the seclusion of a remote

village: but the material out of which the two wrought their work, the protoplasm of their creations, so to speak, was the same. Suppose Shakespeare had died, as Emily did, after completing his first work—*Love's Labours Lost*—would he have lived in men's memories at all? Or suppose the great dramatist's career to have closed at the same age as Emily's—twenty-nine: he would then have written a group of five complete plays, many of them comparatively immature, and none of them of the first rank as showing the real supremacy of his genius. Thus considered, the claim that Emily Brontë's creative power had something of the nature of Shakespeare's will not appear extravagant to those who can justly estimate what she has accomplished in *Wuthering Heights*.

It would be profitless, perhaps, to speculate on the work which this powerful imagination might have achieved had time been granted; let us rather be grateful for the imperishable work with which she has enriched our literature, and cherish the careless preludes which show how great a poet was lost to the world when Emily Brontë died.

ANGUS M. MACKAY.

## THE BUDGET REVIEWED.

THE Budget speech of Sir Michael Hicks Beach this year was of a most interesting character to the public. By his statement of the income and expenditure of the nation for the past year, he showed that both sides of the account had increased far above the amount in any previous year. The greatest increase in the income was in the estate duty, which was originated by Sir William Harcourt. By these death duties the estates of the millionaires have been brought to pay much more than before, which is now considered fair. The total yield of the death duties during the year has been £15,328,000. The income-tax produced £17,250,000, against £16,650,000 in the previous year, mainly owing to the fact that a good year came, instead of a comparatively bad year, in the three years average. Post Office and telegraphs gave increased receipts of £410,000, which testifies to the increased prosperity of the country.

The expenditure of 1897-8, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, is not so agreeable a theme. The net total expenditure of the year amounted to £102,936,000, which, deducted from the revenue receipts of £106,614,000, leaves a surplus of £3,678,000. But the different sums which had been voted away for naval and military works, public buildings, Uganda Railway, local taxation accounts, &c., make a total expenditure of £115,089,000 which the State had to provide for last year. This is the heaviest outlay known for any year.

It appears that the National Debt was reduced last year by £6,605,000, and the total debt now due is £638,305,000. The Chancellor of the Exchequer considers it very satisfactory to pay off the National Debt so fast. But people's ideas as to that policy are rather changing, when it is seen in how many ways the Government could lay out or invest its funds for "the public good" in a safe and remunerative manner. For instance, any surplus could be appropriated to carry out public works and buildings or to encourage public improvements which would pay the Government better than paying off so much of the National Debt. Indeed, the National Debt can be economised as it is. It is quite evident that our Government could save a great amount of money by taking the management of its monetary affairs into its own hands entirely, as a Treasury Department, as the United States has done to great advantage, and it issues £75,000,000 of national notes which is con-

sidered to be National Debt, on which it pays no interest. Does our Government not stand very much in its own light in giving the Bank of England all the benefits of its big business and balances of money, and also the exclusive privilege of its note issues, *for nothing*? The Government could make a great profit and do a great deal of good to the public by abolishing the Bank monopoly, and placing all banks on the same platform, so that there may be free trade in banking, as there already is in all other businesses. The sooner the Bank of England gets its stipulated *twelve months' notice* to bring Peel's Bank Acts to an end, the better for this country!

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his statement regarding the light gold coinage, let it be seen that the gold coinage is a very expensive "hobby," and is really kept up to bolster up the Bank monopoly. England could do at least as well without a gold circulation, which is proved by the fact that neither Ireland nor Scotland finds gold coin to be necessary; they prefer bank-notes to sovereigns. Peel's Bank Act cut off and contracted the issue of bank-notes in these countries to their loss, and compels the Scotch and Irish banks to keep some £8,000,000 to £9,000,000 worth of gold in store for no use. The Bank of England is also overstocked with gold! "The result has been," as the present Chancellor of the Exchequer has told us, "he has had to pay a sum of £530,000 for the losses incurred in the withdrawal and new coinage of light gold and the commission due to the Bank of England for services; and the sum of £250,000 has been advanced under the Coinage Act of 1893 for the future operation of the same kind." That expense might have been saved by the issue of £1 and 10s. notes by the Treasury, as has been proposed. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach had a grand opportunity of making his mark as a Finance Minister if he had taken up and reformed the banking and currency system of this country, which is so old-fashioned and unsuited to modern trade and commerce that it does more to hinder than to help business. An ample supply of "ready money" is wanted to carry on trade with!

There can be no doubt in the minds of commercial men who have considered this subject that the contracted and restricted system of banking and currency of this country, and its bearing upon the gold basis, is the main cause of so many "ups and downs" as there are in our money markets. Trade never gets fairly on for long, until a run for gold takes place, either real or artificial, for the bankers of Lombard Street have often raised the cry of "scarcity" when there was abundance of gold, and even now, when gold has been pouring into the Bank, and Klondyke is likely to send still more and break down the value of gold to no one knows how low a scale, yet the bankers keep crying up the price, and the Bank is still taking in that metal at the old fixed price of £3 17s. 9d. per ounce as fast as

it comes, when there is more than is wanted. When will the Bank be brought to see that the time is come to deal with gold as with other commodities at the price it will bring in the open markets of the world, and let us have a "legal note" circulating medium for the home trade? while for our foreign trade let there be *free trade in gold*, and that will drive all other nations which deal with this country to adopt Free Trade towards us. That is to say, they must either pay us market price for gold, if they want it, or take our "goods" in exchange for their produce, at our proper prices.

There is nothing in the Budget to favour the working classes, who pay so much of the taxation. The paltry sixpence per pound taken off the duty on tobacco can do little good. It would have been a double boon to have made a reduction of the tea duty, which would not only have been a benefit to tea-drinkers, but at the same time it would have given the millions in India, Ceylon, and China the means of doing a larger trade with this country by enabling them to send us much more tea, and thereby they could buy more Manchester and other goods from this country in return. The tea would become their additional purchasing power and would increase our exports to them. It would be far better to have international Free Trade in all goods and produce than be bothered as we are now with bi-metallism and mono-metallism questions, which will solve themselves, if left alone in the meantime until we can get the Bank of England monopoly disposed of and free banking established. When we come to that, the savings banks must also be established on more popular principles, so as to give the industrious and thrifty classes the full benefit of banking and the use of their own money.

It may be here mentioned that the writer was, some twenty years ago, a trustee in a trustees' savings bank in a town of 20,000 inhabitants, and the trustees thought the bank was not doing the good it should do, so they resolved to form an auxiliary bank under the Companies Act, 1862, Table A, with £12,000 capital, but only a small portion paid up. That bank allowed 3 per cent. for deposits, and invested the funds in loans to build or buy workmen's dwellings at a reasonable rate of interest. The money may also be lent out in banking business if desired. It has been a great success, has now about £100,000 of deposits, and yields the shareholders 10 per cent. dividend besides accumulating a surplus fund. This may show the managers of trustees' savings banks how they may do better than by sending their money to the National Debt Commissioners.

The *Statist* lately stated that the trustees of the savings bank at Hull were thinking of adopting a similar plan. It would be a great improvement to keep and use the deposits in lending the money out for use at home, rather than sending it to London to be locked up there. We must endeavour by all means to get quit of old rotten

institutions like the old-fashioned savings banks, and get up new and better banks for the people established in their places in all the towns of England, Scotland, and Ireland. This the turn to take !

“ Ring out the old, ring in the new,  
Ring, happy bells, across the snow ;  
The year is going, let him go ;  
Ring out the false, ring in the true.

Ring out old shapes of foul disease ;  
Ring out *the narrowing lust of gold* ;  
Ring out the harrowing wars of old,  
Ring in the thousand years of peace.

Ring in the valiant man and free,  
The loving hearts, the kindlier hand ;  
Ring out the darkness of the land,  
Ring in the Christ that is to be.”

ROBERT EWEN.

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

### SCIENCE.

ENGLISH biologists will be glad to learn that the second volume of F. A. Welby's translation of W. Biedermann's *Electro-Physiology*,<sup>1</sup> has now appeared. Both as regards translation and general treatment full justice has been done to the well-known German original, and we heartily congratulate the translator on having so satisfactorily terminated what must have been an exceptionally arduous task. It is the opinion of many of the most advanced biologists that in the phenomena described in detail in this work we shall eventually find the explanation of many life processes, if not of life itself. Some of the experiments described are exceedingly ingenious, and most of the illustrations are clear and graphic, and are of great assistance to the reader. No medical man who wishes to keep abreast of the times can afford to be without this, the standard work on electrophysiology.

Some interesting studies on the Queensland Aborigines have been recorded by Mr. W. E. Roth, and published by the Queensland Government.<sup>2</sup> The Aborigines in this district are, like most of those that come into contact with civilisation, rapidly dying out, and the author has done good service to ethnology in placing on record so many facts relating to an extremely interesting race. The Queensland Government is to be congratulated on the satisfactory way in which they are dealing with this subject, and it is to be hoped other colonies will follow their example. The numerous illustrations with which the work is provided add considerably to its value, especially in the case of the elaborate sign language. We trust Mr. W. E. Roth will continue his studies among the Queensland Aborigines.

Mr. C. E. Plumptre, in his *Studies in Little known Subjects*,<sup>3</sup> has collected and reprinted a number of essays which have already appeared in various periodicals. Although some of these, such as "Charles Bradlaugh: An Appeal," were of more special interest at the time of their publication, yet there are others which have

<sup>1</sup> *Electro-Physiology*. By W. Biedermann. Translated by F. A. Welby. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*. By W. E. Roth. London: Queensland Agent-General's Office. 1897.

<sup>3</sup> *Studies in Little-known Subjects*. By C. E. Plumptre. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. 1898.

stood and will stand the test of time, as the musings of an educated and thoughtful writer upon subjects which lie, for the most part, outside the beaten tracks of scientific thought. Among the eighteen essays those on "Mind as controlled by Matter," and "The Progress of Liberty of Thought during the last Sixty Years," appear to us the most interesting. The historical articles on Giordano Bruno recall to our memory one who suffered in the cause of science nearly 300 years ago. It seems to us now scarcely credible that an eminent man of science—for such Giordano Bruno undoubtedly was—should have perished at the stake chiefly because he was too courageous to deny the facts which he had observed.

Another volume of essays that have previously been published separately is Sir W. H. Flower's *Essays on Museums and other Subjects connected with Natural History*.<sup>1</sup> That anything so high an authority on the subject may tell us about museums is well worth reading goes without saying; but every naturalist will find the other articles of great interest. Among the general biological papers that on "Recent Advances in Natural Science in Relation to the Christian Faith" will be remembered as having given rise to an animated discussion at the Church Congress at Reading in 1883. Times have changed since then, and the doctrine of evolution is now so generally accepted that its opponents are not easily found. Another paper of special interest is on "Whales, Past and Present, and their Probable Origin." This is practically the best monograph on the subject which we possess, and contains the results of much original research.

Among the essays which appeal to a wider circle of readers are those on "The Pygmy Races of Men," and on "Fashion in Deformity." The latter paper is well illustrated, and shows to what lengths not only savage races but even civilised women will go to conform with the artificial standard of beauty which they set up for themselves. Even those who may have previously read some of these essays will be glad to have them in one volume, and our thanks are due to Sir W. H. Flower for rendering them all accessible to the general reader.

The prolific University Correspondence College Press has issued two more manuals for the use of students which are in every respect equal to their predecessors.

In *Advanced Mechanics*, Vol. I., "Dynamics,"<sup>2</sup> the authors have compressed into a small space a very large amount of useful information. The definitions are clear and not too lengthy, and the examples sufficiently numerous to be of real utility to the student. The "Examination Questions and Answers" will also be found very useful to the student preparing himself for such examinations.

<sup>1</sup> *Essays on Museums and other Subjects connected with Natural History*. By Sir W. H. Flower, K.C.B. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *Advanced Mechanics*, Vol. i. Dynamics. By W. Briggs and G. H. Bryan. London: W. B. Clive, University Correspondence College Press.

Messrs. H. G. Wells and A. M. Davies have, in their *Text-book of Zoology*,<sup>1</sup> based their descriptions upon certain types which are illustrated and explained in detail. The average student will probably grasp facts thus practically presented to him much more rapidly than when they are stated in an abstract way. The authors have succeeded in concentrating an enormous amount of useful information on biology into a very small space, and the whole of that information appears to be well up to date. Students of natural history will find this work of the greatest service to them.

## PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

NEARLY six years have elapsed since we called attention in these columns to the first volume of an important work on the Hexateuch by Mr. W. E. Addis, and it is with much pleasure we have to record at last the completion of the task undertaken by the learned author. The second volume of the *Documents of the Hexateuch*<sup>2</sup> more than fulfils our expectations, and we congratulate Mr. Addis on having made a substantial contribution to the English literature of the Old Testament. Mr. Addis's work is threefold: it comprises a new translation of the whole text, a separation of the documents of which it is comprised, their arrangement in chronological order, and an introduction and notes which give the latest views of a competent authority upon the origin of the documents and a critical explanation of the text wherever it can be of service.

In the first volume of the *Documents* Mr. Addis dealt with the *Oldest Book of Hebrew History*, the composite book which was produced by the combination of the Jahvist and Elohist documents. In the present volume the author handles the "Deuteronomical Writers and the Priestly Document."

In the first place we may say that, by his system of separation and the piecing together the parts of each document found diffused through the books of the Hexateuch, the author is able, by showing the practical unity of each separate document or class of documents at a glance, to give a virtual demonstration of the correctness of the main conclusions of the Critical School—namely, that the Hexateuch is composed of three classes of documents, emanating from different schools of Hebrew writers. Though this is generally accepted by all well-informed people, it is a distinct advantage to have it set

<sup>1</sup> *Text-book of Zoology*. By H. G. Wells and A. M. Davies. London: W. B. Clive, University Correspondence College Press.

<sup>2</sup> *The Documents of the Hexateuch*. Translated and arranged in Chronological Order, with Introduction and Notes, by W. E. Addis, M.A. Oxon. Vol. ii. The Deuteronomical Writers and the Priestly Document. London: David Nutt, 1898.

forth in such an indisputable manner, and to be able to follow throughout each separate document from beginning to end without interruption.

Then the author gives a full and trustworthy account of all that can be fairly conjectured as to the origin of the "Document," and discusses, as he is fully competent to do, points of detail, some of them of considerable importance, upon which as yet the critics are not unanimous. The new translation and the notes are also an invaluable aid to the better understanding of the text. Taking it altogether, then, it will be seen that this is a complete critical handbook to the Hexateuch. We can only find space for a few lines on Mr. Addis's views on Deuteronomy, as showing how far he agrees with other critics. The kernel of Deuteronomy is unquestionably xii.-xxvi. But questions arise as to the relation to it of the two introductions, i.-iv. and v.-xi.—the first generally known as the Historical Introduction, the second as the Hortatory Introduction. Dr. Driver sees no difficulty in accepting the Historical Introduction as part of the original document, while Mr. Addis is for rejecting it; on the other hand, while Wellhausen and many other scholars reject the Hortatory Introduction, Mr. Addis prefers to accept it.

Mr. Addis, with the generality of critics, accepts the Deuteronomic Code xii.-xxvi. as being the book of Josiah's Reformation, and finds it impossible to accept Horst's theory (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1888) that the Deuteronomic Code was an after-result of the reformation, instead of its being its primary cause. There is a good deal to be said in favour of Horst's view, but Mr. Addis makes out a good case against it. Considerations of space alone prevent us from entering into fuller details in our notice of this masterly production.

How much and how little *Creation Records Discovered in Egypt*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr. George St. Clair, have actually to do with the "Creation" may be gathered from a paragraph on p. 11 of this original and striking book :

"The (Sothic) cycle was called by some the year of God, and Solinus testifies that the day of its commencement was the birthday of the world. That means, of course, that tradition identified creation with the commencement of the preceding cycle, and presumably with the inauguration of the year of 365 days." That practically sums up all that the Records have to do with Creation, and we think it might have been an advantage to his book if Mr. St. Clair had chosen some more distinguishing title. His aim is to offer a new and, we believe, perfectly original, astronomical explanation of the origin of the Egyptian mythology. Two schools of "mythologists" at present practically divide the field between them—the Philological, led by Professor Max Müller, and the Anthro-

<sup>1</sup> *Creation Records Discovered in Egypt (Studies in the Book of the Dead)*. By George St. Clair. London : David Nutt. 1898.

logical, led by Dr. E. B. Tylor. Mr. St. Clair is courageous enough virtually to affirm that they are both wrong, and the true origin of myths is to be found in astronomical changes and rectifications of the calendar necessitated by erroneous methods of reckoning the year. To thus baldly state the basis of Mr. St. Clair's hypothesis is to do it scant justice. But, when we call to mind the importance of correct observations and knowledge of the times of the rising and setting of the stars and the return of the seasons in ancient days, we may without prejudice allow that there may be something in it. And when one has carefully read Mr. St. Clair's pages, with their accumulation of evidence in favour of his theory, without going so far as to say we are convinced, we are compelled to say that it deserves consideration, and is not to be put lightly on one side. Of course we always have to be on our guard against admitting that coincidences are proofs, or that because some explanation agrees with the facts it is therefore necessarily true. Mr. St. Clair is no superficial theorist, but comes to his work with a thorough scientific preparation and a wide acquaintance with the literature dealing with Egyptian records. We have no intention here of disputing Mr. St. Clair's conclusions; if we were inclined to do so, our limits would render it impossible; and, for the same reason, we regret that we cannot even give a sketch of his interpretation of the myths. But we hope his book will be carefully read and pondered, and no doubt in due time experts will tell us whether he has accomplished all he hoped or not. The book is as full of interest as it is of argument, and is a monument of patient industry and scientific method in a field where the latter is especially wanted.

## SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS, AND JURISPRUDENCE.

DR. KINGSFORD'S *magnum opus*, *The History of Canada*,<sup>1</sup> is now drawing to its close. We have before us volume ix., and are promised the tenth and concluding volume within the present year. The period covered by the volume under notice is that from the close of the Great War in 1815 to the Prorogation of the House of Assembly in Lower Canada by Lord Gosford in 1836. The events of these years, which preceded the troublous times of political strife and open rebellion of 1837, have been recorded at very considerable length; but, as the author rightly says, the later history can only be imperfectly understood unless the times which preceded it are fully

<sup>1</sup> *The History of Canada*. By William Kingsford, LL.D., F.R.S. (Canada). Vol. ix. (1815-1836). Toronto: Rowse & Hutchinson. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1897.

appreciated. The disputes between the Hudson's Bay and North-West Companies from 1760 to 1820, which ultimately resulted in a state of civil war, and Lord Selkirk's active participation therein, are treated at length, but hardly with that clearness which might have been shown. One curious circumstance related by Dr. Kingsford is the fact that the coronation of George IV. was commemorated in Canada eleven months before the ceremony was performed in England, owing to its having been postponed in consequence of Queen Charlotte's claim to take her part in the ceremonial. The news of the postponement, however, did not reach Canada in time. We only mention this as an illustration of the absurdity of the attempt to govern Canada from Downing Street. In spite of repeated protestations of some of our ablest colonial governors, the Colonial Office persisted in keeping Canada in leading strings and attempting to govern it according to its own hidebound and obsolete traditions. It was not through mere ignorance, however. The main object disguised under the specious doctrine of maintaining "the just rights of the Crown" was to keep in power the small English aristocratic element. It is the same policy that is being now pursued in the relations between Great Britain and Ireland, and we have frequently pointed out the close analogy. Dr. Kingsford does not seem to us to make this sufficiently prominent in his narrative; but, perhaps, in his ~~next~~ next volume, to which we look forward with greatest interest, this lesson will be treated on broader lines.

*The Canadian Men and Women of the Time*,<sup>1</sup> as its title indicates, is intended to supply for Canada what *The Men and Women of the Time* supplies for England, and the same method of arrangement has been followed. Although many works and publications of a similar character have appeared at various times, the compiler, Mr. H. J. Morgan, tells us that this is the first attempt "to supply a handbook of biography devoted exclusively to living persons of both sexes, including among these Canadians of note dwelling in all parts of the world." Whether this book, which contains 1112 pages of biographical information, is really complete is impossible for us to say; but we notice one important omission. We have failed to find any account of Dr. J. G. Bourinot, C.M.G., the eminent constitutional writer, and the omission is the more inexcusable since his writings are included in the list of authorities cited by Mr. Morgan. The biographies of those men of note with whom we are acquainted appear to be thoroughly well done.

*Social Facts and Forces*,<sup>2</sup> by Mr. Washington Gladden, is a forcible

<sup>1</sup> *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time. A Handbook of Canadian Biography.* Edited by Henry James Morgan, Barrister-at-Law. Toronto: William Briggs. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *Social Facts and Forces. The Factory, the Labour Union, the Corporation, the Railway, the City, the Church.* By Washington Gladden. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1897.

little book of the class much needed in the land of "the all-mighty dollar." It consists of a series of lectures delivered in Steinway Hall, Chicago, in the winter of 1895-96, entitled the "Ryder Lectures," and deals with factories, labour unions, corporations, railways, cities, and the Church, as social forces. It is, in fact, a crusade against monopoly, wealth, and privilege; the first two of which unfortunately exist in the States in a more formidable, aggressive, and dangerous state than in this country. But although this is the case, Mr. Gladden's advice may be read with profit by many here.

We have also received the *Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand for the Year 1896*,<sup>1</sup> containing the Blue-book, population and vital statistics, and trade and interchange. This book has been delayed in publication, and the bulk of it has already appeared in *The New Zealand Official Year-book*, 1897, which we noticed some months back.

*Storia Costituzionale d'Italia*, 1848-1898.<sup>2</sup> In this book Signor Gaetano Arancio Ruiz, a well-known and learned writer on political and constitutional matters, has brightly concentrated the history of modern Italy. The book begins at the very beginning of the new kingdom, by giving a faithful description of the situation in Italy before the proclamation of the *statuto*, the Magna Charta of Italy, freely given by Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, to his people, and which became in due course the Constitutional Law of the whole of Italy. The second chapter is devoted to the Battle of Novara and to the treaty of peace which followed it. The next two chapters cover the ten years of preparations, from the morrow of the defeat of Novara to the eve of the two greatest battles of Italy, Magenta and Solferino, which are described in all their striking particulars in the next one. The sixth chapter contains a vivid description of the formation and proclamation of the kingdom of Italy, with Rome for its capital.

The next two parts narrate a series of political and financial difficulties which hindered the march of the new kingdom, and nearly threatened the existence of the same. In the next chapter we have another battle, the last fought by Italy against Austria, ending with the liberation of Venice from the Austrian yoke. The next two cover the period from 1866 to the entering of the Italian troops into Rome in 1870; and chapter twelve describes this most interesting and crowning period of the Italian struggle towards her political unity and constitutional liberty.

The remaining eleven chapters simply discuss the political struggle

<sup>1</sup> *Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand for the Year 1896*. With Statistics of Local Governing Bodies for the Year ended March 31, 1897. Compiled in the Registrar-General's Office from Official Records. Wellington: John Mackay, Government Printer. 1897.

<sup>2</sup> *Storia Costituzionale del Regno d'Italia* (1848-1898). Per Gaetano Arancio Ruiz. Firenze: G. Civelli. 1898.

of Italy to cope with innumerable difficulties, not all of her own making.

In this, for more than one reason, very interesting monography of Italy is to be found also a clear and trustworthy record of the principal political, social, and economic measures discussed before the Italian Parliament, of the several Ministerial crises and general elections which have taken place since the first Italian Parliament, of the development of the Italian political thought towards a more liberal goal, and of all the proceedings taken to settle the yet unsolved question between the State and the Church in Italy. No less interesting is the part devoted to the foreign policy of Italy, and to the policy of several Powers towards Italy.

From this essay we gather that the Italian policy up to 1870 was subordinate to the principal national aspiration—to wit, the unity of Italy, with Rome for its capital, and since 1870 it was subordinate to the necessity of maintaining and defending the achieved unity against all comers and pretenders. Of course Rome was the point on which the Italian Foreign Office had to sound the sympathy or otherwise of the other Powers. Many changes took place. From 1852 to 1859 there was a strong movement towards France, crowned with the '59 War; for ten years the policy remained almost at a standstill, the fear of displeasing Napoleon, the only true friend Italy had in France, was very strong. Soon after the fall of the Empire and the occupation of Rome there was a slow but certain movement towards Germany, but Austria stood in the way. King Victor Emanuel managed to go to Berlin *via* Vienna, and the new policy of Italy had its crowning-point in the formation of the Triple Alliance, an article of which assures Italy of her capital. The Franco-Italian relations, in the course of a few years, became very strained. After another ten years there was another movement, yet on its westward way from Vienna to Paris, as the conduct of Austria towards Italy never was that of an ally—in fact, the Emperor Franz Joseph has not yet returned the visit paid to him by King Humbert seventeen years ago.

Amongst so many, and one may say inevitable, changes in the foreign policy of Italy, one point remained unchanged, untouched—the friendliness between Italy and England. In the course of these fifty years England was a friend of Italy from beginning to end, although from the several advices given to the new kingdom, and gathered in the book of Signor Ruiz, England gave advices of daring when the Italians were preparing themselves, and advices of prudence when they were prepared to act strongly. Altogether it is a history of modern Italy clearly and ably written, and those who can read Italian and are interested in the political life of Italy could not desire a more trustworthy book to lead them from the dawn of the new kingdom up to this date. The book is not without shortcomings, but they take away nothing of its extreme value.

## HISTORY, AND BIOGRAPHY.

*Ireland, '98 to '98,*<sup>1</sup> is the impressive title of a book written by an able Irishman, Judge O'Connor Morris. We cannot agree with many of the opinions contained in the work; but the author writes so candidly and cleverly that we cannot fail to respect his prejudices. Perhaps the best portion of the book is the interesting account of the condition of Ireland before 1798. It is evident that Judge O'Connor Morris would have fraternised with Grattan, to whose political faith he boasts that the family to which he belongs has been true. But for Mr. Gladstone's Irish legislation the author has scarcely a word of praise. As for Mr. Parnell, he receives a few sinister compliments at the hands of Judge O'Connor Morris, the effect of which is that, though the Irish leader was a "false-hearted" man, he was right in denouncing his former followers as "scum." It must be plain to the impartial reader that the learned author is inconsistent, but, as that is by no means uncommon in the case of Irishmen, we can only say that Judge O'Connor Morris is "racy of the soil."

The fourth volume of the *Intermediate Text-book of English History*,<sup>2</sup> deals with the eventful period between 1714 and 1737. The authors, Messrs. A. Johnson Evans and C. S. Fearenside, have done their work admirably. They point out in the preface that their aim is to "equip readers—more particularly teachers and private students—with a sound knowledge of the outlines of English history during a period whose dominant facts are the personal union of Great Britain and Hanover, the growth of British supremacy in India and on the seas, the loss of the first and the acquisition of a second colonial empire, the establishment of our still existing system of party government, the industrial revolution, and the consequent reconstruction of our ecclesiastical and Parliamentary machinery. Descriptions of battles are, as far as possible, avoided, and attention is principally directed to the political development of England. In this way the volume is, within necessarily brief limits, a constitutional history of England, and it also gives glimpses of international questions, which enable the reader to realise the nature of the country's foreign relations at different stages of its progress. The chapter on the Napoleonic wars is admirable.

The experiences of a magistrate during the Indian Mutiny who saw the outbreak and the entire course of the war ought to be interesting. Mr. J. W. Sherer, a member of the Indian Civil Service, has republished the chapters which he contributed to Colonel F. C. Maude's *Memories of the Mutiny*. The title of the present work

<sup>1</sup> *Ireland, '98 to '98*. By Judge O'Connor Morris. London: Innes & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *The Intermediate Text-book of English History*. Vol. iv. (1714-1737). By A. Johnson Evans, M.A., and C. S. Fearenside, M.A. London: W. B. Clive.

is *Daily Life during the Indian Mutiny*.<sup>1</sup> We cannot say that it is very lively reading. Here and there a reminiscence lights up the dulness of the book, as in the account of the pleasant evening spent by the author in the company of the famous war-correspondent, Dr. Russell.

*The Wonderful Century*,<sup>2</sup> by Mr. Alfred Russell Wallace, is a very remarkable book. Mr. Wallace admits that the nineteenth century has made great progress in modes of travelling, conveyance of thought, photography, new applications of light, and popular discoveries in physiology. But he maintains with no less strenuousness that the century has failed to realise the value of phrenology, and that it has exaggerated the usefulness of vaccination. He also regards it as a bad symptom that extreme poverty exhibits itself by the side of immense wealth. He suggests that the remedy for starvation is free bread. We certainly do not agree with all Mr. Wallace's theories.

Mr. G. Pitt Lewis, Q.C., has written the *History of the Temple*<sup>3</sup> with remarkable erudition, and yet without heaviness of style. He shows how the home of the Knights Templar, or "soldiers of Christianity," came to be occupied by lawyers, the "soldiers of justice." The little book is full of curious information, and will well repay perusal.

### BELLES LETTRES.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN<sup>4</sup> has vainly attempted to invest the story of Graunya Uaile with an air of reality. His efforts to reproduce the dialect of the Elizabethan age in Ireland are not successful. The Irish words in the book are not accurate, and yet they ape accuracy. The historical element in the romance is cumbrous, leaden, and ineffectual. The narrative is written in a turgid style, in which truth is sacrificed for the sake of making an impression. In one chapter Mr. O'Brien tries to write in a dramatic form, and here his failure is even more transparent. No woman ever talked on earth as Graunya Uaile is made to talk in the eighteenth chapter. With regard to the characterisation in the book, Byngham is perhaps the only person figuring in the narrative that wears an aspect of even approximate naturalness. The scene between Graunya Uaile and

<sup>1</sup> *Daily Life during the Indian Mutiny*. Personal Experiences of 1857. By J. W. Sherer, C.S.I. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *The Wonderful Century*. Its Successes and its Failures. By Alfred Russell Wallace. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

<sup>3</sup> *The History of the Temple*. With special references to that of the Middle Temple. By G. Pitt Lewis, Q.C. London: John Long.

<sup>4</sup> *A Queen of Men*. By William O'Brien. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

Queen Elizabeth bears on the face of it all the marks of improbability. It is merely the author's fancy. There are many clever bits of descriptive writing in *A Queen of Men*; but Mr. O'Brien is not capable of reconstructing the past. Regarded either as a pure romance or as an historical novel the work is a fruitless expenditure of labour.

The study of music is fascinating to most minds. Unfortunately we are yet far from having built up a philosophy of music. The lectures of the late Professor H. C. Banister, now published under the title of *Interludes*,<sup>1</sup> make an effort to construct such a philosophy. The chapter on "Appreciation of Music" will furnish food for thought to even the most cultivated readers, and will add to the stock of knowledge of the most erudite.

A good book on French prose composition<sup>2</sup> is sure to prove useful. The systematic study of modern languages has given an increased importance to the subject. Some useful hints as to the essential differences between English and French prose style will greatly assist students.

*The Tragedy of a Nose*<sup>3</sup> is a curious narrative, which might be described as a serio-comic study in physiology. There is a second story in the same volume, entitled *A Brief Delirium*, the scene of which is Monte Carlo. Both stories possess some literary merit; but the tendency towards exaggeration mars the value of the book as a work of fiction.

There is some observation of life exhibited in *Memoirs of a Young Surgeon*.<sup>4</sup> The author is, however, evidently a literary novice, and it might be desirable that for the future he should devote his efforts exclusively to the cultivation of the healing art.

*One of Nature's Gentlemen*<sup>5</sup> is a weak, drivelling specimen of fiction. We cannot conceive why such a book should be printed.

Henriette Bezançon is an exceedingly clever French writer. Her latest book, *Des Maris*,<sup>6</sup> reminds one of Thackeray's great novel, *The Newcomes*, for it deals with the same subject—mercenary marriages. In the volume there are three charming short stories.

*L'Essai du Bonheur*,<sup>7</sup> by M. Camille Bruno, possesses all the charm of style which characterised his previous novels. The character of Caroline Bertin is an admirable study. Whatever else may be said of M. Bruno, it cannot be denied that he is a consummate artist.

<sup>1</sup> *Interludes*. Seven Lectures delivered between the years 1891 and 1897 by the late H. C. Banister. Collected and edited by Edward MacPherson. London: George Bell & Son.

<sup>2</sup> *French Prose Composition* (University Tutorial Series). By Ernest Weekly, M.A. London: W. B. Clive.

<sup>3</sup> *The Tragedy of a Nose*. By E. Gerard. London: Digby, Long & Co.

<sup>4</sup> *Memoirs of a Young Surgeon*. By Frederick Ashhurst, M.B. London: Digby, Long & Co.

<sup>5</sup> *One of Nature's Gentlemen*. By Alex. Surtees. London: Digby, Long & Co.

<sup>6</sup> *Des Maris*. Par Henriette Bezançon. Paris: Librairie Plon.

<sup>7</sup> *L'Essai du Bonheur*. Par Camille Bruno. Paris: E. Flammarion.

In spite of its utter improbability *Second Lieutenant Celia*<sup>1</sup> is a pleasant book. Of course this does not mean that it possesses high literary merit, for it certainly does not. The plot turns partly on the ingenious device of a spirited and unconventional girl to save her brother from being disgraced, in his regiment. Celia, the heroine, has also troubles of her own, but everything comes right in the end—a thing which unfortunately does not always happen in real life.

*Christine Myriane*<sup>2</sup> is a French novel which merits translation. Madame Jules Lebaudy knows how to fix the reader's attention. The work has been tolerably well Englished by Miss Sarah Cazally.

Mr. George Moore has give us in *Evelyn Innes*<sup>3</sup> a novel of great power and originality. The musical atmosphere of the book is perhaps too pervading for ordinary readers; but the fate of the heroine is so much interwoven with her career as a singer that technical details are more or less inevitable. There are some passages of great beauty in the story, but probability is in some places outraged, as in Evelyn's disclosure to her father of her readiness to elope with Sir Owen Asher. Eventually this wayward girl is presented to us as a penitent, and a sequel to the book with the title of *Sister Teresa* is promised.

*Clement Carlile's Dream*<sup>4</sup> is a novel extending to 326 pages. It is well printed, but we cannot say much for it as literature.

*The Defeat of Avarice*<sup>5</sup> is another publication of the same firm. It has the advantage of not being quite so long as *Clement Carlile's Dream*. It is a work of much the same order from an artistic point of view.

*The Inevitable*<sup>6</sup> is not without merit. The author describes scenes with which he is evidently familiar. He understands Methodism, though he has not the art of investing it with deep human interest, as George Eliot did in *Adam Bede*.

*Willow and Leather*<sup>7</sup> is a little book of prose and verse which appeals to the hearts of cricketers. The little volume is unpretentious, and at the same time entertaining.

*The Love of a Former Life*<sup>8</sup> is a curious, fantastic story. It exhibits much imagination, and, if the talé had been more artistically worked out, the book might take a higher place in contemporary fiction. Mr. Halcombe is a clever man, but we doubt whether he has yet mastered the art of fiction.

<sup>1</sup> *Second Lieutenant Celia*. By Lillias Campbell Davidson. London: Bliss, Sands and Co.

<sup>2</sup> *Christine Myriane*. By Guillaume Dall (pseudonym of M<sup>me</sup>. Jules Lebaudy). Translated by Miss Sarah Cazally. London: Digby, Long & Co.

<sup>3</sup> *Evelyn Innes*. By George Moore. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

<sup>4</sup> *Clement Carlile's Dream*. By Belton Otterburn. London: Digby, Long & Co.

<sup>5</sup> *The Defeat of Avarice*. By Theresa Molyneux. London: Digby, Long & Co.

<sup>6</sup> *The Inevitable*. By E. Downing Talbot. London: Digby, Long & Co.

<sup>7</sup> *Willow and Leather*. By E. V. Lucas. London: J. W. Arrowsmith.

<sup>8</sup> *The Love of a Former Life*. By Charles J. H. Halcombe. London: John Long.

The *Meidias* of Demosthenes<sup>1</sup> gives an admirable example of the great orator's style. A good English translation by Mr. W. J. Woodhouse, M.A., has been brought out in the "University Tutorial Series." Some test papers at the end of the translation will be valuable to students.

The death of Mr. Gladstone<sup>2</sup> makes everything that concerns so great a man interesting. Mr. J. Holt Schooling's little volume, entitled *The Handwriting of Mr. Gladstone*,<sup>3</sup> will, therefore, arouse something more than curiosity. It shows that even at the age of twenty-three Mr. Gladstone wrote a firm clear hand.

*Seaweed*<sup>4</sup> is a very peculiar story. It can scarcely be described as realistic, for some portions of it are far-fetched. The scene of the story is in Cornwall, and the characters are certainly out-of-the-way sort of people.

*Windygaps*<sup>5</sup> is a story in which the religious, or rather sectarian, element figures largely. With all respect for Theo Douglas, we must say that the plot and the entire conception appear too unnatural.

## POETRY.

Two heroes find a prominent place in Spanish literature—Don Rodrigo de Bivar, commonly called El Cid Campeador, and Don Quixote de la Mancha, whom Cervantes has immortalised. The Cid is a real personage, and the Spanish ballads written about his marvellous career are full of fire and spirit. In *The Cid Ballads*,<sup>6</sup> by the late James Young Gibson, we have an excellent English rendering of these fine ballads. The work has been well edited by Margaret Dunlop Gibson, who, in the preface, points out that her husband left behind three or four versions of some of the ballads, showing how conscientiously he set about the work of translation. There are also in the volume some excellent translations from the German.

*Morren Songs*<sup>6</sup> may be recommended to lovers of poetry. Mr. Koopman is not a born poet, but he is evidently a man of culture, and now and then he produces a brilliant epigram in verse. For instance :

<sup>1</sup> *Demosthenes: Meidias*. A Translation. By W. J. Woodhouse. London: W. B. Clive.

<sup>2</sup> *The Handwriting of Mr. Gladstone from Boyhood to Old Age*. By J. Holt Schooling. Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith.

<sup>3</sup> *Seaweed*. By Edith Ellis. London: The University Press, Ltd.

<sup>4</sup> *Windygaps*. By Theo Douglas. Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith.

<sup>5</sup> *The Cid Ballads and Other Poems and Translations*. By the late James Young Gibson. Edited by Margaret D. Gibson. London: Kegan Paul.

<sup>6</sup> *Morren Songs*. By Harry Lyman Koopman. Boston, Mass.: H. D. Everett.

"The soul attuned to music of the spheres  
Strikes often discords into earthly ears."

Here is a paradox which has the merit of originality :

"The crowd is always on the side of truth ;  
But commonly not long before the truth  
Has in that special form become a lie."

Don Antonio Mirandola has written a readable poem in *Ian and Eric*.<sup>1</sup> The "religiosity" of the author is of the exceedingly commonplace order, but his work, if it does very little good, will do very little harm. The moral is—"Be good, and you will be happy." But Don Antonio Mirandola has rather primitive ideas of morality. His verses have a childish harmoniousness, and may please children.

The members of the Glasgow Ballad Club have published a series of contributions in the shape of ballads,<sup>2</sup> most of which are rather below than above the average of contemporary verse. The volume suggests an unfortunate comparison with one of Mr. Swinburne's early volumes. Mr. Swinburne is not a great poet, but he possesses the faculty of writing melodious lyrics. The best ballad in the volume before us is "Alichmore," by John W. Frazer, an uncanny story of Scottish superstition.

*Poets' Walk*<sup>3</sup> is a very convenient little volume containing selections from the best English poets. It has been carefully edited by Mr. Mowbray Morris, who has written an admirable preface. The book will be found most useful, even in the case of those who have a very extensive acquaintance with English poetry.

<sup>1</sup> *Ian and Eric*. A Poem of the Day. By Don Antonio Mirandola. London: Dickenson & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *Ballads and Poems*. By Members of the Glasgow Ballad Club. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Son.

<sup>3</sup> *Poets' Walk: an Introduction to English Poetry*. Chosen and arranged by Mowbray Morris. London: Macmillan & Co.



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BURYING CÆSAR—AND AFTER.

THE assembly of notables who entrusted themselves with the duty of suggesting the most fitting form to be taken by a national monument to Mr. Gladstone have not been able to arrive at very much beyond negative results. It does not seem easy to feel surprise at this. If a number of lakelets were to enter into consultation as to the most fitting form of a memorial to the Atlantic Ocean, one might expect, no doubt, to find their consultation resulting in the setting forth of many pretty ideas framed in the most admirable language. What one would not expect to find, however, would be the setting forth of any proposal in the least degree adequate to the grandeur of the subject. In a similar manner one would scarcely have expected to find proceeding from those who took a leading part in the discussion of the most fitting national memorial to Mr. Gladstone any proposal in any way adequate to record the fame of the man whom they desired to honour. There were on the committee those who regarded Mr. Gladstone as a theologian; those who regarded him as a party leader; those who regarded him as a parliamentary orator; those who regarded him as a scholar and a lover of art and letters. These are all very good things in their way. All were matters in respect of which Mr. Gladstone had made an eminent mark. They formed what might be called the "side shows" of his personality and career. It is, however, more than doubtful whether in the mind of a single one of those notabilities there dwelt any true conception of the predominant element in Mr. Gladstone's character—the element that makes him great in the present and will make him still greater in the eyes of the future. Indeed, it may probably be said of nearly all the notabilities in question, that if, like the late Lord Tennyson, they "loved the man," they at the same time and in

the same company "hated his politics." A miserable bit of unappreciative illogicality! For the man was his politics, and his politics were the man. It was Mr. Gladstone's ingrained passion for justice, his sublime conscientiousness, his fearlessness as to the results of all conscientious endeavours to be just, that made him the greatest man of this century. It was these qualities that expressed themselves in his public life, in the public and national acts which he inspired. It was because he put his whole heart and soul into his public life and his public acts that his name became a world-wide synonym for the principles of justice and liberty—except, of course, with those whose interests were involved in the maintenance of injustice and the limitation of liberty. Apart from this, Mr. Gladstone might just as well have been an average Archbishop of Canterbury, or an average member of a party Ministry—men who play their small part in a narrow sphere, and, passing, are forgotten. It was because he was not this, it was because he was so much more than this, that the smaller men were drawn together in an endeavour to celebrate his funeral and to adorn his sepulchre. The committee, in fact, came to bury Cæsar and not to praise him—to pile carved stones upon his grave, not to magnify the passion for justice and the sublime regard for conscience which will be found to have made the name of Gladstone as great and as enduring as that of Cæsar.

Cæsar is buried, then, entombed beneath the weight of the memorials set up in the main by those who, not appreciating the man, furnished a measure of their own diminutiveness by hating his politics. Cæsar is buried, yet Cæsar, in respect of all that made him world-famous, lives on. The principles of justice and liberty are not extinct; there is still room for the exercise of the sublime conscientiousness that never failed to acknowledge an error, or to attempt to remedy an injustice; there is yet ample opportunity for training ourselves to be fearless as to results when we have confidence in the principles on which we are acting. To those who not only "loved the man," but also appreciated his politics, the question may very well occur: "What is to come after?" They see in Mr. Gladstone's great career an exposition of the principles associated with what is popularly known as the Liberal party. They see that, so far as mere expressions go, that Liberal party is still in existence, and still, though in a Parliamentary minority, seeking to win over to its side a majority of voters at the next general election. But they see also—at least, this is evident to the more clear-sighted among them—that the Liberal party is no longer possessed of the earnestness and enthusiasm which distinguished it while Mr. Gladstone was its inspired leader. They see it torn into sections; careless about principles; pervaded by contending personal interests; anxious rather to exist as a party for the sake of party, instead of seeking to make use of the machinery of party for great

national ends. They see that, while it is powerless in the House of Commons, it is leaderless in the country; they see that, while in the constituencies crude efforts after fresh assertion of Liberal principles are at work, those who should by their experience and position be the leaders of Liberalism have nothing to say that is useful either for inspiration or guidance. In short, while looking anxiously for some sign of an orderly setting of the battle in array,

"Neither battle they see, nor arraying, nor King in Israel,

Only infinite jumble and mess and dislocation,

Backed by a solemn appeal, 'For God's sake, do not stir, there!'"

The case, however, is even worse than this. Amid the disruptions and personal contentions of Liberal sections and would-be Liberal leaders, the power of the classes grows and waxes day by day. The classes, at any rate, know what they want. Their mission, from their own point of view, is, by controlling Parliament and by controlling administration, so to fortify themselves as to be secure against any present or future attack. By the time the next general election falls due, the classes will have been, for more than six years, masters of the political situation, notwithstanding the fact that they are in an absolute minority in the country, and, if they succeed in carrying that election, their tenure of power for a further period of six years is an absolute certainty. If the victory in that election is not wrested from their hands, the second six years will be worse than the first. Economical administration at a discount; general commercial interests sacrificed to sectional demands; the country drawn into that morass of militarism which is threatening the very existence of Continental States; monetary and Court influences ever growing more rampant and aggressive; party support rewarded from the national funds—such is the nature of the blessings which would be perpetuated if, whenever the next election comes, the cause of the classes found itself in the possession of a victory.

How is such a victory to be prevented? That is, unfortunately, a question much more easily asked than answered. It is not an easy question to answer, because, while there is incertitude and hesitation among those who pass as Liberal leaders, there is but little confidence reposed in those leaders by the voters with whom rests the final decision. Beyond this, again, the professed leaders of Liberalism belong almost entirely to the classes, and are, in their inmost hearts, as little concerned for the ascendancy of the masses as are those whom they would like to see displaced from their present administrative positions. In common with the old Whigs, whose political children they are, they may make use of the vote of the masses for their own advantage and advancement, but always with the reservation that they themselves are to be the masters of the situation when office has once been attained. The programme they approve is not a programme founded on sincere consideration for the

principles of justice and liberty, or even on a regard for national greatness and advantage. It is their endeavour rather so to adapt themselves to what seem to be the passing thoughts of the moment, that they may secure a fraction more support than is given to the Tory party—the party that, however erroneously, sincerely believes in the right of the few to govern the many. If the temperance cause appears to be gaining ground, they will become earnest advocates of local option. If a storm seems to be brewing against High Church practices, they will appear in the character of ardent Protestants. If the Government in power seems to be in danger of censure in respect of a Vaccination Act, they will, forgetting all previous expressions of opinion, become convinced anti-vaccinators. They have, in short, adopted the idea of party for the sake of party, differing therein *toto cælo* from Mr. Gladstone, to whom party machinery and party methods were merely means to an end. It is because of this difference that they cannot be regarded in any respect as successors to Mr. Gladstone in the Liberal leadership. Nor will they ever, they may rest assured, succeed in carrying the next general election. The Liberal masses distrust both their sincerity and their earnestness, and distrust perhaps still more the political machinery with which they are associated. It was this distrust that lost the general election of 1895. Liberals in thousands of instances abstained from voting because they did not see, as things then stood, any particular advantage to be gained by keeping a Liberal Ministry in office. If the Liberal masses are now taking a warmer interest in electioneering matters, it is not because they trust the Liberal leaders any more, but because they have realised, as they never realised before, how mischievous a Tory Ministry is capable of becoming.

If the approaching general election is to result in a victory for the Liberal cause—the cause which Mr. Gladstone made so dignified and worthy—there must be present in the Liberal camp far more enthusiasm than at present exists, coupled with a far better understanding between the Liberal rank and file and those who are, or who may become, Liberal leaders. The idea of party for the sake of party will have to be dropped, and party machinery and methods, if used at all, must be used as Mr. Gladstone used them, as the means to an end. It is advisable to say, with regard to party machinery and methods, “if used at all,” because there is only too much reason to fear that the practical interpretation of party government is more and more becoming a mere competition for ascendancy between rival personalities. If Lord Rosebery finds his personal and anonymous advocates in the pages of one number of a monthly periodical, no one need be astonished if a succeeding number gives itself up to an anonymous glorification of Mr. Chamberlain. With this kind of personal competition no true Liberal can have the smallest sympathy.

There is only one thing to which any disciple of the Liberal cause owes allegiance—viz., to the group of principles which the Liberal cause expresses. He owes no allegiance either to Paul or to Cephas, either to Lord Rosebery or to Sir William Harcourt. Least of all does he owe allegiance to such a machinery as the National Liberal Federation, which strangles while it professes to control, and which is at any moment capable of betraying the whole Liberal cause in the interest of some ambitious and powerful personality. It is from the popular voice, from the resolves of the people, that the mandate of a genuine Liberal Ministry has to come. Between this and the gerrymandering of Liberal constituencies in the interest of ambitious personalities there is a gulf as wide as that which separated Dives from Lazarus. The hardy and independent Liberal, indeed, is bound to regard with warm resentment and indignation any assumption that the future of Liberalism can be settled at a private dinner-party or at a round-table conference. Such an assumption reminds one far too much of a scene in that sulphurous under-world, where the promiscuous crowd stood yet aloof, while

“Far within

\* \* \* \* \*

The great seraphic lords and cherubim  
In close recess and secret conclave sat,  
A thousand demigods on golden seats.”

The Liberal cause, rightly understood—understood as Mr. Gladstone understood it—is not in want of demigods. Its care should rather be to repress and restrain those personal ambitions which war against the onward march of Liberal principles. And, as a matter of fact, the rank and file of the Liberal party, the sentient nerve-cells of the democratic organism, are at this day, thanks to the general spread of education, far more competent to criticise and direct the action of the occupants of a Front Bench, on either side of the House of Commons, than was the case when, thanks chiefly to Mr. Gladstone's loyalty to the popular will, the battle of parliamentary reform was being fought. Hence it comes to pass that now, more than at any other preceding period, it has become the right and the duty of the electoral units to declare what action the interests of the Liberal cause demand, and to sketch out the lines on which the battle of the next general election is to be fought.

What, then, are to be those lines? First and foremost, of absolute necessity, stands the question of Home Rule. This question of necessity stands first, because for the last twelve years it has been the symbol of division in what was, up to 1886, a united Liberal party. It has been the symbol of such division, but it by no means follows that it is wholly responsible for the recruiting of the Tory ranks by many men who were once content to be regarded as Liberals. To a very great many, and possibly to Mr. Chamberlain

above all, the uprising of the Home Rule controversy furnished a convenient excuse for executing a strategic movement from the masses to the classes. They had become tired of rubbing shoulders with Lazarus, and preferred to dine with Dives. Once out of the Liberal boat, they naturally and willingly came more and more under the influence of their new surroundings. Subsequent events have greatly contributed to confirm a tendency which was naturally to be looked for at the very outset. The constantly increasing influence of mere money, and the distinguished recognition ever ready to be accorded to the mere possession of money, has created in the minds of the seceders from Liberalism the impression that to be Liberal is to be wanting in respectability. Hence, whatever they may now call themselves, whether Unionists or Liberal-Unionists, they are in point of fact nothing but new Tories, and not seldom, indeed, try to cleanse themselves in the eyes of their new associates by being practically more Tory than the Tories themselves. Their secession, therefore, in no way impairs the value of the principle expressed in Home Rule. That principle, which has already received the recognition of a majority in the House of Commons, remains exactly where it was. It is founded on a regard for justice and a consideration of national sensibilities, and nothing has ever happened to interfere with its justification on those grounds. The exceptional treatment accorded to Irish affairs by Tory majorities in the House of Commons is merely a continuation of the exceptional wrongs inflicted by England on Ireland a century ago. What if Irish members have shown want of tact by quarrelling among themselves? Their quarrels, though they may be conveniently used by Tories and by the representatives of interested classes as an argument against Home Rule, in no wise interfere with the principles of justice on which Home Rule is based. What if by a section of Irish representatives the demand for Home Rule has been replaced by a demand for separation? That is merely the natural result of the conviction—a conviction that has had only too much to justify it—that, so long as there is any constitutional tie between Great Britain and Ireland, the interests of Ireland are sure to be sacrificed to the interests of Great Britain. If a difficulty has arisen through the enlargement of Irish demands, that difficulty is one of the penalties which the country has to pay for the constitutional right possessed by the classes to overrule the expressed will of the masses. The difficulty is one to be faced and dealt with; no consistent and courageous Liberal can regard it as barring the way to the inclusion of Home Rule in the Liberal programme.

Home Rule, then, is and must be one of the planks in the Liberal platform. Of no less importance, perhaps even of greater importance, is the reform, or the abolition, of the House of Lords. Of all monstrous anomalies and abuses, in any country or at any time,

none can surely be greater than the power possessed by a mere handful of hereditary landowners to thwart, with the assistance of the heads of a limited religious organisation, the expressed will of a majority in the country. There is no need to go into abstract disquisitions over this matter. There is no need to argue over the desirability of a second Legislative Chamber, the value of the hereditary principle, the relations between religion and the State. It is possible to arrive at all kinds of conclusions in respect of these abstract questions, and yet to regard the facts, as they actually exist, as representing an intolerable iniquity and abuse. That abuse has to be terminated by some means and in some way, and the more firmly and the more promptly it is tackled the better the chances of success. There cannot be, with any sincere Liberal, any halting between two opinions in respect of this matter. In dealing with an evil that is in direct opposition to the whole democratic idea there can be no half measures. There is no need to attack titles or estates; what is wanted is to abolish the political authority of a caste which, with all its offshoots and ramifications, probably does not represent more than one per cent. of the whole population of the United Kingdom and one-tenth per cent. of the population of the British Empire. There must be no tinkering here, no concealing of convictions out of regard for social pleasantness. If it is true that the English dearly love a lord, they will have the same opportunities for loving him when he has ceased to possess a political power which is rarely exercised save for personal and anti-democratic ends.

There are planks in the Liberal platform so obvious that there is little need to insist on them. Among these may be included old-age pensions, manhood suffrage, the principle of "one man one vote," the payment of members, the further limitation of the term for which Parliament is elected. It is remarkable that, while in the United Kingdom the Tories cling to the septennial idea, there is no British colony in which a longer term than four years is recognised. A matter in respect of which Liberal opinion is more divided is female suffrage. There is this solid justification for the objections to female suffrage proceeding from the Liberal side—that if female suffrage is only partially dealt with, there will be grave danger of reinforcing the armies of Toryism to the disadvantage of the cause of democracy. If female suffrage is adopted at all, it must be adopted on a democratic basis. To grant a vote to the woman of property and deny it to the wife of the mechanic would be as dangerous as it would be grotesque. The personal stake of the wife of the mechanic in the conduct of public affairs is every bit as great as that of the unmarried or widowed possessor of landed property. Once admit the political rights of women, and womanhood suffrage stands on precisely the same logical basis as manhood suffrage. Moreover, it is found that where, as in New Zealand, female suffrage has been

adopted on a democratic basis, it has worked admirably and to the general improvement of the political atmosphere. It will, however, be necessary for Liberals to be on their guard against any seeming concession of political rights to women that will only reinforce the ranks of the landowning classes. It is not the representation of the landed interests that is in need of enlargement, but the representation of those personal interests which are shared by all alike, and which exist quite apart from the ownership of property.

Of hardly less importance is the control which Parliament ought to exercise over foreign relations. It is one of the fictions of the British Constitution that to the Sovereign belongs the direction of foreign policy, which includes the power of entering into treaties and deciding matters involving questions of peace and war. Really, the Sovereign possesses no such right, being in this respect as much dependent on the advice of Ministers as in respect of any matters of merely domestic policy. Nevertheless, the fiction can easily supply to headstrong or ambitious Ministers opportunities of forcing upon the country a foreign policy which, while disapproved by Parliament, cannot be receded from. It is a monstrous doctrine that, while domestic policy may be left in the hands of the constituencies, those constituencies have no right to intervene in matters of foreign policy, which, quite apart from the financial responsibilities they involve, may touch the very existence of the nation. If democratic principles mean anything at all, they must mean that the treaty-making power rests in the hands of Parliament as representative of the people. There can be no greater quackery than that which insists on the right of a certain elect few to control the alleged mysteries of foreign policy. These alleged mysteries are a fraud and a sham. The country knows what it wants in respect of foreign policy far better than the professional diplomatists whose interest it is to maintain the appearance of mystery. There are two things certainly which the people, if left to their own independent Anglo-Saxon judgment, would not do. They would not indulge in squabbles with great civilising Powers about tracts of tropical swamp; they would not harass weak communities within whose territory, unluckily for them, gold-reefs have been discovered. They would, on the other hand, encourage a cordial understanding with France and Russia, and favour the maintenance of the most friendly relations with England's "gigantic daughter of the West," whose deeds are this moment in every one's mouth, thus providing an impregnable guarantee for that peace which it is England's best interest to secure.

Meantime, the use of party machinery and party methods as means to an end need not stand in the way of the acceptance of a conviction that in all probability the existing system of party government, or what is called party government, has ceased to be either possible or useful—that, however suitable it may have accidentally

become during the struggle of young democratic forces for recognition, it is now attended with inconveniences and drawbacks which more than counterbalance its advantages. The demoralising influence of party recriminations; the time wasted in Front Bench debates; the dishonesty of party tactics; the subjection of all kinds of questions of national or social importance to the necessity for keeping up a party majority—these are evils which are acknowledged already on both sides of the House of Commons, but for which no one as yet seems able to provide a remedy. It is owing to the subjection of all interests to the necessities of party that the sense of representative responsibility declines, that much-needed legislation is postponed, that men of parliamentary experience get into the habit of believing that the highest national interests are consulted when they manage, by means of promises more or less bound to be broken, to squeeze themselves into Ministerial positions. That democratic government must of necessity mean party government is a delusion which is certain, sooner or later, to be dispelled. In the meantime, those who are sincerely anxious to see erected a worthy monument to Mr. Gladstone can secure that result by the earnest and unflagging maintenance of those principles of liberty and justice which gave splendour to his career.

A TRUE LIBERAL.

## THE EVOLUTION OF EDUCATION.

THE process of evolution, which may be traced in war, in politics, in law, and, indeed, in every department of human activity, is, of course, exhibited in the important function of education. M. Charles Letourneau, whose previous works we have noticed at some length, has brought out an interesting and elaborate volume entitled *L'Evolution de l'Education*.\* In the preface to this work the author rightly remarks that, if there is one problem which we are called on more than any other to solve at the present time, it is education. Our present state of imperfect civilisation is really the result of a blind and incoherent educational system. There is needed a true science of education. To study the comparative history of the subject is one of the main objects of M. Letourneau's book. He commences with education in the animal kingdom, and, applying scientific analysis, he points out that there are limits to the power of education. It is evident that, as in man, there are in the various animals latent capacities for development and improvement.

Our organs, slowly formed or brought to more or less perfection in the course of successive ages of physical evolution, fulfil their functions after a definite fashion. Amongst the lower animals the female rather than the male takes pains to teach the young of the species how to attain a certain proficiency in the favourite pursuits of each animal.

Some curious examples are given of what may be called the *educatability* of the elephant, an animal whose hugeness might lead one at first blush to assume that it is impossible to tame him completely.

\* The author has a chapter on education in Melanisia, which, primitive as it is, appears to bring out some of man's elemental faculties more effectually than our own artificial system. M. Letourneau also gives an admirable account of education amongst the African negroes. Amongst the Kaffirs ferocity is combined with passionate love of offspring—a fact on which the author lays due emphasis. His sketch of education amongst the American Indians is full of interest. The Redskins, though intellectually weak, possess a natural heroism of character which their traditions have helped to strengthen, even while perverting it to anti-social uses. The

<sup>1</sup> *L'Evolution de l'Education*. Par Ch. Letourneau. Paris : Vigot Frères.

chapter on Chinese education does justice to the ingenuity of the Celestials. M. Letourneau properly devotes considerable space to education in ancient Greece and Rome. He is rather too severe perhaps on mediævalism, which, no doubt, over-cultivated the memory and neglected science, but it should be remembered that in the Middle Ages the inductive philosophy was unborn. In his closing chapter M. Letourneau dwells on the advanced physical education of the Anglo-Saxons, and on the want of effective organisation in English schools. He regards Oxford and Cambridge as survivals from the Middle Ages—which is scarcely complimentary to the great English universities. He gives credit, however, to England and America for having got rid of the ascetic doctrine that the human body should be regarded with contempt, on the assumption that it formed an obstacle to spiritual perfection. He criticises American tendencies very freely, decrying what has been called “the Decalogue of the Dollar,” and certainly there is much reason for protesting against the money-worship which is so prevalent in the United States. This work, so suggestive to all who take the trouble to think, ends with an optimistic note. “The human plant,” says Alfieri, “is vigorous,” and the race has in the course of centuries succeeded in overcoming many forces which tended to destroy it. M. Letourneau holds that, unless we want to let our species die out, we must take pains to make our descendants stronger, more beautiful, better, and more intelligent than ourselves.

D. F. HANNIGAN.

## THE PART OF WOMEN IN LOCAL ADMINISTRATION.

### II.

SINCE the elections of this spring there appear to have been a dozen or more women guardians added, at bye-elections or by co-optation, to the list given in the previous article, bringing the total number in England and Wales at the present time up to 983. Boards of guardians are expressly empowered by law to "elect a chairman or vice-chairman, or both, and not more than two other persons, from outside their own body, but from persons qualified to be guardians of the union, and any person so elected shall be an additional guardian and member of the board." Many boards of guardians have declined to avail themselves of this privilege, which is purely optional, but others have exercised it fully, and it is an interesting fact that it should have been in a few instances exercised in favour of women, remembering that elected women guardians are still a very small minority, even of those boards to which they have been returned in the largest numbers, and that therefore the co-optation must rest with the male members of the board. We have here indirect evidence that the guardians who have exercised this privilege on behalf of women have been abundantly satisfied with the Poor-Law work already done by them. At the time of the recent elections, the Chairman of the Lincoln Board, a clergyman, expressed himself strongly impressed with the admirable work done by women. He confessed that at the outset he had strongly objected to and strenuously resisted the return of women guardians, even going so far as to say that he should not be willing to sit on the same board with them. So convinced, however, had he become of the value of their services to the board and to the community that he should now bitterly regret having to sit on any board which did not enjoy the advantage of women members. In like manner prejudice has been overcome almost everywhere where practical experience has been obtained. Of course there are still benighted districts where this masculine prejudice against the co-operation of women still exists in full force. There still remain three or four clerks to

boards of guardians who are "thankful to say that they have no women on their board," but such antiquated prejudices are rapidly dying out.

In the late elections, twenty-nine unions returned women for the first time. On the other hand, twenty-three others which formerly possessed women guardians have no longer any women members on their boards. Personal inquiry has shown that in almost all these cases the loss has been due to the illness, death, or removal of the women guardians first elected, and to the fact that no other woman offered herself to fill her place. In one case the lady, who had been elected in 1894 as a Rural District Councillor, and consequently a guardian, and had done admirable service in her district, was defeated by one vote only; the opposition to her return being mainly on the ground of her desire to promote healthful and sanitary conditions. Besides the women guardians in England and Wales, there are seventeen women guardians in Ireland, and in Scotland forty women *parish councillors*.<sup>1</sup> There are thus at the present time in the United Kingdom 1040 women fulfilling the duties of Poor-Law guardians. There are, moreover, in England and Wales about 200 women parish councillors, and over 200 women members of school boards in Great Britain.

There are a far larger number of women either officially appointed, as in the case of the workhouse visiting committees, or, as in the case of the "Brabazon" committees, working as volunteers in various departments of Poor-Law administration, and in the care of children, the sick, and the aged. There are several cases of a woman being elected chairman of a parish council, and of a woman acting as clerk to a parish council. During the recent elections, women in several cases acted as assistant returning officers. Women are, moreover, frequently appointed to act as chairmen of one or other of the committees of a board of guardians, and one Welsh lady was elected vice-chairman of the board itself.

During the last two months the present writer has been collecting information as to the women employed as officers by various local administrative bodies. That a woman could be overseer was, as shown in a former article, legally decided in the affirmative at an early period. There are now women overseers in many unions, the Chepstow Union being distinguished by having women overseers in five different parishes. The number of women officially appointed and paid by local administrative bodies is steadily increasing. As inspectors under the Infant Life Protection Act they are doing admirable work. There are at least two women relieving officers.

\* The term "parish councillor" is misleading to an English reader, since the Scottish parish councillors, created by the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1864, practically correspond in urban districts to the English Poor-Law guardians, and in rural districts to the English rural district councillors, being, like these latter, also the guardians for the rural district.

The number of women medical officers in the workhouse infirmaries and county asylums is slowly but constantly growing. In some places there are women vaccination officers. There are several women registrars of births and deaths, and a large number of women deputy registrars. There are at least four women employed in England as rate collectors. Women are also employed as school attendance officers by some of our union school attendance committees and by various school boards. The school board of one of our large northern cities employs no fewer than twenty-eight women in this capacity. Many women are now engaged as sanitary inspectors—these, however, mainly by municipal corporations and London vestries.

In England and Wales there are at the present time nearly one million women voters for municipal and local government purposes. It will be remembered that women have possessed the municipal vote in England from time immemorial, save for the thirty-four years 1835–69, during which they were temporarily disfranchised. From the time of the restitution of their electoral rights in municipal boroughs the part played by women in all local matters has steadily broadened. When we cross the Channel, however, we find in the sister country of Ireland that women have not, until the most recent date, had any part whatever, either as electors or elected persons, in local administrative matters. Women ratepayers have indeed been entitled to vote on the same conditions as men for Poor-Law guardians. Previous to the legislation of the present Session all electors for Poor-Law purposes in Ireland had votes in proportion to the Government valuation of their houses or landed property, but one-half of the Poor-Law guardians were elected, the other half being *ex officio* guardians. For municipal purposes women had no votes whatever until, by a local Act of the city of Belfast passed in 1887, women householders were entitled to the municipal franchise, as also by another local Act in 1894, in the townships of Blackrock and Kingstown. In 1895 the Irish members of the House of Commons by a large majority showed themselves in favour of granting the municipal franchise to women householders throughout Ireland, but the Bill which would have given them this privilege was thrown out by the House of Lords. There are in Ireland no school boards, and consequently no school board voters.

Until 1896 women in Ireland had no place whatever as elected persons in local administration. By a measure introduced by Mr. William Johnston, M.P. for South Belfast, and carried into law in that year, it is provided that "No person otherwise qualified to be elected and to be a guardian for a Poor-Law union in Ireland shall be disqualified by sex or marriage for being elected or being

such guardian, anything contained in any Act to the contrary notwithstanding." Under that Act seventeen women guardians in fourteen unions have already been elected in Ireland.

The rights and powers of Irishwomen, both as electors and as elected persons, have, however, been largely increased by the Local Government (Ireland) Act of the recent Session. That Act creates throughout Ireland, county councils, and gives to the councils of the six boroughs of Belfast, Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Londonderry, and Waterford the powers of county councils. All other boroughs are under it constituted urban districts, their councils becoming urban district councils, and provision is made by the Act for the gradual constitution into urban districts of all towns having, according to the census of 1891, a population of over 1500. The rest of the country is distributed into rural districts. In rural districts the district councillor elected for each district electoral division will be the *guardian* for that division, but in each urban district or county borough the guardian will be specifically elected as such for each district electoral division. A woman equally with a man may be elected to a rural or urban district council, but she may not, any more than in England, Wales, or Scotland, be elected to a county council. We have here a curious illustration of the way in which an injustice, once created, tends to perpetuate and extend itself. Readers of the first article on "Judicial Sex Bias" will not need to be reminded that until the decision in the case of *Beresford Hope v. Sandhurst* there was no statutory or judicial disqualification of women from being elected to county councils. The Local Government Act of 1888, which created the county council system in England and Wales, was absolutely silent as to the question of sex, and had the older and juster interpretation of the law been followed in this case, as it was in that of boards of guardians and school boards, no distinction of sex where qualifications were equal could have been attempted. The final judgment in the case referred to, given in the Court of Appeal on April 16, 1889, nevertheless declared women incompetent to sit on county councils. Four days later the House of Lords rejected the Bill to qualify women to sit as county councillors by 108 votes to 23. It is obvious that this was one direct consequence of the ruling of the judges. Five weeks afterwards, in the early days of July, the Scottish Local Government Bill, creating county councils for Scotland, passed through Committee. Section 9 of that Act opens by enacting that "No woman shall be eligible for election as a county councillor," a further consequence of this legal decision. It is by means of this clause in the Scottish Act that women will be shut out from becoming county councillors in Ireland. The fourth schedule of the Irish Act provides that the section, of which this is one provision, of the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1889, shall

apply to Ireland. In the House of Commons on April 27 this year, an amendment was proposed to a clause of the Irish Bill to add at the end of the clause the words, "and no person shall be disqualified by sex or marriage for being a councillor for a county." The Chief Secretary on that occasion said that the whole question of women as county councillors would undoubtedly have to be raised at an early period, and ought in his judgment to be dealt with in one comprehensive measure for the three kingdoms, but refused on this occasion to go in this matter beyond the lines of the English law as at present existing. As a consequence, when the Committee divided there voted for the inclusion of women as county councillors 90 persons, whilst 235 voted against it. In this matter Irishwomen will probably have to wait for any further enfranchisement till their English and Scottish sisters can be alike enfranchised.

Even with this limitation the Act secures an enormous advance in the position of Irishwomen with regard to local administration. As electors the hitherto limited powers of women will also be largely increased. The Act requires to be read in conjunction with the Orders in Council issued under it, and with the Registration Act, passed earlier in the Session. The Registration Act provided for the compilation of the requisite local government register, and for the insertion thereon of every person registered in the Parliamentary register of electors in respect of a qualification in the county, and of every person who would, *but for being a woman or a peer, be entitled to be so registered.* The Local Government (Ireland) Act itself provides that all persons so registered shall be the local government electors for the county, and an Order in Council under the Act provides that "for the purposes of the Act a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being on any local government register of electors, or for being an elector of any local authority; provided that a husband and wife shall not both be qualified in respect of the same property." The Act further provides that in a borough the local government electors and no other persons shall be the burgesses, and the local government register of electors shall be the burgess-roll. It follows from these provisions construed together that a qualified woman, whether married or unmarried, will be equally competent with a qualified man to vote in the elections for county councils, urban district councils, including boroughs, as well as for rural district councils and boards of guardians.

Every local government elector, whether man or woman, is qualified to be elected to or to be a member of a board of guardians, or to be a member of either an urban or rural district council. An alternative qualification which offers special advantages to women is the qualification of residence within the district for twelve months preceding the election. This qualification does not apply to membership of a county council. It is in virtue of a similar qualification

in England that the great majority of women, and especially married women, Poor-Law guardians were returned in the elections of 1894, and of the present year.

An important amendment introduced in the House of Lords is also distinctly beneficial to women—the amendment which provides that two councillors shall be elected for each district electoral division by the local government electors for that division. This amendment was accepted in the House of Commons by a large majority. Had the original proposal of single-member constituencies been adhered to it is highly probable that few, if any, women would have been returned to any of the local governing bodies in Ireland. Even in England it is exceedingly difficult for a woman to secure election in a single-member constituency.

Readers of the previous article would note that by the English Local Government Act of 1894 it is provided that the chairman of a district council, “unless a woman or personally disqualified by any Act, shall be, by virtue of his office, a justice of the peace for the county in which the district is situate.” This disqualifying provision with regard to women was the special act of the Liberal Government then in office, and is remarkable from the fact that before that time no legal decision had ever been given or any statute passed restraining women from the exercise of judicial functions. This precedent of limitation, so contrary to the general principles and provisions of the measure, has been carefully copied into subsequent Scottish local government legislation, and is also embodied in the Local Government (Ireland) Act.

It is earnestly to be hoped that with the facilities now offered a considerable number of cultured and thoughtful Irishwomen will come forward to assist in all these important functions of local administration.

Women in Ireland having had hitherto so limited a share in any matter of local administration, it may readily be understood why but few offices in the appointment of local administrative bodies should as yet have been opened to them. We have shown how steadily the employment of women in these various functions has extended in England; but even in England the employment of women has frequently met with great opposition from permanent officialism. The tendency of permanent officialism is naturally and inevitably towards despotism and towards an overweening estimation of sex privilege. It is so much easier for the time to refuse or deny, and to follow a hard-and-fast rule or precedent, than to judge individual cases on their merits and abide by broad principles of justice. In England painful illustrations of this tendency have been given by the action of the Home Office and the Local Government Board; the Home Office in the case of the women factory inspectors, whose powers have been curtailed and whose numbers have been kept restricted,

purely in deference to the jealousies and opposition of the male inspectorate. The Local Government Board, in a case which arose last year, showed precisely similar tendencies. The case occurred in the month of May 1897, when Mr. Price, who had for many years held the post of relieving officer in the upper district of the Oswestry Union, died after a lingering illness. During the last six months of his life his wife was appointed temporary relieving officer by the guardians, and performed all the duties of that office very satisfactorily. She had, moreover, for two years before practically done all the outdoor work of the office. When the day of election came the guardians elected Mrs. Price to the position which had been held by her deceased husband. Within a few days they received a notice from the Local Government Board intimating that, "having regard to the duties which devolve on a relieving officer, the Board are unable to concur in the proposal of the guardians that the office should be held by a woman, and cannot, therefore, assent to the office being held by Mrs. Price." The guardians, however, refused to admit the objection raised by the Local Government Board, and after a considerable controversy they received, on January 22, 1897, the following letter from the Local Government Board :

*"January 22, 1898.*

"SIRs, — I am instructed by the Local Government Board to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th ult., transmitting the Report of the Committee of the Directors of the Oswestry Incorporation in favour of the appointment of Mrs. Rebecca Jane Price as Relieving Officer for the Upper District.

"The Board has given the representations contained in the report their careful consideration, and while they are clearly of opinion that it is undesirable that, as a general rule, the office of relieving officer should be held by a woman, they have determined, in consideration of the strong testimony which has been given of the special qualifications for office which Mrs. Price possesses, not to withhold their assent to her appointment.

"I am, however, to state that at the expiration of twelve months the Board will be required to be informed of the views of the Guardians as to whether in their opinion the arrangement has worked in all respects satisfactorily. The Board request that the particulars of Mrs. Price's appointment may be communicated to them in one of the enclosed forms of queries.

"I am, sirs, your obedient servant,

"H. C. MUNRO, Assist. Sec."

Probably in this case the Local Government Board discovered that a precedent already existed for the appointment of a woman relieving officer, one such appointment having been sanctioned by themselves in 1891. Mrs. Price is at the present time a relieving officer of the Oswestry Union.

The Irish Local Government Board appear now to have taken up the task of opposition to the employment of women. To two recent appointments of a woman as rate-collector—one at Carlow, and the

other in the Ennis Union, County Clare—they refused their sanction. In the Ennis case, the man who had been elected rate-collector fell into ill-health, and his wife, with the concurrence of the guardians, fulfilled the duties of his office. In February 1894 he died, and the guardians then appointed his widow to finish the rate-collection, with the same sureties as her husband. This appointment the Local Government Board refused to sanction, and the matter then dropped. The Carlow case was similar, save that it was the daughter of the rate-collector who had performed all the duties of the office. On her father's death the guardians appointed her as his successor. Again the Local Government Board objected, and the guardians did not resist this action. In a more recent case, however, they have been met with resistance by a stronger board of guardians, and it is to be hoped that their hostility to the recognition, not of woman's work—for to that they do not seem to object—but to woman's official status and official pay, will be overcome by the sheer force of public opinion.

On June 11 last the Clogher Board of Guardians met to appoint a rate-collector in the room of Mr. Magill, deceased. They appointed his daughter, Ann Magill, who, owing to her father's ill health, had fulfilled the duties of the office for five years past, and had given the highest satisfaction. She had thus proved in the most complete manner her efficiency and capacity, and the security offered was of the most unimpeachable kind. On July 2, at the meeting of the guardians, a sealed order from the Local Government Board was read, declaring that they felt unable to sanction the appointment, and directing the guardians to appoint a "fit and proper person." At this stage in the proceedings the matter was brought before various members of the House of Commons, and in particular Mr. William Johnston, the member for South Belfast, who at once gave notice of a question on the subject. The question was postponed at the instance of the Irish Office three several times, and at last put on July 15. The question and answer are reported by "Hansard" as follows :

"Mr. W. Johnston (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Clogher Board of Guardians have appointed as rate-collector Ann Magill, whose qualifications satisfied the Board; whether the Irish Local Government Board refuse to sanction the appointment solely on the ground of sex, and propose to appoint a man instead; and whether several precedents for such an appointment as that made by the Clogher Board of Guardians already exist in England?

"Mr. Gerald Balfour: The fact is as stated in the first paragraph. Protests on behalf of a minority of the Guardians have, however, been made against the appointment of Miss Magill. My honourable friend was good enough to postpone this question from the 4th instant, and I have since made careful inquiry into the subject of the collection of the Poor Rate in England (where there are precedents for the appointment of a female

collector), and the means by which the payment of the rate is enforced in both countries. In England the justices in petty sessions are empowered to issue a distress warrant for the recovery of the Poor Rate, and in the event of there being no goods on which to distrain there would be an order for imprisonment. In Ireland the justices have no power to imprison for default, though they have the power to issue a distress warrant. In England, moreover, the distress warrant is addressed to the constable of the parish and the Overseers of the Poor, whilst in Ireland it may only be addressed by the justices to the collector, who cannot act by deputy, or the collector may distrain under his own warrant of appointment. The law of distress and the statutable requirements of a lawful distress are complicated, and in many cases the failure to satisfy these requirements renders the person making the distraint a trespasser. It has been the practice of the Executive in Ireland to refuse to authorise a police escort to persons engaged in a distraining expedition, since by protecting a forcible and wrongful distress the police, who have no means of determining whether a distress is a legal one, would become co-trespassers. Notwithstanding this, however, payment of the Poor Rate in Ireland has very frequently to be enforced by distraint, without, of course, police protection, and collectors often find it necessary to go out and lie in ambush, with the view of effecting a seizure immediately after sunrise. Looking to all the circumstances of the case, I am unable to admit such an analogy between the cases of England and Ireland of the collection of the rates as would lead me to the conclusion that the office of collector in Ireland could be filled with advantage by a woman. The Guardians of the Clogher Union have, therefore, been requested to proceed to the appointment of a man to the office.

"Mr. W. Johnston: Is the right honourable gentleman aware that this lady has fulfilled the duties of the office for five years? Surely she might be allowed to continue in the appointment.

"Mr. Gerald Balfour: I am aware of the fact."

The answer to the allegation that it is improper for a woman to distrain lies, in this case, in the fact that in the Clogher Union distraint for rates is unknown, and that, as a matter of fact, any woman can levy distress for goods, since the magistrates, in Petty Sessions, can insert the name of the bailiff who will execute the decree. As one writer on the matter has well said: "It would be as sensible to require every high sheriff to qualify as a hangman before he is appointed high sheriff."

In the meantime the interest of various persons in England and Ireland had been aroused in the matter, and several memorials urging the Chief Secretary to intervene to prevent this act of injustice and the establishment of an evil precedent in Irish local government had been forwarded. The answer to the question was given in the House of Commons on July 15, and the next day the Clogher guardians proceeded to the re-election of Miss Magill as rate-collector. Upon this Mr. William Johnston addressed a second question to the Chief Secretary, and received the reply which, together with the question, is here subjoined:

"Mr. William Johnston (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Clogher

Board of Guardians have, on the 16th instant, re-elected Miss Ann Eliza Magill as rate-collector for the parish of Errigal; whether he will reconsider the decision to refuse the confirmation of this appointment, the duties of which she has efficiently discharged for five years; and whether, if there exists any difference between the laws of Ireland and England to the disadvantage of Irishwomen, he will consider the advisability of amending the law in justice to the women of Ireland?

"Mr. Gerald Balfour: I am aware that the Clogher Board of Guardians have, on the 16th instant, re-elected Miss Magill as rate-collector for the parish of Errigal; but I must remind my honourable friend that if this lady has been discharging the duties of the office for five years, she could only have done so by virtue of an irregularity on the part of the rate-collector, as rate-collectors have no power to act by deputy. I do not think that the Irish law can with advantage be altered with the object of enabling women to serve as rate-collectors, nor can I undertake to reconsider the decision that this appointment should not be confirmed. Of course, my honourable friend will understand that this decision is in no way intended to reflect upon Miss Magill in particular, but is dictated by general considerations."

Meantime the Local Government Board continued its policy of resistance, and issued the following notice:

(Royal Arms.)

"No. 32,733

98.

"Clogher Union.

*"To the Guardians of the Poor of the Clogher Union; to Ann Eliza Magill; and to all persons whom it may concern:*

"Whereas the Guardians of the Poor of the Clogher Union having appointed Ann Eliza Magill to be Poor-Rate Collector for the Tullyvar, Aughnacloy, Derrygorry, Shanmullagh, and Bragan Electoral Divisions of the said Union, We, the Local Government Board for Ireland, by an Order under our Seal bearing date the first day of July, instant, did Order and require the said Guardians to appoint a fit and proper person, instead of the said Ann Eliza Magill, as Poor-Rate Collector for the said Electoral Divisions:

"And Whereas the said Guardians, instead of proceeding as required by our said Order, have again appointed the said Ann Eliza Magill to be Poor-Rate Collector for the said Tullyvar, Aughnacloy, Derrygorry, Shanmullagh, and Bragan Electoral Divisions of the said Union:

"Now, therefore, We, the Local Government Board for Ireland, do hereby declare that We deem the said Ann Eliza Magill unfit for the Office of Poor-Rate Collector for the said Tullyvar, Aughnacloy, Derrygorry, Shanmullagh, and Bragan Electoral Divisions of the Clogher Union, and, in pursuance of the provisions of the Poor Relief (Ireland) Acts, 1838 to 1892, and in exercise of the powers vested in Us in this behalf, We do hereby remove her from the said office. And We do hereby Order and Direct that the said Ann Eliza Magill shall not exercise any of the powers or perform any of the duties of the said Office.

"Sealed with our Seal, this Twenty-second day of July, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Ninety-Eight.

(Signed)

Seal of the  
Local Government Board  
for Ireland.

H. A. ROBINSON.  
WM. L. MICKS.  
T. J. STAFFORD."

The Local Government Board followed this up by advertising in the local papers for applications for the office; testimonials to be sent to the Local Government Board in Dublin. Upon this Mr. William Johnston, on Thursday, July 28, put the following question, and received a further unsatisfactory reply, which is here reproduced:

"Mr. W. Johnston (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on what grounds a sealed order, dated the 22nd July, has been issued to the Clogher Board of Guardians, declaring Ann Eliza Magill unfit for the office of Poor-Rate collector, and removing her from that office; whether he has seen the report of the last meeting of the Guardians, when, after hearing Mr. Kelly, Local Government Board Inspector, the Guardians re-elected Miss Magill by twenty-one votes, as against six given for John Roberts, a publican, and that a leading member of the Board said that should the Local Government Board make another appointment he should hesitate to pay the rates to their collector; and whether he is aware that the supersession of Miss Magill is creating more difficulties than could possibly arise from the confirmation of her appointment?"

"Mr. Gerald Balfour: The Guardians having re-elected Miss Magill to the office of Poor-Rate collector in violation of the order of the Local Government Board, which required them to proceed to the election of a qualified person to whom their objection would not apply, the Board had no alternative but to issue a sealed order removing her from the office. The proceedings referred to in the second paragraph took place at the meeting of the Guardians on the 16th inst., and not at their last meeting a week later. The third paragraph is one which I will not attempt to answer; but, as I have already explained to my honourable friend, the Local Government Board felt bound to act in connection with this matter on principles of general application."

At the meeting of the Clogher guardians on July 30, a letter from the Local Government Board, dated July 29, was read, in which, after naming the candidates who had applied to the Local Government Board for appointment to the post of Poor-Rate collector in the Clogher Union, rendered vacant by the removal of Miss Magill, the Local Government Board went on to say:

"Before making the appointment, the Local Government Board will be prepared to consider any observations which the Guardians may desire to offer as to the eligibility or otherwise of the candidates. Copies of the testimonials of these candidates are transmitted to you herewith, in case the Guardians may desire to reply to them."

"I am to add that, if the Guardians desire to express any views on the matter, the Local Government Board request that they may be transmitted to them not later than Tuesday next, the 9th proximo.—I am, yours truly,

"J. J. DOWLING, Acting Sec."

Upon this the guardians unanimously passed the following resolution: "Resolved that we, the Guardians, having elected and re-elected Miss Magill as rate-collector, and being still of opinion that she is in every way a suitable person and qualified to discharge

the duties, decline to offer any opinion as to the eligibility of any of the candidates," and adopted the following petition to the House of Commons :

*"To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.*

"The humble petition of the Guardians of the Poor of the Clogher Union

"Respectfully sheweth—

"That your petitioners, at their meeting of the 11th of June, 1898, duly elected Ann Eliza Magill to be a Poor Rate Collector within that Union; that the Local Government Board for Ireland, by an order of July 1st, required the said Guardians to appoint a fit and proper person to that office; that your petitioners having regard to the fact that the said Ann Eliza Magill had for the last five years discharged the duties of the office of Rate Collector, to the full satisfaction of the Board, in the place of her late father, their Rate Collector who was an invalid, and had thus acquired experience and proved capacity, did regard the said Ann Eliza Magill as the most fit and proper person to appoint to the said office; they, therefore, at their meeting of July 16th, duly re-elected the said Ann Eliza Magill as a Rate Collector.

"That the Local Government Board for Ireland, by an order of July 23rd, have declared the said Ann Eliza Magill unfit for the office of Rate Collector, without advertising any grounds for such declaration, and have ordered that she shall not exercise any of the powers or perform any of the duties of the said office.

"That your petitioners regard this action of the Local Government Board for Ireland as unjust and inexpedient, and also of doubtful legality; your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that your honourable House will order an inquiry into the circumstances of the said case, and will, by legislation or otherwise, provide an adequate remedy."

This petition was presented on Tuesday, August 2, by Mr. William Johnston, and was read by the Clerk at the table. The crush of business connected with the hurried winding up of the Session has for the time prevented any further action in the House of Commons. The guardians having declined to offer any opinion as to the eligibility of the candidates of the Local Government Board, that Board appointed as rate-collector, in the place of Miss Magill, Mr. Robert Cuthbertson, already a rate-collector in another part of the Clogher Union. The Clogher guardians, at their meeting on August 13, passed a formal resolution to the effect that "the letter of the Local Government Board do lie on the table," and will take no further notice of it, and instructed their clerk not to give up possession of or access to rate-books to any person whatsoever.

At this stage the question stands at the time of writing; but it is impossible to suppose that the deadlock can be much longer maintained. The guardians are strong in their determination not to recognise any officer forced upon them from the outside in this matter. They are also determined to prevent this act of injustice to one woman and the creation of a mischievous precedent with regard to the employment of all women. The Irish Press, both Unionist and Nationalist,

has taken up the question vigorously, and there seems little doubt that in the long run the Local Government Board will have to give way. It is a significant fact that on July 4, while these matters were pending, a woman was appointed as rate-collector and sanitary sub-officer for the town of Letterkenny, under circumstances closely resembling the case of Miss Magill. The points of difference were that the Letterkenny rate-collector was appointed by and for an urban authority, instead of by and for a board of guardians, and that her capacity and ability had been proved by a shorter term of practical experience than in the Clogher case. Nevertheless, the appointment was sanctioned by the Local Government Board on July 29. As there can be no adequate reason for the insulting treatment of one appointment whilst sanctioning the other, it is to be expected that the Irish Local Government Board will find some way out of their difficulty, and gracefully withdraw from an untenable position. In any event, the Clogher guardians have done a real public service in fighting for the freedom of local authorities and for justice to womanhood. Yet it is hard that upon a woman should fall the heaviest part of the toil and trouble of such resistance; and it is as a typical specimen of the fight which women have to fight for themselves and their sisters that the particulars of this controversy have been reproduced in detail. Such injustice will continue to be attempted, and such fights will have to be continuously fought, until women possess that safeguard of their liberties and that security for human justice which their political enfranchisement can alone insure to them.

IGNOTA.

## THE HISTORY OF THE FORMS AND MIGRATIONS OF THE SIGNS OF THE CROSS AND THE SU-ASTIKA.

### PART VI.—THE PRE-ZODIACAL ERA OF THE REVOLVING SUN-GOD.

IN the last two chapters I have traced the history of time computations, starting from India, the first home of organised civilised life, and have shown how they were taken northwards over South-western Asia and Europe, where they were subsequently altered, first by Northern infiltrations and afterwards by fresh Indian imports. These were brought by the maritime merchants, who had in India and Babylonia made fresh alterations in the calendar under the influence of the Northern invaders, the sons of the bird and goat and the sun-horse. In the latter part of the last chapter I have sketched the early history of the western part of Central India, the valley of the Nerbudda, where maritime commerce on a large scale was first developed, long before the rise of Pātāla, the port of the Ikshvākus on the Indus, which, as I have shown, was a seaport about 9000 years ago. I must now turn to the eastern side of this mother-land of the Indians sons of the mountain and the tree. It was on this side of Umurkuntuk, the mother-mountain of the Turano-Dravidians, the maritime Tur-vasu, the sons of the moon-god Parasu Rāma and the Haiobunsi, that the river Sona, the golden (sona) river, rose. This was the river on whose banks the Buddha god of the May sun, the eight-rayed star of the eight-days week, was to rise as the regenerated god<sup>1</sup> cleansed from sin by a seven weeks' fast, under the ancestral Banyan fig-tree, and by his subsequent baptismal bath in the mother-river of the sun-born race. It was here that he exchanged the dark heaven of night, the earthen bowl of the first maker of time, the god Ghatikāra, who reckoned it by the southern Ghati, or hours of twenty-four minutes each, sixty of which made a day, for the golden bowl of the sun-god, the heaven of day. When he completely abandoned all connection with the ancient Pole-star astronomy, and became the sun-god who made his own way through the zodiac, this golden

<sup>1</sup> For a full account of the re-birth of the Buddha see Hewitt's *History of the Sun as the Great Physician*, WESTMINSTER REVIEW, April 1896, pp. 336 ff.

bowl was changed for that made by the union of the heaven of night with that of day, from the four bowls of sapphire and four of jet brought to him by the four Lokapāla, archangels ruling the four quarters of the heavens.

The Indian conceptions of the sun-god which appear in the growth of the myth of the Buddha find their only local foothold in the sun-god of the Eastern Mundas, who worship Sri Bonga. In the rest of India sun-worship was an utterly alien doctrine, and we see the national feeling of hatred against the destroying sun fully illustrated in the myth of the Indian Pegasus, the sun-horse. This was, as I have shown, originally the constellation of the Sun-tiger, the totem of the invading Gonds, and this embodies a piece of local history, for it shows that the conquering Gonds were looked at as marauders no less distinctive than the tiger and the burning sun, and it also tells us that they were Northern sun-worshippers, the men who called their sun-god Rā. These worshippers of the first sun-god Rā, the sun-god of the first introducers of Northern crops, were a race whose national recollections went back to their first homes in the far North, where the sun ceases to set in summer, but disappears altogether in the long nights of winter. This winter cap of invisibility was the Tarnkappe or Helm of Awing of the Northern sun-god, the god Sigurd of the pillar (urdr) of victory. This cap, which concealed him from view during the long night of the Arctic winter, became in more southern climes that which he put on every night when he went to take the rest necessary to fit him for his daily journeys through the heaven as the hunter-sun of the Northern year. He was the god called Hadding or the Hairy One, who was clothed in deer-skins, the ancestral dress of the Indian Kshatryas, and who ate his breakfast in the east, dined in the zenith at midday, and supped at night in the west.<sup>1</sup> In this primitive conception of the universe, which appears in India in the three daily steps of Krishna the antelope-god, originally the Northern hunter, both the heavens and the earth were stationary, and the sun, moon, and stars were the souls of totem animals who accompanied the leading stars Orion and the Pleiades in their nightly path through the heavens.

It was to trace the path of the sun in his daily journeys that the first tree and stone gnomon dials were made, and it was in the recognition of the utility of the shadow-casting measurer of time that the world's tree of the Southern race, the parent-tree of the sons of the father-ape, was lopped of its branches and made into the bare tree-trunk, the Northern Hir-men-sul, the poles placed in front of their houses by the Dravidian Māles, the images of the Greek goddesses Lato and Artemis, and of the Indian Drona and Kadrū, only that these last images were hollow, so as to receive the ingredients of the holy Soma sacramental cup, passed through the pressing

<sup>1</sup> Hewitt's *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times* vol. ii. essay ix. pp. 255, 256.

stones, the symbols of the thunder-clouds of the rain-god. These tree-stems became the obelisks of the Egyptians and Phœnicians and the Ashūra of the Jews.

In the Northern belief the stars and the sun were first hunted round the pillar which cast the day shadows of the sun by the wind-god, the Wild Hunter who became in stellar astronomy the hunting star Orion. This primæval belief gave way on the substitution of the year of three seasons to that of the mother-mountain, the snowy inaccessible peaks reaching to the Pole-star, and it was as the symbol both of the mother-mountain and the year of three seasons that the triangle was used to denote the Hittite and Assyrian mother-goddess Ba or I'a-hu, the goddess Aphrodite at Paphos, Apollo Agnieus in Greece, and in India by the twin-sister of Krishnā, the mountain-goddess called Durgā and Su-bhadrā, the latter name denoting the blessed Su, or bird Khu.

The mountain by its shadows also fulfilled some of the functions of the gnomon-pole, and it was this belief, combined with that which looked on it as the home of the mother rain-bird, the cloud-goddess, which led to the consecration all over South-western Asia and Europe of the High Places called "the Hills of Semiramot," the mother-goddess of the exalted (ram) name (Shem). European instances of these hills—which were real hills in hill countries, and artificial mounds in level lands—are found in the artificial Hill of Avebury in Gloucestershire, and in the Hill of Hindapfall, the hill of the deer (hinda) on which Sigurd, the sun-god of the grey cloud-horse Grāni, woke at the vernal equinox Brun-hilda, the mistress (hilda) of the springs (brunnen), from her winter sleep.

It was with the Finn cult of the mother-mountain, the home of the storm-bird that dwells in the Pole-star containing the flints and iron pyrites, the primæval Northern mothers of fire, that the worship of the household fire arose. When these Northern hunters, the sons of the sun-deer who was originally (as I have shown) the reindeer, whose horns are still worn in England at the horn-dances of the winter solstice,<sup>1</sup> met the Southern farmers in Asia Minor, they learnt from them the use of the wooden fire-drill, and it was from this alliance that the cult of the fire-creating god arose among the Phrygians, who, like the Hindu Bhri-gu, were sons of the god of fire and generation Bhur or Phur.

It was from this source that the cult of the world's tree, the central village tree of the universe, also sprang, the tree growing on the top of the mother-mountain. It was, before it was the sun-ash Ygg-drasil, the mother pine-tree sacred to Cybele the cave, the mother-goddess of Asia Minor whose image was a meteoric stone in her cave or Mount Dindymon, the tree of the nest of the mother-bird. This tree is said in the Finn magic songs to be born from

<sup>1</sup> Hewitt, *History as told in the Cave Deposits in the Ardennes*. WESTMINSTER REVIEW, June 1897, p. 602.

the hair of the wolf of light planted by Kati, the tree-mother, in the black mud of Ukko the storm-bird, the moistened ground on the top of the mountain plateau. It was in a cradle hung on its branches that the bear-mother of the sons of Artemis, the seven stars of the Great Bear, was nursed after her birth. She was born from five tufts of wool, the five days of the week of the year of the ram-sun, flung by a maiden, the virgin-mother of corn, on the waves of the mother-sea. She was covered with five coverlets, meaning again the five days of the week, and eight sheepskin coverings, in the centre of a golden ring. This ring was the year ring of the annual circle of the eight-rayed star. It is this Finn legend which appears again in Indian ritual in connection with the worship of the pine tree. The priest who at the Soma sacrifice makes the fire on the High Altar called Uttara-vedi, or the North Altar, is ordered not to make the fire-enclosing triangle round the navel or central fire of Palāsha wood, as in the ordinary seasonal and New and Full Moon sacrifices, but of the Himalayan Deodara called Pītu-darū. He is to place in the centre of this a wether's hair tuft as the foundation of the fire, the hair of the unsexed barley-ram sacred to Varuna, together with bdellium and a tuft of fragrant grass.<sup>1</sup> It was from this pine- or cypress-tree that the sun-god was born as the Phœnician Eshmun, the Phrygian Attis.

This is the tree which in the *Níblunga-Saga* is the house-pole of the palace of the King of the Volsungs, the woodland sons of the pole (volr), and its branches, in which the mother-hawks built their nests, overshadowed the palace roof. It was into the trunk of this pitch-yielding tree, containing the soul of fire, that the sword of light was driven at the wedding of Signy the Volsung princess to Siggeir, the King of the Goths, by an aged man who strode into the hall clad in a hood blue as the sky and a kirtle of cloudy grey. He said that he who could draw out this sword of buried sunshine would be the first of men. The contest which followed was the counterpart in the solar history of the tree-myth of that in which Arjuna and Odusseus contended for the prize of union with the mother-goddess awarded to whoever could bend the bow of the rain-god, whose supremacy preceded that of the sun. In the story of the sons of the pine-tree, the prize was not the mother-goddess of the year, but the right to rule time by the sword of the god of light. This was won by Sigmund, the conquering (sig) moon (mund), the tenth son of the Volsung king and the father of Sigurd, the sun-god of the pillar (urdr) of victory.<sup>2</sup> He who alone was able to draw forth and wield the sword of light was the god of the Hittite year of ten lunar months of gestation, who was the forging-smith of the forest, and it did not fall to him to hit the mark of the sun's

<sup>1</sup> Eggeling's *Sat. Brāh.* iii. 5, 2, 14-18. *S. B. E.* vol. xxvi. p. 125. See also vol. xfi. p. 392, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Hewitt, *Ru'ing Races of Prehistoric Times*, vol. ii. essay viii. pp. 110 ff.

position in the heavens at the close of his year's circle, as Arjuna and Odusseus, the sun-gods, were obliged to do. In Arjuna's contest the mark was apparently, though the description is rather obscure, the year ring in the heavens, the ring of the constellation Draco, in which a bird, the Pole-star bird, was fixed. It was this year storm-bird which the victor who won Drupaadi had to pierce with five arrows, the five days of the week, and the five seasons of the Hindu year of the Pāndavas. The marks cleft by Odusseus were the twelve double axes of Parasu-Rāma and of Sigmund, the woodland moon-smith, and his first son Sinnfiotli, the half-brother of Sigurd, of whom I have spoken before in this essay, who was brought to life by the shamrock. These axes of Odusseus had been kept by Penelope the weaver, the spinning Pleiades mother, during the absence of the sun-god in the interregnum caused by the reckoning of the year of thirteen lunar months beginning in February, without any reference to the equinoxes or solstices—the Grecian year which, according to Homer (*Iliad*, v. 387), Mars was bound by Aloeus, the sea-god, for thirteen months, the Thracian year of Rhesus and his twelve warriors slain by Odusseus and Diomedes.<sup>1</sup> This was also the thirteenth year of exile of the Pāndavas.

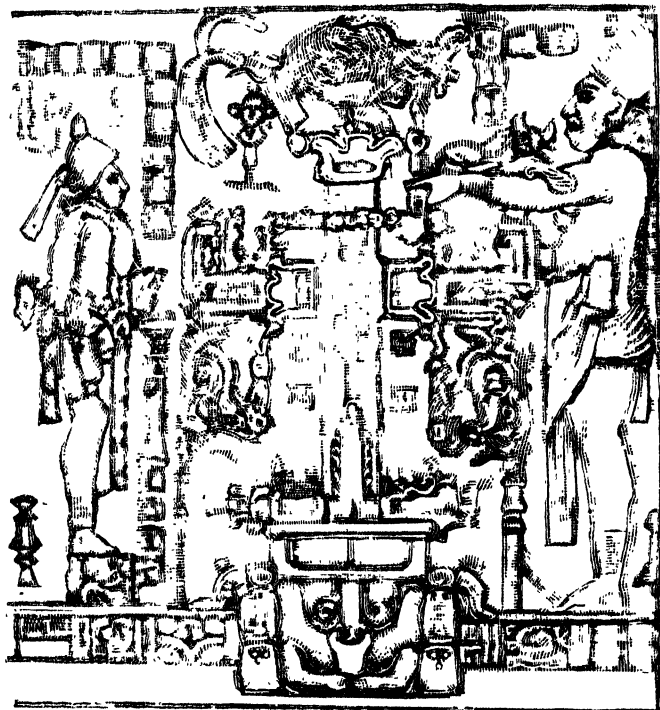
In the conception of the world as the mother-mountain plateau, the shell of the tortoise arched over by the sky tent lit with the stars of the northern hemisphere, there were two factors to which I have previously referred, and which must be carefully distinguished by all who wish to understand the history of the beginning of Northern computations of time. The first image of the world conceived by the Northern hunters was that of the stationary mountain and the gnomon-tree and stone pillar, the menhirs of the Neolithic Age, over and round which the sun and stars were hunted by the Wild Hunter, the wind-god, and the hunting star Orion. The second was that derived from the Southern races. In this the mother-mountain was the headpiece of the fire-drill which, in this mythology, was made to revolve by the northern, and not as in the days of Canopus worship by the southern, stars. This revolving fire-drill with its southern point in the constellation Leo pierced through the earth in the rain-storms, and thus reached the mother-ocean on which it rested, and stirred up and heated its waters. These were the home of the Southern dolphin fish-mother god, the bearer of the soul of life breathed into the original fish-parent, the river-eel, by the breath of the creating god, the god of the Pole-star. In this cosmogony it was the earth which revolved on its axis, as I have explained in the story of Ixion, the Akshivan or axle-man bound to the constellation Draco, the wheel of heaven, which he made to revolve. The part of Ixion in the Greek myth was taken first in the Hittite astronomy by the one-footed goat, the god Uz, the Ajā Ekaped of the *Rigveda*,

<sup>1</sup> Hewitt, *History as told in the Cave Deposits in the Ardennes*. WESTMINSTER REVIEW, June 1897, p. 612.

who stood under the earth and made it revolve, and who afterwards became the Northern god, the constellation Capricornus, who guides the rope of destiny, the stars of Draco encircling the pole which turns the fire-drill, and of which the ends were held by the stars Gemini, the Ashvins, and Boötes and Arcturus, the Zend and Vedic Aryaman, both of whom were as the moving gods of time held to be divine physicians. They, by pulling the rope of the Alligator constellation, made the earth revolve, as the god Vāsuki made Mount Mandara. In this theology, while the earth revolved, the sun, moon, and stars adorning the curtains of the heavenly tent stood still. This revolving earth, with its year of four equal seasons marked by the solstices and equinoxes, was first drawn in the circle, as we shall see in the history of the equilateral Cross of St. George. This circle was afterwards changed by the ploughing races into the square with the cross in the centre, the sacred sign of earth among the Chinese, and it was the templum or divining field of the Roman augurs. While this last symbol denoted the widespread year beginning with the autumnal equinox, which was first made the national year in Asia Minor, the first denoted, as we shall see, the solstitial year of the flying mother-bird, the circling bird which saved the drowning Bhujyu, the vanishing god of time, when he was clinging to the departing year of the growing tree, the year of three seasons. The year of the cross in the square marks the ages when, on the union with the Southern farmers of the Northern hunters, the latter substituted, as cultivating instruments, ploughs—a modified form of the sledges in which their forefathers had driven their reindeers—for the hoes and pointed sticks previously used. The field ploughed was that within which the oxen of light were driven round the central Pole-star by the sons of the sun-horse, the Centaurs, and it was in it that the augurs or diviners drew from the inspection of the entrails of the sacrificed mother-birds their prophecies of the course of events in the coming year.

But the history of the augurs or bird diviners is one that began in an age very much earlier than that of the equilateral cross, and a most complete clue to its initial stages is to be found in the engravings on the Latin or Celtic Cross of Palenque. This is a city of ancient Mexico, built by the people called Toltecs or Architects, and apparently destroyed ages before Columbus visited America, and, though the written character used in the inscriptions found among the ruins has not yet been deciphered, yet the story of the pictures engraved on this cross is perfectly clear to those who have studied the phases of the symbolic language of India and South-western Asia. The shaft of this cross represents the arrow aimed at a bird which sits on the top of the cross. To those who have realised the significance and widespread diffusion of the Vedic and Brāhmanic story of the arrow aimed by Krishānu, the rainbow god, at the

Shyena, or frost-bird, this picture on the cross, copied below from that in Mr. Wilson's Treatise on the Su-astika, seems to be almost undoubtedly the same story told in stone. This belief is necessarily greatly strengthened when it is remembered that the story is one which dates back to the very earliest form of the history of the sun-year, which tells how the arrow of the three stars of the Belt of Orion, the three-knotted arrow of Rudra, killed the sun-deer ruling the year at the close of his year of three seasons. This three-



PALENQUE CROSS FOLIATED.

knotted arrow was that which wounded the Shyena, the flying cloud- and frost- (shya) bird, and caused its blood to fall in the first spring rains. These brought forth from the earth the transformed feather of the wounded bird, the leaf of the Soma plant, the Palasha-tree, the prototype of spring and summer life born from the lifeblood of the circling time-bird, which flies round the year and supplies the earth with seasonable rains, the seed of life. The "three-knotted barbs" of this arrow form the north, east, and west arms of the cross; and above the three northern barbs stands the mother-bird, the Sia turkey. This, in their cosmogony, is the mother-bird of the corn-growing races, which was the last to emerge from the nether regions of the primæval mist with Ut'set, the corn-mother.

She had, as I have said before, climbed up the top ridge of the plateau of the tortoise earth by the help of the river-reed, and had brought with her the star-bag borne by the Egyptian beetle, containing the parent stars of the Kat'suna, the Northern men with masks, descended from animal totems. These stars were the Pleiades, the three stars of Orion's Belt and the seven stars of the Great Bear.<sup>1</sup>

That this bird at the top of the north shaft of the cross is the bird slain by the arrow is indubitably proved by the picture of the augur who stands on the east side of the cross wearing the high Hittite cap. He has laid the slain bird on its back and taken out its entrails.

I have not space here to enlarge upon the other ritualistic details marked on this most interesting cross, such as the picture under its west arm of the Twins climbing the mountain where they were to shoot the mother-bird—the mother-eagle—and from which they descended by the Piñon nut-tree, grown from a seed planted by the squirrel, the totem father of the Indian forest races. This and the other stories of the Sia national history are given in the abstract of their cosmogony in my *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, Essay ix., pp. 248–286, and will be found to be full of coincidences with that I have now sketched. But, for the further elucidation of the story of the arrow I am now discussing, I must here refer to the preparation made by the Twins for attacking the eagle. They did not do so till Ma'asewe, the twin of the winter solstice, had slain with his arrow the sun-deer, and wrapped its intestines round his neck, arms, and breast, as well as those of his brother; and it was Ma'asewe who killed the eagles,<sup>2</sup> or the original storm-birds; and this seems to prove that the story of the slaying of the sun-reindeer by the three-knotted arrow of Rudra was one that preceded that which told of the death by the same arrow of the storm-bird, and that, in other words, the year story of the Northern hunters, the first users of the bow, had been incorporated into their mythology by the Finn sons of the bird. Both these stories, as well as that of the five arrows shot by Arjuna, belonged to the days of Pole-star worship, when the week was measured by five days. And the arrows shot by the sun-god Odusseus through the twelve axes, with which he slew the suitors of Penelope, who attempted to measure the year by the months of gestation, belong to the later phase of mythology, when the week was the lunar week of seven days.

The story of the death and subsequent examination of the entrails of the bird of the corn-growing races on the top of the cross at Enque could only have been derived from the cult of the diviners

<sup>1</sup> Hewitt, *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, vol. ii. essay ix. pp. 260, 254.

<sup>2</sup> *Publications of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institute: Stevenson's Sia*, vol. xi. pp. 47, 48.

who first drew their auguries from birds in India; for the birds most used by the Greek and Roman augurs were the domestic fowl, a bird whose native home is in the jungles of Eastern India, and the Sia turkey is the American counterpart of the Indian jungle cock, the bird sacred in the Munda ritual to Sri Bonga, the sun-god. This bird, which was sacred to the Greek Asclepios the sun-physician, is in Sanskrit mythology Ahalyā, the hen, the wife of Gautama, the son of the bull (gaut) called Chandra Kushika, the male moon-god of the Kushikas. It was he who united the two races of the Maghaha worshippers of Rāhu and the household fire with the Northern corn-growing sons of the bird (the Chiroos), and thus formed the race of Kushikas or Kauravyas, sons of the bird (khu) and of the tortoise (kuṣh). The union was, as we are told in the *Mahābhārata*, effected by giving a mango, which had fallen into his lap when in a state of ecstatic meditation, to the two queens of the King of Maghaha, who were daughters of the King of Kushi. They became by this mango, the fruit of the husband-tree of the cultivating Kurmis or Kauris, the mothers of Jarā-sandha, King of Maghaha—whose name means “union (sandhi) by old age (Jarā)” —who was born in two halves put together by an old woman called Jarā (old age), a Rakhshasa<sup>2</sup> or daughter of a tree (rukḥ), of the race of the aboriginal sons of a tree. The story of the birth and life of Jarā-sandha is, as I have proved elsewhere, a history in mythical form of India during the ages of the worship of the Twins, when the year was measured by the ten and eleven lunar months of gestation.<sup>3</sup> It is also evident, from a comparison of the birth story with the Kurmi custom of marrying every young bridegroom to a mango-tree, that it is a variant form of the birth story of the Kaur or Kauravya son of the mango-tree who succeeded the Chiroo sons of the bird, the hawk-wife of Vasu.

To make this last deduction clear, I must go back to the story of Satya-vatī the sun-lizard, and her son Vyāsa the alligator. She, as I said above, married, after Vyāsa's birth, the King Shāntanu, who had become by the river Gungā, the successor of the Haihaya Nerbudda, the father of the eight sons, the eight rays of the eight-rayed star of the Rāj Gond, sons of Rā. Of these eight only Bhishma—called also Dyu or the bright one—was allowed to live as the unsexed sun-god who united in himself all the rays of his seven

<sup>1</sup> *Mahābhārata Sabha (Raja Sayarambha) Purva*, xvii. pp. 54, 57.

<sup>2</sup> Rakhshasa is a Sanskrit word meaning demons who were the sons of the Pali Rukka, the Hundi Rukh, a tree. This name still survives in that of the Rook or Rukh, the castle in chess, a word, like the game, of Indian origin. It can only move straight forward like the days of the year measured by the growing tree, and not diagonally like the pieces of the sun-bird—the kings, queens, and bishops, the rays of the solstitial sun. The constant interweaving of the symbols of the tree and bird appears again in the Arabic Rukh bird, the bird of the breath of life (rukh), the wind that moves the trees.

<sup>3</sup> Hewitt, *History of the Week*, WESTMINSTER REVIEW, August 1897, pp. 112, 143. *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, vol. i. essay 7, pp. 468, 469.

dethroned brethren, the seven stars of the Great Bear. Satyavati became by Shantanu the mother of two sons—Chitraṅgada, the variegated (chitra) necklace (aṅgada), another form of the Alligator constellation Vyāsa or Simshumāra, and Vichitra Virya, the manly strength of the revolving pole (viru) of the two (vi) colours (chitra), the united Northern and Southern races, the barley- and rice-growing farmers. Chitraṅgada succeeded his father, but died childless and unwedded. When Vichitra Virya came to the throne as a youth who had not yet reached manhood, Bhishma, his uncle,<sup>1</sup> went to the King of Kushi to secure the hands of his three daughters for the young king. These daughters were called Ambā, the chief star in the Pleiades, Ambikā, and Ambālikā. Ambā declined the marriage on the ground that she was engaged to the King of Saubha, the city of the bird (su), the king of the magicians—that is, of the earliest Finn emigrants, sons of the magic bear-mother, the stars of the Great Bear, who were, as we have seen, wedded in Hindu mythology to the Pleiades. Consequently only her two sisters became wives of Vichitra Virya, who, however, died childless.

Satyavati then called in Vyāsa to raise up children to his brother, and he became by Ambikā the father of the blind King Dhritarāshtra, the Pole-star god of the North, the Indian form of the Greek Ixion, the Sanskrit Akshivan, the gnomon-tree or stone, the blind turner of the Polar axle, and by Ambālikā of Pandu. Dhritarāshtra was the father by Gandhārī the vulture, the Pole-star Vega, of the hundred Kaurāvyas, who were, as we have seen, in mythological history the crew of the hundred-oared ship, the constellation Argo, which saved Bhujyu. Pandu his half-brother was only the nominal father of his sons the five Pāndavas. He was the god who became, as we are told in the *Mahābhārata*, unsexed, and was the antelope-sun-god, the son of the seven stars of the Great Bear, his mother's constellation, who were in India the seven antelopes (rishya) who married the Pleiades. His wives were (1) Prithi, the mother-earth (partha), sister of Vasudeva or Vasu, father of Krishna, also called Kunti the lance, and, (2) Madri, the intoxicated (mad) prophetess, daughter of Salya, the Sal-tree, the parent-tree of the Dravidian races, the dealers in magic whose priests attained<sup>3</sup> inspiration by drinking intoxicating liquor. The sons of Prithi, sister of Vasu, the father of Satyavati as well as of Krishna, were the Pārthava, the great Asiatic tribe of riding horsemen called Parthians, who traced their descent from the sun-horse, the bearer of their mother-lance. They are spoken of in *Rigveda*, VI. 27, 5-8, where their leader Abhavartin Cāyamāna—whose name means “the fearsome repeller”—is called Pārthava, and his conquering troops, the Srinjaya or men of the sickle (sriui), the corn-growing races. In this passage, which describes the victory of the Srinjaya, their foes were (1) the Vrishi-

<sup>1</sup> *Mahābhārata Adī (Sambhava) Parva*, cii. pp. 306-310.

vants, the sons of the rain-god (varsha), the Vārsha-giras or Naṣuṣha, who, as we have seen, were the votaries of Kutsa, the god Ku, and (2) the Turvashu, the Pole-star worshippers, and the place of the victory was on the river called Hari-yūpiya, the place of the sacrificial stakes (yūpa) of Hari, that is the Jumna, which flows past Mathura, the town specially consecrated to Hari who, as we have seen, was a form of the cloud-mother star who became Krishna the black antelope.<sup>1</sup> This victory is one which in its result exactly tallies with that, as I have spoken of in Part V., of Indra over the Vetasu or men of the reed led by Kutsa, and the Tugra or Trigartas, the parent tribe of Bhujyu and the worshippers of the fire-drill of heaven, the Pole-star. These people in their original home were the Parthians, whose province lies immediately to the south of the Caspian Sea, the home of the fire-worshippers and of the reformation of Zarathrustra, and they were the sons of the great Nāz, the hooded-snake of the Naga races to whom Kutsa was divine priest before Indra, whose image was borne on the banners of the ancient Parthian cavalry.<sup>2</sup> They were thus the sons of Azi-dahāka, the snake-god of the *Zendavesta*, the god who, as I have shown, was the god of the Daitya, or second mother-river of the Zends, the river Kur, whose wives, the mothers of the succeeding races, were the daughters of Yima, the twin who planted the garden of God, whose brother was Takhma Urupa, the swift (takhma) robber, (urupi), the Zend primæval fire-god, who, according to the *Zendavesta*, ruled before Azi-Dahāka.<sup>3</sup> They were thus at the time of their first descents into India a race of cultivating gardeners and fire-worshipping artisans. Their name Pārthava and that of their mother Prithā are derived from a Dravidian Tamil root, peru, which has been appropriated by the Sanskrit-speaking successors of the early Dravidians,<sup>4</sup> and this Dravidian descent is confirmed by the name by which the Srinjayas are especially known in the *Mahābhārata*, that of Panchāla, meaning the men of five claws (ala), the five days of the Dravidian week. They marched in the Kauravya war under the banner of the Ape, an earlier father-god than the Nāga snake, the great Susi-Nāg of Shushan, the land of the bird (Shu), which the son of the sun-horse adoptéd. The fathers of the Pāndava sons of Prithā were Dharma, the god ruling the unvarying succession of natural phenomena, the father of Yudishtira, Vayu, the wind, elsewhere named Maroti the ape-god, father of Bhima and Sukra, the ancient rain-god before Indra the father of Arjuna. The twin children of Madri were Saha-deva and Nakula, sons of the Ashvins. The five brethren represent the union of the immigrant and aboriginal

<sup>1</sup> Hewitt's *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, vol. i. essay iii. p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> Maspero, *Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, p. 316.

<sup>3</sup> Darmesteter, *Zendavesta Rām Yasht*, ii. 12, 19, *S. B. E.* vol. xxiii. p. 252. note i p. 253.

<sup>4</sup> Hewitt, *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, vol. i. essay iii. p. 264, note 3.

races of India, and represent a confederacy like that of the Ikshvākus, composed of the mountain Malli and the Licchavis, the sons of the dog or lion (lig), the race born of the ape with the lion's tail, the cognizance on Arjuna's banner.

In all these genealogies the parentage of the Pole-star and the stars ruling time is a prominent feature; and the Kaurāvyā sons of Gandhāri, the Pole-star Vega, and the Chiroo goddess Dharti, and Dhritārashtra, the blind fire-drill of heaven, are clearly sons of the Pole-star. Ambikā the mother of Dhritārashtra must, therefore, be a Pole-star goddess. She is, as I have shown, in one of the principal legends of Ambā Ambikā and Ambālikā, the central or principal queen of the three called Mahishi, or the Great Queen. It was she who as spokeswoman of the three mother-goddesses of the year of three seasons refused to become brides of the sun-horse, and resigned that honour to Su-bhadra the mountain-goddess, twin sister of Krishna the antelope sun-god of the year of four seasons.<sup>1</sup> These three, again, are the wives of Rudra called the Tri-Ambikā, the three Ambikas married to the god who shot the arrow which killed the Mriga of the year of three seasons. Mriga, as I have shown above, means not only a deer or antelope, but any animal who goes round, and it thus means the bird of time, the circling bird which saved Bhujyu, the bird slain by the arrow of the red (rud) god of the trident, the central red prong which intervenes between the two yellow prongs of the trident mask worn on their foreheads by all Hindoo Vishnuites. It is the slaying of this bird which is commemorated in the Tri-Ambikā sacrifice in which the rice offerings are presented to the god on a Palāsha-leaf, the leaf born from the feather of the bird wounded by Krishānu or Rudra, and the Palāsha-tree is a mother-tree of the Mundas. This bird is called both the Shyena or frost-bird, the sun-bird of the winter solstice, and also the Su-parna, or the feather (parna) of Su—that is, of the Finn-Akkadian and Egyptian sacred bird Khu, the Finn mother-bird who is called in the Esthonian sacred poems Taivahan Napanem, the navel of heaven. She is the bird from whose egg Linda, the queen of the birds, the Finn bird-mother, was born. She is called both Linda and Taara the star—that is, the Pole-star,<sup>2</sup> and, as the Hindu counterpart of Linda, the goddess Gandhāri was the Pole-star goddess Vega. It is clear that the first mother-goddess, the central queen of the primæval triad of mothers, the prongs of the Pharsi Pen the female trident, must be the Pole-star queen of the year who, when hit with the arrow of the storm-god of three seasons, sent her blood down to the earth as the mother of plants and of their human children.

Ambikā, the mother of Dhritārashtra, the sun gnomon-tree, therefore was clearly the Pole-star before Vega—that is, the Pole-star in

<sup>1</sup> Hewitt, *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, vol. i. essay iv. pp. 336, 337.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. ii. essay viii. p. 155. Kirby, *Hero of Esthonia*, introduction p. xxvii.

Cygnus, called by the Greeks Ornis, the bird which was the Pole-star from 17,000 to 15,000 B.C. This is the constellation in the form of a cross or a flying bird; and as the flying bird who was wounded as the Pole-star in this constellation was the Shyena or frost-bird, the mother of the Sus or Saus, the great Indian trading sons of the bird still called Saus or Sau-kars, she, as a year-bird, must be a sun-bird of the winter solstice, the season when she was slain as the deer-sun mother, and who, after her death, rose again in the south-east and set in the south-west, the two winter points of the St. Andrew's Cross which, with the Greek cross, forms the eight-rayed star. Hence she was the flying bird who represented the first sacred cross, that marked by the solstitial sun. It was because this year-bird, killed and reborn with the northward-turning sun at the winter solstice, was a sun-bird that she became the mother of the gnomon-year-tree, Dhrit-a-rāshtra. Also her place in the central Pole-star marks her as the star queen between her sister Ambā, the Pleiades, and Ambālikā, the united Pleiades and bear-antelope stars which revolve round her. The sequel of the legend of her death by the arrow of Krishanu also confirms this deduction. His name is derived from the root Karsh, to draw, the same root as that whence Krishna, the black antelope sun-god, comes. Hence we see that this latter was originally the drawer of the heavenly bow—that is, the sun-god who makes it shine in the sky. He is thus seen to take, as Krishna, the same place in mythological history as is given to his counterpart, Hari, the male form of the cloud-mother star. The year ending by the shooting of this queen mother-bird, the cloud- and Pole-star goddess, was that ending at the winter solstice, when the Pongol festival beginning the Tamil year of Madras takes place. This was the year followed by that of her successor, her revived self, who was awakened from her sleep, like the Phœnician sun-god Ar-chal, by the quails. These are the Sanskrit Vartikā, or turners (vart) of the year, who gave their name to the Greek island of Ortygia, sacred to Artemis, the seven stars of the Great Bear. They are said, in *Rig. I.*, 112, 14–116, 18, to have been saved by the Ashvins, the Twins Night and Day, from the rage of the wolf-wife of the blind Rijr-ashva, the upright (rijr) horse, the Vedic equivalent of Dhritarāshtra, the blind gnomon-stone marking the course of the sun-horse. This year in which the quails, the year-turners, awakened the sun-god must have been one beginning at the winter solstice, for it is then that the quails in their annual migrations come to Northern India.

Thus this bird-star Ambikā was not only a Pole-star bird in Cygnus, but also a sun-bird; and hence she was the flying bird of the Sū-astika—indicating the female—revolutions of the sun from right to left, beginning with his northern journey at the winter solstice. She was also in India the centre of a triad of stars, the Pleiades, Cygnus, and the stars of the Great Bear. And in this

triad she takes the place of the centre stars in the Mexican triad of the Pleiades, the three stars of Orion's Belt and the seven stars of the Great Bear. These last stars are the three stars of the arrow year of the Northern hunters, the year marked by the shedding and re-growth of the deer's horns. This first became the year of two seasons which was the first year of the sun-bird of the St. Andrew's Cross, the year divided, as the Indian sacred year still is, into two parts, the six months of the Devayāna, or times (ayāna) of the bright gods, when the sun goes northward, from December to June, and the six months Pitriyāna, or times of the Fathers, when it goes southward, from June to December. This was the first Northern modification of the Pleiades year. But the Mexican year was its later descendant, the year of the three seasons of the corn-growing races; for the bird slain on the Mexican cross was not the original storm-bird, but the turkey, which was, as I have shown, the American form of the Indian jungle fowl, the sacred bird of the Mundas consecrated to Sri Bonga, the sun-god. This is the bird which, in the Kol festival of the Bahtauli Bonga, the festival of the mid-year of the sun-god Bonga, held in July–August, has a wing stripped off as the sun-bird who has fulfilled its year's flight and no longer goes northward, but remains with its worshippers to bless their fields which it protects from the cleft bamboo in which its body is placed. The age of the transfer of these myths from India to America is clearly one of the year of four seasons succeeding that of three, and belonging to a time when the memory of the old year of two seasons had almost died away, and the sun year measured by the equinoxes as well as the solstices began to supersede the year of three seasons of the growing tree. That the year of the sun-bird the jungle hen, the bird-parent of the sons of the Palāsha-tree, was a year measured by the northwards path of the sun is proved by the ritual of the Tri-Ambikā sacrifice, which I have shown to be most probably the sacrifice of the central Pole-star bird Ambikā, slain and revived again at the winter solstice. It was offered on a cross-road to the north of the sacrificial ground—that is, in the centre of the equilateral cross consecrating the field of God in the age when the bird augurs were the sacrificial priests; and this sign of the equilateral cross marked, as I have shown, the year of St. George, the first plough-god of Asia Minor. There the plough-god was the god of the Northern millets, and the wheat and barley, first introduced into India from Asia Minor. These people had, as the growers of these Northern crops still do in India, made their ploughing season to begin with the autumnal equinox dedicated to the barley-eating fathers, and it was at this season after the festival to the Fathers that the Tri-Ambikā sacrifice was offered. The Greek counterpart of this sacrifice was that to Hekate, which was also offered at cross-roads, and Hekate—meaning the hundred—was the Kauravya or

Kushika mother of a hundred sons, the primæval mother constellation of the ship Argo, called Satavaēsa, or the ship of a hundred creators. She, as the crow, the black Bindo bird of the Australian and Gond legends, was the circling star-bird who flies round the heavens taking the Pleiades and other stars with it. It was this primæval crow bird which, in the days of the Northern year of four seasons, became the star ship carrying the Southern sons of the storm-bird and the Pleiades, while the Pole-star bird round which it circled was the bird which had first been the jungle-fowl bird, the sun-bird, and then the Pole-star in Cygnus, but which became to the Southern races, who had looked on the mother-bird in Argo, the black crow which brings the rains, as a storm-bird, the Vulture star Vega, the vulture called Jat-ayu in the *Rāmāyana*, whose wings were cut off by Rāvana, the storm-giant with ten heads, the god of the year of ten lunar months of gestation, who made her the Pole-star.

The ritual of the sacrifice shows further proofs of the historical evolution of the problem of correct time reckoning, for the offering was required to be made on a mound or mole-hill in the centre of the cross-roads. Therefore it was a sacrifice to the mountain cloud-goddess, to whom the real and artificial hills of Semiramot were dedicated. The sacrificing priests, who perambulated this holy hill with their offerings, were obliged first to make three circuits in a contrary direction to the sun, turning their left sides to the holy hill, the home of the mother-bird, and beating their left thighs with the right hand. This was followed by the walk of the maidens, who made their circuits after the priests and in the same direction. After the old gods of the Pole-star age had been thus worshipped, the priests and sacrificer did reverence to the new sun-god of the right-handed Su-astika, who began his year at the summer solstice by going southwards, and perambulated the central altar three times sunwise, beating their right thighs.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eggeling's *Sat. Brāh* ii. 6, 2, 1 15. *S. B. E.* vol. xii. 437-432.

## CURIOUS LEGENDS AMONG THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES.

SOME of the most curious and grotesque legends regarding the creation of the human race and the state of the world in distant prehistoric times are to be found among the Australian aborigines. Though by no means so interesting to the student of folk-lore as the Maories of New Zealand, who possess a highly developed and richly composite literature, the inhabitants of the great Australian continent do not, to anything like the degree asserted, realise, upon investigation, the character affirmed of them by many leading writers on the subject. In fact, the opposite is the case. During a residence in Australasia extending over sixteen years I had frequent opportunities for close, intimate, and prolonged intercourse with both the aborigines of Australia and the Maories of New Zealand. My conclusions, as far as possible, are based on reliable data personally collected and carefully sifted, and in every case they point to the emphatic disproof of the current allegations against the Australian black.

By diverse and in many instances diametrically opposed schools of ethnologists, the aborigines of Australia have been grossly misrepresented, until at the present time, in common with certain tribes in Central Africa and the Fuegians of South America, they are regarded as typifying the most debased race, intellectually, morally, and to some extent physically, on the face of the globe. So persistently has the error been iterated and reiterated by those who, having themselves no special facilities for observation and experimental investigation, blindly follow the lead of others believed to be competent to offer an opinion through special knowledge of the subject, that it has now passed into general acceptance as an ethnological fact. Yet the whole case is a tissue of exaggeration and grave mistake.

The Australian black is no more debased than are the other races of Dravidian or Melanesian (as distinguished from Hawaiian or Polynesian) origin covering the whole of the islands in the Malay Archipelago. M. de Quatrefages, in his excellent work, *The Human Species*, quoted a specimen of the gross errors circulated, even by authors of repute, regarding the Australian blacks, in the following sentence from Canon Butler: "They are beings," says that writer,

"in whom are combined all the worst characters which mankind could present, at many of which monkeys, their congeners, would blush." This opinion is echoed by M. Bory de Saint-Vincent and the anthropologists of his school.

Would a race so morally debased as here represented exhibit the patriarchal system of tribal government so widely diffused and so carefully developed as at present exists among the Australian aborigines? It is not generally known that the differentiation of the several *clans*, or families, is as distinctly marked among them to-day as was the case in the Highlands of Scotland 250 years ago. The native land laws of the aboriginal Australians are to this day as rigidly observed by them as those of the various colonies by the colonists themselves. These land laws, particularly on the question of the relative division of land, show a degree of political intelligence utterly inexplicable if the social condition of the natives were as debased as asserted.

Ranking distinctively as a race of hunters, nomadic in habits, inasmuch as they required to move hither and thither as the game they pursued receded farther and still farther from them, the fiction arose that they were ignorant of the art of house-building, the *gunyah*, or slab of bark suspended to the windward side of the fire, being confidently quoted as all the protection from the weather an Australian family in their normal state were supposed to employ. Certainly in summer, when the nights are warm, and when the tribe would be moving from place to place day by day, the *gunyah* might be all. But to see an Australian "blackfellow" of to-day, among the tribes in the far interior, constructing his winter residence is to have the fact brought home to one very forcibly that the aborigine has remarkably good ideas of comfort and of the philosophy of keeping himself cosy.

The use of the "boomerang," their principal weapon (together with the spear and the nullah-nullah, or club) in the chase and warfare, is based upon one of the most subtle laws in physics, whilst its manufacture is governed by equally recondite principles both of notion and weight.

Other facts illustrative of their social and tribal customs might be cited to disprove the allegations regarding their debased moral and intellectual nature. Enough has been advanced already, however, to render these assertions exceedingly illusory, while the evidence I am now about to adduce, drawn from the vast mass of legendary matter current among the various tribes, will still further strengthen the position I assume, that the Australian black, though not the intellectual compeer of the Maori, ranks considerably higher, on the score both of morality and intelligence, than the African Bushman, the native of the Gaboon region, or the Fuegian with whom he has been commonly classed.

With respect to the Deity, the Australian natives are firm believers in the Dualistic theory—in other words, in the co-existence of two great “Powers,” one of good and one of evil respectively, corresponding in many respects to the Ormuzd and Ahriman of the ancient Persians. These Powers in early ages became incarnate, and took the form the one of an eagle and the other of a crow. For many long ages warfare had been waged between them, one of the points in dispute being the creation of man, whether he should be the handiwork of the one or the other Power. At last peace was made through a compromise being arrived at that both should take part in the work; and hence arises the fact, according to the Australian native, that all men have a mixed nature, compounded of good and evil propensities. Sometimes the one and sometimes the other Power succeeded in infusing more than its fair share into the nature of the human being in the process of creation, whence is explained the fact that some men are better, or worse, than others.

The first created man—formed in this way by the eagle and the crow—was called Pundjel. He was very lonely and longed for a companion. He went first to Mokwarra (the eagle), and asked him to make a second man. Mokwarra was, however, too busy, and told him to go to Kilparra (the crow). Kilparra, in his turn, declared he had not the time, as hostilities had again broken out between the two Powers, and referred him back to Mokwarra. This went on for a long time. But at last Pundjel’s importunities became so incessant that the two deities ordered him to make an image of a man like himself, and they would give it life. Hence Karween (the second man) came into existence, and thus arose the law of generation.

The Belyando blacks supply the next portion of the legend—viz., that relating to the creation of woman. They state that Pundjel and Karween had a terrible quarrel, and both besought the deities Mokwarra and Kilparra to give them another companion. On this occasion the creators appear to have been in a better humour, inasmuch as they at once acceded to the request. While the men were asleep, the gods took a lock of hair from the head of each, from which they created two women; but, by mistake, Pundjel received the damsel who had sprung from Karween’s hair, while the latter obtained the one framed from the locks of Pundjel, whence arises the fact of the fickleness of a woman’s heart.

The tradition of a great continent—occupying the place where now the Pacific Ocean rolls, a continent of which Australia and the islands of the Malay Archipelago are the remains—is widespread among the Australian blacks, as also among the inhabitants of Ombai, Wetta, and Kambing in the Flores Sea. The legend runs that the races who peopled this long-lost continent were not black in complexion, but yellow—evidently evincing a Mongolian impress

—and that the sun one day, in rage because a beautiful Australian maiden named Meenugarre refused to listen to his addresses, set fire to the country, and so scorched the unfortunate inhabitants that they have been black to this day.

The cycle of myths relating to the origin and introduction of fire are amongst the most interesting in the history of mythology. In Greece, in Persia, in Hindostan, and in China the legends all bear a remarkable resemblance to each other. With these also the traditions now current among the Australian blacks exhibit a curious and close affinity. As in Greek mythology Prometheus was the first to bring down fire from heaven in a hollow stick as a gift to man—an offence he expiated by being chained for 30,000 years to a rock on the cold peaks of Caucasus, where his liver was continually devoured by a vulture—so among the Australians their Prometheus was the divinity Toordt. The wicked hostile crow did not desire that mankind should receive the divine gift of fire, but Toordt showed them how to produce it by rubbing two sticks together. For this the crow sought to punish him by binding him to a stake at the bottom of Lake Tyrril, where his hands and feet were nibbled off by Congoola, the crawfish. These, however, were miraculously restored by Mokwarra, the "Power for Good," and Toordt was re-translated back to heaven, and continues to exercise a beneficial influence over the human race as Canopus, the star in the Southern hemisphere which has always attracted the superstitious reverence of the Melanesian races.

Another legend relates that the crow, or the "Power for Evil," had conceived a deadly hatred to the human race. It therefore determined to exterminate them by cold, by long-continued rains, and by pestilence, arising from the excessive moisture. The period was that fabled epoch when the "Power for Evil" had obtained temporary supremacy over the "Power for Good." The crow was rapidly succeeding in his purpose. Population was steadily disappearing from the earth, when the two subordinate divinities, Toordt and Trarr, sons of Mokwarra, undertook to sacrifice themselves for the salvation of the race of mankind. Does not this strangely suggest the economy of the Christian Atonement? They therefore assumed human form, appeared among the tribes of North Queensland, whom the legend describes as at that time ignorant both of the use of fire and of the art of erecting houses, and conveyed to them not only the precious gift of fire, but also the knowledge of how to construct for themselves shelters, and thus raise themselves above the level of the beasts. By these means the mortality among humanity was stayed. But, in revenge, Kilparra the crow pursued and captured the two divinities, and, sons of Mokwarra though they were, put them to death. Out of this act arose the last great struggle for supremacy between Mokwarra the eagle and Kilparra

the crow, some of the details of which exhibit a curious affinity to the Miltonic conception of the conflict between the Son of God and the fallen angels.

The cycle of legends with reference to the warfare waged between the eagle and the crow, as typical of the dual Powers of Good and Evil, constitute the most varied and curious body of myths in Australian mythology. The developments of the main thread of the story bear a strong resemblance to those current among the Kaffres and the Basutos. As the Rev. J. Mathew states in his paper on the *Australian Aborigines*, read before the Royal Society of New South Wales in 1889, the blacks residing on the banks of the Murray River believe that before the earth was inhabited by the existing race of black men the birds had possession of it. They exhibited as much intelligence and wisdom as the blacks, nay, some say they were altogether wiser and more skilful. Chief in authority amongst them was the eagle, or eagle-hawk, and next to him was the crow, who supplemented what he lacked in strength by cunning and malignity. After a time the latter by his machinations succeeded in winning away the allegiance of many of the birds from his nobler foe. He then repudiated all fealty to him. The Murray blacks relate that the crow killed the son of the eagle, which so enraged the latter that he set a trap for the crow, caught him, and killed him, but that the crow came to life again. The Gippsland blacks vary the legend by asserting that the eagle, before the formal rupture took place, left his son in charge of the crow while he went hunting. The traitor sewed the eaglet up in a bag, and left him to starve. The eagle was so enraged over this that he caught the crow in a trap set in the cavity of a hollow tree, whence the latter was able to escape only by breaking his leg and using the bone of it to cut his way out. Hostilities then became general, resulting in the temporary triumph of Kilparra the crow, through treachery, but thereafter in the ultimate and permanent supremacy of Mokwarra the eagle-hawk.

The traditions of the Narrinyeri tribe in South Australia, and of the Durrumunyi blacks on the banks of the Belyando River in Queensland, state that the birds were the progenitors of the men, and that these ancestors received immortality, and are still present, watching over human interests, in the stars. The eagle-hawk is the planet Mars, while the crow is represented by the star designated by us Alpha Centauri.

Another interesting cycle of myths is that relating to Looern and Wiwonderrerr. To these space will only allow me to refer. Looern, says Mr. Mathew in his interesting paper on Australian mythology, had his dwelling in the heart of the heavily timbered ranges constituting Wilson's Promontory, the most southerly point of Victoria. Any native who dared to penetrate this country without the

permission of Looern died a death terrible to contemplate, by reason of the tortures by which it was accompanied. For Looern was in league with a terrible monster designated Wiwonderrerr, near of kin, from all accounts, to the Minotaur of Crete, being half-woman and half-kangaroo, with a body hard as a stone and impervious to all weapons. The creature had an unpleasant *penchant* for human flesh, and devoured with gusto the unfortunate blacks whom *mischance* threw in its way. To this day the Gippsland aborigines avoid with horror the ranges between Wilson's Promontory and Hoddle's Creek, lest they might meet Wiwonderrerr.

Many other myth-cycles could I name as illustrative of my contention that the mythology of numerous widely separated races on the world's surface—from the Toltees and Aztecs of Peru and Mexico, the Araucanian Indians of Chili, and the early Pelasgic inhabitants of both Italy and Greece, to the Aryans of the plateau of Iran, the Melanesians of the Malay Archipelago, and the Polynesians of the South Seas—exhibit such features not only of affinity, but of positive identity, as to give strong colour for the belief that these races at least proceeded from a common primordial stock.

Space will not permit of this at present. Enough probably has been adduced to evince that in the legend-lore of the Australian aborigines there is a mine of valuable information, only imperfectly worked as yet, and awaiting the labours of the anthropologist and the student of folk-lore.

OLIPHANT SMEATON.

## WHAT TO DO WITH OUR JUVENILE PAUPERS.

WHAT to do with our indigent poor is a task which, from early historical up to the present time, has occupied with progressively increasing difficulties the minds of lawgivers and statesmen. In all times a *questio resata* to those immediately concerned in dealing with it, it also proves an economic problem to many who, but for the pecuniary aspect it involves, would otherwise show little interest in its solution.

Apart, however, from monetary considerations, the problem is one which, from its antiquity and the fact that it still remains unsolved, is well worth attention. Of absorbing, almost fascinating, study, when once the attention is directed in this channel, we are nevertheless reluctantly compelled to admit the futility which has hitherto attended our efforts. There is, moreover, indubitable evidence to show that a definite and universal agreement as to the best means of solving the puzzle is as far off as ever. To the lamentable failures of the past are now superadded the extensions, and with them the complications, of modern views and developments. And to the Poor Laws as at present administered may, with a strong measure of truth, be attributed this failure—this increase of pauperism, with its attendant evils and misfortunes.

Everything, in fact, now, as at other times when the question has cropped up, goes to show that a fresh and searching inquiry as to the origin of the evil is urgently required.

The appalling number of paupers, notwithstanding our national wealth and prosperity, makes it imperative that some radical cure be attempted; and nothing short of a complete revision of the law as affecting this class will suffice. Amply has the Scriptural promise of the poor being ever with us been fulfilled. Be this a divine prognostication of man's improvidence and wickedness, or be it meant as a trial to the more fortunate among us, that the statement has passed unchallenged by Biblical critics may be taken as proof positive that so far it has proved irrefutable. Without entering into any historical retrospect of the question at issue, let it suffice to state that many and varied have been the remedies and proposals for the lightening of this incubus. From the compulsory emigration in vogue

among the ancient Greeks and Romans to the modern and utterly demoralising system of so providing for the poor as to make it almost unnecessary for those so disposed to work for their daily bread, our laws at the present day differ little in principle and effect from those of the ancients. In fact, it would be no exaggeration to say that in many respects some of the methods adopted by the latter in dealing with the difficulty are infinitely superior to those now existing. As, however, in ancient, so in modern times, laxity in the administration of the laws, from probably the same causes, has resulted in defeating the primary object of the Legislature. The tendency there is among the working classes to live for the present, encouraging as it does the neglect and atrophy of habits of self-denial, perverted and mistaken sentiment, or even the contemptible recourse on the part of some aspirant for political or civic honours for a theme calculated to appeal to the emotions of the masses—these influences largely compose the subsoil upon which pauperism is fostered and developed. We have in ancient times the State employment of the poor and State instruction and amusement. In the present day the same well-meaning but none the less pernicious policy is persevered in and abundantly amplified. Witness our free education, palatial and luxurious workhouses, homes, hospitals, and many other equally seductive allurements, all calculated to put indigence and idleness at a premium. Charity at the expense of others, many of them little better off than those they relieve, and by whom every effort is needed to make both ends meet. In effect, the members of the community who receive most consideration and whose interests are most looked after— not because they cannot but because they will not work—are the paupers, the bulk of whom are so by their own improvidence and profligacy, hereditary or acquired. Is it to be wondered at that, even among the self-supporting class, some—harassed by increasing burdens of their own and taxes for the maintenance of the idle and dissolute—are to be found who succumb to the burden, retrograde, and in due course swell the ranks of those to provide for whom they were ruined? Not content with educating pauper children at a cost almost equal to a farm-labourer's wage, and certainly more than what a bank-clerk gets during his apprenticeship, we deplore the fact that the teaching is below that of the elementary schools, and stigmatise it as a national disgrace to our reputation as the most civilised and Christian nation. How we love this self-appropriated title, this permanent claim to piety and charity among the nations! The assumption is only equalled in its folly by its unpardonable insolence. What have we done to alone merit the epithet? Is it primarily for the sake of religion that we conquer and bring into subjection savage races? Does Mammon play no part in our calculations and anticipations? Statistics and unprejudiced examination appear to hint at the result

not being exactly as we would fain have the world believe, but, on the contrary, physical and mental demoralisation. At home we rob the self-respecting and industrious middle class, and compel them by extortionate rates to support, not only the improvident and vicious parents, but to clothe, feed, and educate the hereditarily tainted and prospectively worse offspring.

And with what possible return?

Gratitude? No. Ingratitude? Yes; and a demand for a higher education on the part of our legislators, who, if they paid more attention to the practical and scientific aspects of the question, would know that in the Poor Law as at present administered no scheme of education will ever prove effective which does not take into account the fact that our juvenile and infant paupers have many of them hereditary criminal taints, and that almost all are the offspring, legitimate and not, of idle and profligate parents.

These facts must ever be prominently in the minds of those responsible for framing the Poor Laws, not only in regard to the education and upbringing of the children, but in dealing with their future career and prospects.

A clear comprehension of this and the passing of an Act embodying in substance a suggestion to be mooted hereafter would go far towards diminishing the pauper roll. At all events, it would be a step in the right direction. And yet we express alarm and astonishment at the present mass of pauperism. Instead of attacking the root of the evil, we with suicidal policy revolve in our minds additional means of ameliorating the hardships of this class—progeny of our own fatuous creating. It only wants duly elected pauper members of Parliament, pauper representatives on boards of guardians and at Poor-Law conferences, and the ludicrous farce is complete; and the qualifying attribute of imbecile to the already notorious designation of the most pauperised nation on the face of the globe is won for Great Britain.

In religion and politics, what a stimulus to oratory might the promulgation of this crying deficiency in Poor-Law administration and the rights of nearly 500,000—exclusive of children and insane—of our population not serve?

But enough; let us turn without further speculation and generalities and approach the subject more directly. Fully conscious of its magnitude, involving as it does many side issues, and allowing a wide latitude for differences of individual opinion, only a general survey of the question can be here attempted—certainly nothing commensurate with its importance.

A proposal at a Poor-Law conference last year, and a recent resolution relating to the pauper children of Lancashire and Cheshire, has tempted me to embody in this article some of the principal reasons for the large number of adult able-bodied and juvenile

paupers, and to formulate in a somewhat crude fashion possible remedies.

Great misfortunes require to be endured, and preventable evils to be approached and encountered with a firmness more than commensurate with their magnitude, if anything like success is to be achieved. And although the suggested preventive and remedial proposals as to mitigation of this social incubus may, to the minds of the sentimental, appear drastic and even cruel, to say nothing of the shock conveyed to that chimerical belief in and advocacy of the liberty of the subject, the end, I think, justifies the means.

Children are subject to the control of their parents or guardians, and criminals and lunatics respectively to that of their legally authorised departments. Now the same principle might, with benefit to the community at large, and in the interests of the individuals themselves, be applied to the supervision and control of the pauper class. A circumstance already alluded to, which lends additional weight to this view, and one, moreover, to be constantly borne in mind, is the fact that the pauper and vagrant class tend largely to reproduce a species worse than their progenitors. Apart from any criminal proclivities, many are mentally and morally so defective as to render them little removed from the insane. It is not meant to be inferred that all paupers are of the criminal or insane type; on the contrary, there are many sad instances of pauperism occurring through no fault of the individual. As an instance, we need only take total incapacity from accident, or disease, in which ability to work is for ever lost. The present article, however, does not in any way concern such cases. What is maintained is, that the methods at present in vogue in dealing with the pauper class do not sufficiently recognise or attach due importance to heredity, and are in consequence foiled by an ever-increasing burden of the evil they seek to lessen. Unlimited freedom being accorded to this class, and the knowledge that a beneficent State will always provide for them and their descendants, in plain language, merely augments the difficulty, and strengthens further in the child the improvident and other undesirable qualities of the parent.

Viewing the subject from this standpoint, two questions naturally arise. First, is the occurrence of adult able-bodied pauperism and vagrancy a misfortune to be endured or an evil to be strenuously combated; and how and to what extent may we hope to cope with and overcome the attending difficulties?

Second, how far are we, in our care of and provision for infant and juvenile paupers, capable of arresting adult pauperism? These two aspects of the question cannot be kept rigidly apart, inasmuch as according to the success obtained in dealing with the one will our results be manifest in the other. A greater latitude must be allowed for difference of opinion regarding the first query than that

entailed in the second—the best method of dealing with juvenile paupers.

And this chiefly for two reasons: (1) From the fact that, being of tender years and irresponsible, the management of children of necessity devolves upon others. •(2) That in the judicious and effectual performance of this duty lies in great measure the solution of the first.

It is really immaterial, for practical purposes, whether we regard the entire question as a misfortune or as a preventable evil. Both are probably factors in its development, but as to the predominance of the one over the other we need not at present enter.

Dealing, then, with that part of the problem which affects able-bodied pauperism, it is essentially necessary to dismiss all sentiment and preconceived Utopian ideas, and consider it in a calm judicial spirit, if we are to avoid making bad worse. Not infrequently does the emotional faculty obtain temporary ascendancy over that of judgment, and with detrimental results. The judge pronouncing sentence may indulge in it, but none the less is the fiat pronounced in strict accordance with the laws provided to safeguard the lives and property of the people. It behoves us, then, specially to guard against the influence of hypersensitive sentimentalism in dealing with a question affecting the welfare, happiness, and prosperity of the general community. The terms "vagrant" and "able-bodied" as applied to paupers convey a stigma; and, although the reproach may to a certain extent admit of palliation when the surroundings and early upbringing of those included in the above designations are considered, still that there are large numbers who wilfully come under the category cannot be gainsaid. To what is this due? Partly to the individuals themselves, but largely to the encouragement offered them by Government in the form of effete and inadequate Poor Laws.

A considerable experience of this class of pauper has convinced me that their habits, mode of life, &c., are to a large extent due to a dormant heredity kindled into activity by the lack of judicious parental authority, and the absence of anything like the early teaching of habits of self-respect and control.

How often is it the case that the children of paupers and vagrants follow in the footsteps of their parents—or even worse? And is it to be wondered at that, with the transmitted instincts of the parents and the habits of idleness, drunkenness, and vice daily before them during the most impressionable part of their lives, the children, as they develop, add crime to vagabondage?

A study of the statistics of criminology amply endorses this; so much so, indeed, as to justify, from cranial conformation and facial characteristics alone, the classification into a distinct type. I do not mean to imply that the children of vagrants become invariably

criminals, but I maintain and wish to emphasise that the mental calibre which permits of an able-bodied individual becoming a vagrant is of a low type and the moral faculties warped. Such being the case, the inherited moral deficiencies of the offspring tend—owing to pernicious and baneful surroundings—to notably augment. And now let us turn to the crucial, the important part. How is the mass of pauperism to be diminished? As already indicated, the lessening of the evil in great measure depends upon the method of dealing with juvenile and infant paupers.

These may roughly be divided into two classes: Temporary residents—those who, with their parents, are only to be found in work-houses during winter and early spring, but who during the rest of the year accompany them in their wanderings and vagabondage; next, permanent residents—*i.e.*, till the age of youth is attained. These in great measure are composed of orphans and deserted children. Now, can we say that the upbringing of this juvenile pauper contingent is all that is desirable? Associated from early years with all degrees of vice and with the parental example ever before them, is it to be marvelled at that little, if any, desire is evinced by them to better their condition? Accustomed to be fed, clothed, and housed during winter, and to obtain at other seasons what they want by begging or worse, is it matter for surprise that they grow up at best indolent loafers? True it is that in the case of orphans and deserted children supervision is exercised by Poor-Law guardians for a certain continuous period, but that ceases at an age when it is far from wise to free them from supervision and control. As the law at present stands, they can then take the bit in their teeth and “go on the tramp,” returning in the course of a year or so, more probably than not with a wife and family, to the shelter of the workhouse. Granted that on leaving the workhouse they are provided with situations or apprenticed to a trade, we have no guarantee that they will remain. There is certainly no law to compel them to do so. Until, however, some such law is enacted by which the control is further extended over not only orphans and deserted pauper children, but over the children of known vagrants and tramps, all methods of dealing with the class can be but regarded as imperfect.

Two fields present themselves in which by a very simple enactment control and supervision could be effectually secured and prolonged over those whom the Poor-Law guardians have ceased to legally control. These are the army and navy. At present these two branches of the service cannot by any means be said to be overwhelmed with applications for admission. Indeed, so contrary is the case, that the former has been compelled to resort to the recruiting of “specials,” a class of reduced height and chest measurement. In the navy also, no doubt, healthy able-bodied lads would be

eagerly welcomed. Now if Government, or, failing that, the Poor-Law authorities themselves, would provide training-vessels, it would to a certain extent solve the difficulty of the boarding-out of pauper boys. To those vessels all healthy, well-developed boys of a certain age could be sent, and when sufficiently grown could be drafted into the army or navy. Let them have their choice, but into one or other they must go, and serve for a period of twelve years. At first sight such a proceeding may appear somewhat arbitrary, but a dispassionate consideration will convince that not only would it be the best thing for the lads themselves, but also a tardy act of repayment and consideration to the ratepayers. Surely it is but fair that pauper youths, reared from infancy at much trouble and expense, should, when able, be compelled to refund. The overburdened taxpayer, however, would, in the long-suffering generosity of his heart, never dream of enforcing his claim; but no exception could be taken to his insisting that due precautions be adopted to ensure that he be not compelled to support them after a certain age. Loafers and tramps by birth and training, the vast majority of our juvenile paupers have an inherited antipathy to work. Now, by making it compulsory for all healthy pauper lads to enter the army or navy three valuable objects would be attained:

1. A healthy and prolonged course of discipline, which would go far to eradicate the evil tendencies of early training, and would, moreover, secure control and guidance at an age when such is most needed.

The most morbid sentimentalism would surely not carp and object to any proposal that has for its aim the attainment of such an end—a permanent and honourable occupation for our waifs and strays.

2. The development from most unpromising material of trained, steady, and self-respecting men, who could be relied upon in their country's need.

3. A distinct gain to the ratepayer from the necessarily diminished pauper roll.

A certain number of failures would undoubtedly occur, but the advantages accruing from some such plan would more than reward.

At all events, the utmost would have been tried to develop the good at the expense of the bad proclivities. And if, after a period of twelve years' service, the road and workhouse were again resorted to, we would at least have the grim satisfaction that for a certain time at least the failures had to work and support themselves.

It will be observed that the suggestions offered can only apply in the case of males. Dealing with the other sex is too complicated a question to be undertaken in an article of this length, and might judiciously be left to some matron of a large workhouse, who must, from her intimate and constant association with children of this class, be well qualified to express an opinion.

HAGUCH.

## SUZERAINTY OVER THE TRANSVAAL.

It is astonishing with what little wisdom the world is governed, says a respectable apothegm. An acquaintance with the administration of affairs in South Africa will probably lead to a hearty endorsement of this simple sarcasm. It is difficult to control a country over six thousand miles away, of whose history, people, national instincts, constitutional position and aspirations, the real controller is in great measure profoundly ignorant. This natural difficulty is doubled when the would-be controller is a gentleman who has on his hands the affairs of nearly a dozen other territories, more populous, more wealthy, and in their own opinion more important than South Africa; who burgeons out (to say he "fills" were niggardly) his department in the public eye, whose official time is also occupied in leading a party inside the Cabinet, as well as outside, his spare moments being generously devoted to constructing domestic measures for the Home Secretary, and championing in the House of Commons any department that is too coy or courteous to decline his invidious solicitude.

Even the short retirement for breath that nature craves in this overbusied soul is given to reconciling the conflicting claims of enraged partisans by insisting on puerile distinctions without palpable difference, and if in a moment of forgetfulness he allows himself rest it is spent in an attempt to develop and force a hybrid hothouse growth of a new orchid or a new colonial policy. Those who have followed closely the advent of the domestic municipal thinker into Tory politics, and have watched his influence on the Unionist party, know why he elected to take the Colonial Office.

An office without any pledges to redeem or previous embarrassing declarations, unaffected by prior programmes; an office which could not compromise his position. It never had made a man, and was never expected to unmake one. A safe game. A waiting game, with a clear retreat to any new position it might appear advantageous to occupy in the vicissitudes of party warfare.

The unexpected happened. Venezuela and the Transvaal followed in rapid train on the would-be political hermit; he was forced to show his hand, and show it plainly.

What occurred? He out-heroded Herod; he out-Toried all the Tories; he Imperialised over the most extreme Imperialist. And

to crown it all, he brought to his aid the ethics of a Birmingham business which pronounces a man's probity spotless so long as the verdict is "not proven."

The result has been productive of at least one extraordinary line of policy, which is only to be bolstered up by an invertebrate fiction; a policy of interference with the Government of the Transvaal has attempted to base its justification on the existence of a suzerainty. The fact of British suzerainty has not lacked assertion; the Colonial Secretary has vehemently contended for it in the House of Commons with all the passionate confidence of interested ignorance.

Fortunately the country at large is not bound by these persuasive representations, nor are we debarred from a dispassionate inquiry into the alleged existence of this suzerainty.

Haughty assertion as to the suzerain rights of England over the Transvaal has not turned out successful; quite the contrary. It has evoked a vigorous protest and a strongly argumentative reply from Pretoria; it has stirred up a deep feeling of resentment all through the Transvaal. The exchange of despatches is still continuing, the argument is getting warmer, and public opinion in the Transvaal is stronger than ever at the bare idea of making still worse of persisting in a claim unheard of since the London Convention was signed in 1884.

It is foolish to assume anything when one is honestly attempting to arrive at the correct solution of a difficult problem. To assume that a suzerainty exists, and thence to deduce all your consequent rights, is easy and quite colonially secretarial, but illogical and somewhat unfair.

What are the usual attributes of a State under the suzerainty of another apart from the stipulations or restrictions imposed by a treaty?

According to Wheaton, all the treaties and most of the laws of the suzerain State apply to the inferior State.

The army of the latter is part of the military force of the former.

There is one common flag.

Taxes are imposed in the name of the suzerain.

The inferior State has no separate right of sending ambassadors or any other diplomatic representatives.

Other jurists have decided that the State under suzerainty has no independent rights to make war or conclude peace, to form treaties political or commercial, to change its form of government, its laws, or executive officers, to plant colonies, to acquire territory, to become consolidated with another State.

The general position may be put in this way. All States are presumed to be sovereign and theoretically independent, while practically independence (in the sense of unfettered and unlimited freedom) is often limited by treaties, conventions, and the like, but

the parties to such conventions are none the less sovereign States. Indeed, the very fact that they are capable of contracting alliances excludes any other inequality or inferiority beyond the terms or stipulations of the convention or treaty.

The relative size and strength of States does not affect the case at all. And yet it is too evident to the Boer that the Englishman seems to think "because I *can* do it I *ought* to do it, and therefore I *must* do it," whereupon he enforces an unjust claim.

Since it is now clear that suzerainty or protection in any binding legal sense can only exist where certain well-recognised facts, already indicated, are found to exist, I now turn to inquire whether all or any of these necessary facts are present in the case of the Transvaal. The Pretoria Convention of 1881 in express words gave England suzerainty over the Transvaal territory! This was acted upon by England, and acquiesced in by the Transvaal for a time, but the burden became greater, the people impatient of any yoke upon their freedom, public feeling grew and swelled until it burst in a series of protests against the further continuance of the objectionable and inconvenient burden. The Government at Pretoria were compelled to send a mission to London to represent the hardship of their case to the Liberal Government, Mr. Chamberlain then being President of the Board of Trade.

It is not ancient history, and yet the Imperial Colonial policy of the Birmingham leader had not then been born; indeed, he expressed himself to a well-known politician from Cape Colony as unable to see what possible good the Colony or South Africa could be to England. It needed all the earnest arguments of that politician to dissuade Mr. Chamberlain then from trying to cut the painter and turn Cape Colony adrift to shift for herself. "I almost went upon my knees to persuade him from the line of commercial policy he was then advocating." Such was the language of the South African statesman.

The efforts of the deputations from the Transvaal were crowned with success, the result of its negotiations with Lord Derby, the Colonial Secretary, were embodied in the London Convention of 1884.

It was truthfully pointed out by the delegates at the time that within Africa there could be no cause for fear to England, and, as to matters and nations outside Africa, once the Transvaal was free and independent, she could voluntarily limit her dealings with such exterior nations and matters so as to effectually dispose of any possible fear on this ground. They demonstrated that British interests would receive no blow from within Africa by the alteration of the constitutional position, and against any possibility of force from without it was admitted that the proposed Clause 4 in the new Convention would be ample protection.

In pursuance of these arrangements, the London Convention of 1884 recites that the Convention of 1881 contained provisions which "are inconvenient and impose burdens and obligations from all of which it was the object of the new Convention of London to relieve the Transvaal." No one will deny that suzerainty is "inconvenient," it imposes "burdens and obligations." Did the Convention of 1884 carry out its intention of relieving the Transvaal from these inconvenient provisions?

The preamble of the Convention of 1884 expressly recognises a new State. No longer the "Transvaal Territory," subject to the suzerainty of 1881, but the "South African Republic." Here is a somewhat unexpected fact: a separate entity has been called into existence, henceforth we have to deal with a new State.

This should never be forgotten in all matters relating to the international position of the Transvaal. Even apart from the express words of the Convention of 1884, which will be dealt with later, it may well be argued that the new State is not subject to any burdens or conditions formerly imposed upon the Transvaal territory. For this reason alone the claim of suzerainty is absolutely untenable.

A new State is not under suzerainty unless there are express stipulations that it should be so. Unless, therefore, we can find some clear evidence of suzerainty in the Convention which created the new State, or in some subsequent treaty whereby the new State has expressly limited its powers, we must conclude that it is an independent sovereign State over which no suzerainty exists.

The preamble of the later Convention declares that the Convention of 1881 was to lose all force and effect when the Convention of 1884 was ratified, which ratification duly took place, with the contemplated and necessary result that the whole of the old Convention became invalid and inoperative.

It is absurd to suggest, as has been done by many presumably intellectual persons, that the preamble of the old Convention still remains in force, it has perished as being part of a repealed treaty.

Otherwise we should have two preambles, the one of 1881 and the other of 1884, existing together deliberately contradictory of each other. Besides, the preamble of 1881 only deals with the "Transvaal Territory," which now no longer exists, and it cannot affect the new international State, the South African Republic.

Such, then, being the obvious force of the preamble of 1884, what was the intention of the British statesman who was responsible for the preamble? Lord Derby, who was then the Secretary of State for the Colonies, writing with a copy of the Convention to the representative of the South African Republic, used these words: "Your Government will be left to control the country without interference, and to conduct its diplomatic intercourse and shape its

foreign policy subject only to the requirements embodied in the article of the Convention."

It is most important to observe that the absolute right to control *internal* affairs without interference is expressly conceded to the new State. How in the face of this, apart from any breach of the terms of the Convention, can Mr. Chamberlain justify a policy of internal interference?

What of *external* affairs?

The *jus legationis* is fully admitted, the right of sending and receiving ambassadors, which is exclusively an attribute of a sovereign independent State. Cheap wits get positively hilarious over "Oom Paul's Ambassadors." The truth is easier to laugh at than to disprove.

The right of making war and peace is not denied.

Its army belongs solely to the new State.

It has an independent flag. All the most distinctive rights of an independent State are here conceded, not one is denied. A more complete categorical admission of the sovereign rights of a new sovereign State it would be impossible to conceive.

In the exercise of its external relations any State must make treaties, and these are dealt with by Article 4 of the Convention.

This article refers exclusively to treaties and does not in any way affect or limit the other powers of the South African Republic. It provides that if a treaty is "in conflict with the interests of Great Britain or of any of her Majesty's possessions in South Africa," it may be forbidden by the British Government.

Observe that this does not mean *all* treaties concluded by the new State, but only those "conflicting with British interests."

Observe, too, that even such a conflicting treaty is not necessarily void because the British Government might not object to it, and until such objection was formally notified, it would be a valid and binding treaty. It is easy to think of cases where treaties could be made which would not conflict with British interests. Take, for example, an Extradition treaty, a Postal treaty, joining a Postal Union, becoming a party to an International Convention regulating the rules of War or the duties of a neutral State. These would be matters which could be carried out by treaty independent of the will of Great Britain. Nevertheless objections were raised by the Colonial Secretary to the Transvaal becoming adherent to an International Convention on the rights of belligerents.

Well might President Kruger have answered to such assumptions, "Since you object to this, next time we fight I *will* use explosive bullets against you, and any other barbarous method of fighting which you say I must not abandon without your permission."

This qualified right of England to veto a certain class of treaties is the only point wherein the independence of the new State is affected.

The express mention of this one point is an implied admission that no other points are reserved.

To the new State anxious to "be relieved from obligations," all other rights are conceded.

Do the laws of England prevail in the Transvaal?

Are the taxes in the new State imposed in the name of England?

Has the new State the power of changing its laws, its executive officers, or form of government, of planting new colonies, of acquiring territory?

Certainly it has.

All these internal rights are wholly inconsistent with the idea that any other State has suzerain powers.

The subjects of the South African Republic have a distinct nationality, and they can remain neutral in any war undertaken by England. They are not bound to assist her in any way, still less to fight for her.

On the question of nationality be it remembered that, if suzerainty did exist, there would be of necessity a double nationality: one individual might be a burgher of the South African Republic and a British citizen at the same time, a position of things never recognised or allowed in inter State dealings.

It would be mere folly in the Boer to give an Englishman full rights as a burgher in the Transvaal, so long as the Englishman is taught by his public Ministers to believe that the acquisition of a new nationality in South Africa is not incompatible with the retention of the old British citizenship—that he may coolly enjoy the benefits of the former and evade its burdens under the shadow of a suzerainty.

A suzerain Power is absolutely and legally entitled to insist on allegiance: such an insistence might prove awkward to the British burgher in time of peace, and dangerous in time of war.

The very fact that England was a voluntary party to the making of the 1884 Convention admits the international capacity of the new State as an independent and sovereign State, able to contract so as to limit itself by stipulations.

The authority of Vattel tells us that such a convention or treaty does not alter or affect the sovereignty of a weaker State beyond the clauses of the convention.

The fact that a State can impose legal limitations on its independence is a striking proof that it is recognised as fully capable of so doing, and certainly implies that no other limitations exist.

Of course, in spite of this demonstration of facts, the candid mind or the sugar-candied mind may assume anything.

Assume a suzerainty, and the absence of a right to arbitration, and of all other rights you desire to deny, follows.

Suppose a matter of dispute were to arise between Portugal and the Transvaal. The Transvaal being equal in international law to Portugal, has not either party a right to claim a reference to arbitration?

Undoubtedly it has.

Is the position different with regard to England? Certainly not. Instances can actually be indicated where, since the Convention of 1884, references to arbitration have happened between England and the South African Republic.

In the Coolie question, and also in the Boundary question, both of which arose out of the wording of the Convention of 1884, the matters in dispute were referred by England and the Transvaal to the arbitration of the Chief Justice of the Orange Free State.

It is idle for Mr. Chamberlain to suggest, by a hostile examination of Mr. Schreiner in a Committee-room at Westminster, that these instances are not to be taken as precedents. As precedents they came into being, as precedents they will remain, however much inventive interest may endeavour to explain them away.

It cannot be disputed that arbitration is an inseparable right of every independent sovereign State.

Even if these precedents did not exist, it would still be an inseparable and undeniable right of the South African Republic with regard to all States, including England.

This is by no means the most important of the results which follow from a proper recognition of the independence of the Transvaal. There are weightier matters, as, for instance, the question, "What is the proper channel through which communications from this country should be addressed to Pretoria?"

Mr. Chamberlain has had a diverting time with Mr. Kruger as the walnut between the Colonial nutcrackers; it were foolish to expect him to gracefully surrender his engaging "subject" to its proper destination, the Foreign Office.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that every free and independent State has a right to carry on its intercourse with another State through the Foreign Office of the correspondent State. It is too clear to be disputed that the South African Republic has all rights of sending ambassadors, personages who are invariably received by and communicate with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Such was the effect of Lord Derby's letter and the Convention of 1884, both of which are still binding upon this country.

There are many people who think that a change in the governing hand would make for a more peaceful state of things. Lord Salisbury would be far more acceptable than Mr. Chamberlain. A demonstration towards force is the argument of the latter; it is naturally irritating to public feeling in the Transvaal; it is of more danger than benefit to the benign capacity of British influence. The personal

feelings excited by the prospect of Lord Salisbury's *régime* are of an amicable and honourable nature. He is the man, so it is said in the Transvaal, who has the country at his back, not Mr. Chamberlain, his the great majority, his the confidence not of England merely, but of the world. He it is who deals with Portugal as to Delagoa Bay; in his hands lie all the threads of European policy which might seek to find or force a new opening on the African coasts. To the Transvaal physically and practically Delagoa Bay is all in all, and whatever be the flag that may fly over the Veldt, it is obviously a matter of high importance to the welfare of the inland territories that the same hand should protect and encourage British interests in Delagoa Bay and in the South African Republic.

It may be further observed that the exaction of the duties of the Transvaal under the Convention, with regard to treaties, comes more properly within the sphere of the Foreign Office than the Colonial Office. The Foreign Office is our treaty office; its officials alone are acquainted with the network of treaty rights existing between various States, and are therefore the only competent persons to decide upon any treaties entered into by the Executive at Pretoria. The Foreign Office is the proper place where one would leave a treaty in order to ascertain first whether we have the right to veto it, and then if it is a case for the exercise of the veto. A just appreciation of the effect of a proposed treaty is impossible unless one is thoroughly acquainted with the other existing treaty obligations of the contracting parties, and, what is equally important, with the treaty relations of other States to either of the original parties. Many and various are the considerations which must enter into the proper exercise of a veto such as England possesses. A right so high should not be exercised with a hasty ardour to snub the lesser; such conduct is as unwise as indecent. It is a matter for deep regret that a weapon designed solely as a protection in case of need should have been used as an insulting weapon of offence. Consequent upon such folly comes the distrust, not of Pretoria merely, but of every European capital, at a course of conduct so entirely in conflict with the well-recognised and universally respected policy of the British Foreign Office in treaty questions.

British action over the suzerainty and its kindred questions may begin in Pretoria; it does not end there.

A general survey of all the considerations leads irresistibly to the conclusion that the case for suzerainty utterly fails in proof; new and important questions have arisen for settlement; they can be best settled in our own interests by a more skilled and a more generous hand, which will ensure friendship in Pretoria and the continued amity of civilised peoples.

ARCHER M. WHITE.

## STRIKE OF COLLIERS IN SOUTH WALES.

BEFORE this appears in print it is to be hoped that the strike of the colliers in South Wales will be a matter of history. Notwithstanding this, it will doubtless be interesting to review the circumstances connected with same from the beginning and the important issues involved.

Many people will recollect that in 1875 there was a similar strike, which lasted for five months, and at the conclusion of which the sliding scale was introduced to regulate wages automatically in accordance with the selling price of coal. Under this scale the development of the coal industry in South Wales has gone on apace, owing principally to the confidence begotten thereby in the minds of buyers that they might reasonably expect to get delivery of the coal contracted for, and on the price of which they had based their calculations for the carrying on of their various industries.

This necessity of being able to figure out the cost of manufacturing, &c., is the reason for coalowners being asked, and more or less compelled, to contract for delivery ahead—a proceeding which is condemned now by the men as being detrimental to their interests, although, I venture to think, quite erroneously so, as undoubtedly these contracts have ensured more regular work in South Wales than has obtained in any other district, and its prosperity has advanced by leaps and bounds. Moreover, it is manifest that during a period of years they give at times a higher wage than the market price of coal warrants, as well as a lower one at others, as the contract prices are well known not to be always in the buyer's favour. I go so far as to say, however, that even if they were, the men would not in the long run be losers, owing to the regular work ensuing under the contract system.

To understand what regular work means to the men, it is only necessary to see how much of the price obtained for coal at the pit goes to labour directly—this being 5s. per ton on a selling price of 7s. 9d. per ton at the pit—besides what goes indirectly in the provision of stores, &c., involving an expenditure of fully 1s. per ton; then there is the employment given to men on the railways, and in connection with the handling and shipment of coal at the docks. If it is wished to be known how much goes to the masters or owners out of the price, it is only necessary to consult the balance-sheets of

various colliery companies recently published, and showing only meagre returns on the capital employed, and even then it is necessary to bear in mind that their property is a wasting security, and needs a yearly allowance for depreciation, which in most of the balance-sheets is conspicuous by its absence.

Coming to the present strike, it must be borne in mind that during the twenty-two years since the previous one there have been many readjustments of the terms of the sliding scale, which have almost invariably been in favour of the men; and when they gave notice last September to terminate same, the masters found—taking also into consideration the increased charges arising from legislation during the period—that the men were getting practically the whole advantage arising from the working of the collieries—that is to say, that the cost of working was in many cases nearly as much as could be realised for the coal, and in some instances more. Notwithstanding this, the masters were quite prepared to fairly discuss the position; but when the men insisted upon, and refused to discuss, their demand for an advance of 10 per cent. (meaning in the majority of cases an absolute loss in working), they had no alternative but to give one month's notice to terminate agreements of hiring, as otherwise they would have been compelled to go on working their collieries until the expiry of one month's notice, without any agreement as to wages to be paid. This cannot in any way be construed into a lock-out. As a proof of their desire for peace, the masters agreed with the men's representatives for a truce for ten days, during which work was to be continued and the negotiations proceeded with; but this the men threw over.

Many representations were made by the men that they were only earning 20s. per week, and pay-tickets were produced in proof of this; but as these pay-tickets did not show the number of days worked for the money received, they were really valueless as evidence against the official extracts of pay-sheets published by the masters, showing the average daily wage throughout a large part of the district to be 5s. 9d. per day. This rate means that during the four months of the strike to end of July each man would have earned some £30, on which the 5 per cent. in dispute is 30s.—a small amount individually, but which in the aggregate means a large sum for the masters to find, seeing the number of men involved.

The masters had greatly to complain of the waste caused by the men taking the first Monday of each month as a holiday (in addition to the ordinary general holidays), the actual loss of output caused by same being equal to one month's work per annum, and insisted that it should be abolished; and they had also to complain of the restriction of output systematically practised by the men, and the making up by them of the money they wished to earn out of the

deadwork charges—that is, the cost of repairing and maintenance of the workings, which have been greatly increased owing to the larger workings having to be kept open to secure a desired output of coal than would be the case if the men worked the quantity which was easily possible without undue physical strain; and the interference with, and obstruction of, the most economical methods of working the coal: the net result being that the cost of working has been enhanced by 1s. to 1s. 6d. per ton, without any real benefit to the men.

On behalf of the men it has been urged that higher prices could be obtained for the coal, and that the masters have, more or less deliberately, sold at lower prices than they need; but, in the first place, it can hardly be credited that the masters would not obtain the highest price possible, having regard to the competition which they have to face, not only from other districts in this country, but from foreign sources (*viz.* the increased production of other countries); and, in the second place, it must be borne in mind what increased price of coal means to all users, as an instance of which it is only necessary to cite the fact that good furnace coke (requiring some 30 cwt. of coal per ton to manufacture) can be bought in America, delivered at the blast-furnaces, at 8s. per ton, whereas even before the strike it could seldom be bought under 13s. per ton, similarly delivered here, with the result that the Americans could sell steel, delivered in our home markets, at the prices current here. It is undoubtedly the fact that cheap coal is the life-blood of the industries of the country, and anything done to prevent same being obtainable is against the general good; and it seems, therefore, that the masters, in fighting for work being properly done and a reasonable cost of production secured, are fighting in the public interest.

Moderate or even low prices do not mean that the men are to earn bad wages, but mean that the men are to give honest work for what they are paid, and to work conscientiously, with due regard for their masters' interest—which, after all, means their own welfare, for if the masters are to be driven out of the field by unduly high cost, the men will suffer in the long run.

Another factor which must not be lost sight of, and which applies particularly to South Wales, is that the improvements in the modern engines tend to reduce the values of all coal to something approaching a common level; and if good steam coal is to continue to be available free on board North American ports (after being brought by rail some 300 miles) at about 7s. per ton, it is impossible for us to maintain our trade unless there is a general effort to keep down our costs to their proper level.

The position with regard to an umpire has been so pithily put by the Duke of Argyll that the point needs no comment here, except to

emphasise the impossibility of an outsider being able to judge all the circumstances in connection with the carrying on of any individual business.

Looking at the matter from the point of view of the public good, two grave considerations arise: firstly, Is it just that, because the men choose to consider that they are entitled to an advance, the masters are to give in, although they know that to do so will involve them in loss or unduly enhance the price of coal; and, secondly, taking the colliers of this country as a whole, are these men to be allowed to arrogate to themselves the decision as to whether or not such a prime necessity as coal is to be obtainable at a proper price, or, indeed, at all, if they do not choose to work except on unreasonable terms, and is it to remain in their power to condemn hundreds of thousands of their fellow-creatures to suffering and loss?

AN ONLOOKER.

## SARAH BERNHARDT.

## A MONOGRAM.

THE painter, the sculptor, the poet, the musician, all have materials with which to build the foundations of their immortality. They may die in happiness, knowing that though they themselves must needs go the way all flesh goes, their handicraft, the precious outcome of their inspiration and genius, will endure for ever. They can perpetuate their souls and live in the works to which they have given birth through all the ages. Their bodies pass away—often into oblivion; their personalities—it may be—fade from men's memories, but their inner selves are imperishable while they throb and palpitate in the masterpieces of their creation. To the actor alone is immortality denied. His name, indeed, may be passed down to posterity, but it is as a husk devoid of its contents. One can only look at it wondering, and muse upon the nature of what it once contained. Garrick, Mrs. Siddons are to us hollow-sounding names: we can neither guess nor divine in what lay their greatness. Their genius—if such they had—we must take upon the assurance of our forefathers. We ourselves can pass no judgment thereon.

It was with some such thoughts as these that I issued from the theatre in which the "Divine Sarah" had for nearly three hours been holding her audience entranced and spellbound. To stumble out upon the every-day world in which we dwell was indeed a rough and disillusionising process. The call of the "cabbie," the yell of the newspaper urchin, the commonplace forms and faces that met my eye on every side, the vulgar tones, the slang phrases—could these really exist separated only by a few yards from the other world I had just quitted? I shuddered and felt inclined to draw my clothes away from contact with the noisy, jostling crowd that thronged the street. How perfect her gestures! how divine her voice! What indefinable charm in her every movement and word! Were these indeed to find no sufficient chronicle, no passport to immortality? Were they destined to pass like a breath of wind, out of touch, and out of hearing? I believe in that moment—had it been possible—I would have consigned to destruction the Venus de Milo and the Elgin Marbles, if by so doing I could have preserved and kept fresh the art of Sarah Bernhardt. The memory of the

scenes just enacted passed vividly before me : the crowded theatre, a glittering mass of jewels, brilliant faces, and white bosoms ; the half-subdued hum of the conversation ; the varying cadences of the orchestra, now droning wearily, now swelling and surging upwards through endless realms of heated imagination and fervid passion, till finally it ends in a clashing of brazen instruments, a thunder of drums, a wailing of violins. Then the pause, the silence, the expectation as the curtain rises. All eyes are strained to one point, watching for the coming of some one. The silence is suddenly broken by an outburst of applause. Every one is frantically clapping, shouting, beating the floor with sticks and parasols. On the stage a heavy curtain falling in graceful folds on to the polished boards has been pushed aside by a woman's hand. There enters slowly and majestically a form, tall and stately in appearance, with long robes falling elegantly from the shoulders and trailing behind. It is Sarah Bernhardt. She acknowledges the thunderous greeting with a queenly—though half deprecatory—bowing forwards of the figure. She is seemingly overcome by her reception. She smiles sweetly and casts down her eyes. One would think she is surprised and gratified by the enthusiasm of the audience. The applause grows in volume. She continues to bow and smile with the same fascinating grace—as if overpowered, and marvelling at the people before her. There is shrinking modesty in her mien. She wishes the applause would cease : the audience is honouring her too greatly. At length the tumult subsides. The tragedy begins.

Little by little as the piece progresses there begins to dawn upon the onlooker a deeper perception of the woman before him—if woman she really is. Her exterior charms are but the garments which grace her inner soul. Her lithe and sinuous form has something of the mysterious fascination of the serpent. She advances not by steps, but by a gliding motion. She does not speak : she coos. She has no feet ; but she has small nervous fingers half hidden in heavy folds of lace which she utilises with consummate art to enhance the effect of the utterance of her emotion. Her face is strange, at times almost unearthly : she has perchance broken away from one of Aubrey Beardsley's pictures or wandered from some nocturnal dreamland. Her lips are thin and nervous, as becomes a woman of genius. They suggest passion—unhappiness perhaps. Her eyes defy description. They are not the same for two consecutive moments, but form a mirror for fleeting emotions—now sweet, bewitching, ravishing ; now harsh, discordant, desperate, wild. Her smile is enchanting in its sweetness ; her anger terrible in its ferocity. The one melts, enthral, entices ; the other stabs, kills, annihilates. One moment she is all smiles and softness ; another furious recriminations, passionate outbursts. The transformation is terrible in its suddenness. The audience is transported from sun-

shine to thunder, from thunder to sunshine. Unconsciously it passes through the throes of a mighty passion. The coldest heart is shaken. The man or woman who has no real depth of soul, no great capability for profound emotion, is for the time being lifted from the passionless and commonplace to be swept away as in an irresistible whirlwind by the magic arts of the actress. The audience ranges over the limitless dominions of the human heart. The *Comédie*—I should prefer to say the *Tragédie*—*Humaine* is spread out before them in all its unspeakable sadness and joy, travail and grief. To watch the changes which pass like clouds about the face of the heavens over the countenance of Sarah Bernhardt is in itself a marvellous experience. To listen to the modulations, the cooings, the cadences, the thunders, the shrieks of that wonderful voice is an experience that must indelibly stamp itself upon the memory. One begins to realise how great, how profound a thing a woman's love may be.

Watch the quiet that reigns at the opening of the drama. Note the transformation as the plot unravels. Love is awakened from its slumber and develops into passion. What happiness unspeakable, inimitable in her every smile and look! What deep and tranquil gladness untinged by thought of sorrow! What confidence, what sublime reliance! Two hearts have grown together—are entangled in love's meshes. Then comes the ominous undercurrent of suspicion. Afar off there looms the, as yet, indiscernible spectre brooding over the future with outspread wings. The passion deepens. The forces are gathering for the climax. The storm bursts. Destruction on every side, lamentation, despair. The ideal has been shattered. The land of dreams has vanished. Love is disillusionised. There follows a fierce war of passions, a seething ocean of sweltering emotions, now tossing tempestuously, anon calming down into the steady surging swell. Again and again the face of the deep is overcast. Thunder and lightning, sunshine and rain alternate with blinding rapidity. The vehemence, the mad fury of the tempest are intolerable. They cannot long endure, but give place to a calmer, if no less dangerous, atmosphere. There is suspense in the air, a hidden creeping jealousy, a sinister suspicion. Shed over all is the utter darkness of despair, broken only occasionally by deceptive flashes of light, which lure to hope, but prove illusory and vain. Slowly the labyrinthine mazes of the intrigue are revealed. The inevitable climax draws near. The shadow of fatality is seen to darken the landscape. The sky is black with brooding thunders. An inexorable hand is shaping the destiny of the plotters. I hesitate before venturing to describe the *dénouement*. One would need the brush of a Titian, the pen of a Shakespeare to portray it faithfully and with sufficient effect. The onlooker watches and waits aghast. The acting resembles too much real life. It is

difficult to realise that the stage is truly a stage and nothing more, that the actors are indeed actors and not living personalities throbbing with veritable passion. The interest grows, and the air is heavy with presentiments of impending calamity. The spectator forgets all else but the characters before him. His concern is so great that one would think he had some heavy stake in the enactment of the tragedy he watches with such intense emotion. The death scene has been reached. The unfortunate woman has received the last stab from the hand of her faithless lover. She recognises that her end has come, that her short term of life, at once so sweet and happy, so terrible and so tragic, is drawing to a close. The unexpected blow has fallen upon her with stunning force. Her brain reels under the shock, and finally gives way. In the presence of her repentant lover, who is helpless to render aid, the appalling scene takes place. At first, as her brain wanders, she laughs and talks incoherently. It is fearful to listen to her, pitiful to watch her. Gradually, as the fell poison fulfils its mission, her words become wilder, her action more frantic. She would cling to life: she has no wish to die. She clutches at her breast and strives to tear away the garments that are stifling her. All in vain. Suddenly she seems to behold the loved one. He is somewhere among the audience. She points to him; she cries to him; she stretches out her arms to him. Her eyeballs almost start from their sockets. Once more in vain. He refuses to see or hear her. She knows not that her vision is a fantasy conjured up by her aberrated reason; nor does she know that her lover is in reality close beside her, watching with horror-stricken eyes. How should she? Has not her true perception fled for ever? Does not chaos now reign supreme within that once so lovely form? At length the dread point is past. The vital powers give way before the onslaught. She grows calmer and more peaceful until all ceases quite—in death.

HENRY MELANCTHON STRONG.

## THE EXTRA WOMAN.

"It's a disgrace tae ceevilisation!"

Such was the expression that came to my ears as I walked down Piccadilly at twelve o'clock one December night. The policeman who gave utterance to it had not been long enough away from the land of the kailyard to grow hardened to the sights of that busy thoroughfare. He was fresh. The painted death's-heads and swishing skirts produced no other effect upon him than angry disgust. The sterility of Scottish teachings held him prisoner.

But is Piccadilly at midnight a disgrace to civilisation, or is it the natural outburst of Nature?

For centuries we have lived under a monogamous moral code, until we have grown to believe that monogamy is essential to morality. Yet is the Mohammedan necessarily immoral because he owns to a plurality of wives? There are good, honest, upright men amongst the followers of the Prophet, and they are polygamists. Are the monks and fathers of the Church of Rome more moral because of their enforced celibacy?

In short, is either celibacy, monogamy, or restricted polygamy necessary to the attainment of the highest state in man?

It is hardly necessary in the England of to-day to discuss the first named. England has rejected celibacy as unnatural. Esoteric rites may sometimes demand it; the old religion may say that the priest wedded to Christ may contract no other marriage; but amongst the people it is impossible. As a remedy for the morality of the nation it fails by impracticability. It would exterminate the immorality of the nation by ending the nation itself. Therefore, celibacy, in the mass, is impossible.

Does monogamy supply any remedy? Thousands of English wives are merely legalised concubines. They bear children to their husbands—there their marital duty ends. The husband is bound by no social law, and may break his marriage vows as often as he pleases; the wife, under penalty of social damnation and eternal punishment, must "cleave only unto him." Monogamy has failed as a moral corrective. The records of the Divorce Court prove how slight, in England, is the hold upon morality; the streets of our cities at midnight reek with the evidence of the failure of the monogamous theory

Does polygamy provide a remedy? If so, why this outcry in India for the revival of the C. D. Acts? Why has Port Said gained its name as the moral sink of the nations? Polygamy is no more a remedy than monogamy. A man may have sixty wives, but he still covets his neighbour's lot. Nature will not be repressed. The man may control his vicious spirit, may prevent its appearance, but in many cases it bursts out, and the extra woman supplies the want.

In 1891 there were, practically, 900,000 more females than males in England and Wales. A proportion of these were children, but a moderate computation would place the excess of women over men at 200,000.

The first duty of woman is towards the next generation. Nature endows her with the sentiments of motherhood—the law of monogamy steps in and says that two hundred thousand Englishwomen shall not exercise these sentiments. The law of English respectability steps in and says that the woman who attempts to exercise these sentiments without having first mumbled a few words before the altar shall be thrown into the gutter. And the same law says that the man, who is in a minority, may do as he pleases. The law of Nature says that the extra woman must live, and Philistia outcasts her if she chooses what seems an easy and pleasant method of earning a livelihood.

Thousands of Englishwomen are to-day earning, honourably, their own bread-and-butter, or, at least, their bread; for, "sweating" man, having discovered that women will take lower wages than men, uses his knowledge to the full; but, again, thousands of Englishmen remain unmarried, either because they have not the means to support a wife, or because it suits their selfish natures not to do so. Great and growing as is the army of women workers in the sphere of daily life, it is doubtful whether any appreciable effect is so produced upon the over-margin of the sex. There still remains the great army of women who must live by other means than licensed concubinage.

Is it, then, to be marvelled at, that a very large proportion of the extra women find their way to the pavement? In many cases, probably, some vicious man has begun the career. The tale of trusting girlhood betrayed has been too often told. For the woman who has found a man's honour to be a broken reed there is no forgiveness on earth. She may have fallen but once, but rigid Pharisaism, which styles itself "virtue," says she shall not rise again. Her sister, who has never fallen because she has never been tempted, draws back her skirts that she may not be contaminated by the touch of "the creature"! A sister! No! An outcast, probably, but a sister—never!

There is no hope for the trust betrayed. But two ways are

open : the grave of the suicide, or the streets of the city. Life is sweet, and who can blame the woman that chooses to live?

And the man! He rises in the world. No mud is thrown at him. Sometimes, perhaps, in the dead watches of the night the ghost of the ruined soul may rise before him, but there is no punishment in the life of the world. Him the king delights to honour—the woman sinks to the life of shame.

But these cases are but a fraction of the whole. Many enter into the life willingly, with no thought of shame, no blush of maidenly reserve. Their childhood's surroundings have been of the class. Modesty has been banished from their homes. Purity has been unknown. They enter upon the life as naturally as their social superiors scheme for a wealthy marriage. The sole difference is that one sells her beauty to a man, the other to men. Yet one is accounted virtuous, the other vicious.

Legislators have endeavoured to grapple with the subject of the extra woman. "Purists," in some of the provincial cities, have driven her off the streets, and then turned their impious eyes to Heaven, and cried, "Behold, Lord, we are Thy chosen people!" But the extra woman has merely sought fresh haunts, in the public-houses, in the suburbs, and in the night clubs, and flourishes more than ever.

The legislative "purists" would have us believe that by driving the extra woman off the streets we shall end her business. Our delicately-nurtured youth, whose thoughts are supposed to be turned to Sunday schools and moral texts, will not then be confronted with her. The sweet purity of their minds will not then be contaminated by her presence! But they forget that man is but a thinking animal. And they err in considering that the contamination all proceeds from the woman.

Man arrogates to himself the possession of the higher reason between the sexes. But all the blame must fall upon weaker woman. Has man no part in the transaction? Should not the greater blame be upon the greater nature? If man's be the stronger mind, shall inferior woman alone bear the blame?

Man is by nature the vicious sex. Women are not, naturally, impure. But ever since the days of Adam his sons have cried in coward tones, "The woman tempted me, and I fell." By nature, the woman bears the consequences of her sin; by the moral code of the nation she must bear, too, the consequences in society. Man is too sacred to be punished. He cries for the renewal of the C. D. Acts, that his viciousness may run less risk; but what a howl of indignation he would raise if any one dared to suggest the application of such a rule to him!

The social code which ostracises the woman and pardons the man is at the root of the evil. Women must live—let them live on

terms of equality, not inferiority. Deny the right to any employer to pay a smaller wage to the woman worker than to the man in similar work; educate the children, whether male or female, to the idea that the sexes are equal, that that is no purity which is only pure because it has had no opportunity to be anything else, that marriage is only happy as a companionship, not as a mere concubinage; educate the children in a healthy moral atmosphere, where they may think for themselves, and not in the forced heat of ignorance, and place the vicious man on a lower social plane than the fallen woman, place the murderer of the soul on the level of the murderer of the body—*then* we may solve the problem of the extra woman.

R. T. LANG.

## A FEW MORE WORDS ON DOGS.

THE kindly reception in so many quarters of my former article on "Dogs in Poetry," which appeared in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for last March, has clearly demonstrated that we are a "doggy" as well as a "horsey" nation, and encourages me (with the Editor's kind permission) to add one or two words supplementary to my previous paper.

Perhaps I may be permitted to make a few preliminary remarks in the way of reply to one or two critics and correspondents. A lady correspondent writes: "I am really quite surprised and pained that you should speak *slightly* of the Bible."

Now, my dear good Madam, I fear you are unnecessarily exciting yourself. I did not speak slightly of the Bible. I merely said, as I still maintain, that the Bible speaks slightly of dogs. I gave what I imagined to be a satisfactory explanation of the matter, viz., that the type of dog found in Eastern countries is a low one, and regarded simply in the light of a scavenger; and I commenced my article by observing how differently the dog has been regarded in different countries, or even at different times in the same country. To take a converse case: The "ass" amongst us, even under the most favourable circumstances, is somewhat despised and disparaged, but amongst Orientals is highly honoured and esteemed.

I am quite open to conviction, but an ounce of argument in the shape of the citation of a single scriptural passage that may fairly be considered complimentary, or even *not* derogatory, to the dog, is worth a whole ton of indignation at my (supposed) irreverence—a charge which I distinctly repudiate.

Why, the very proverb (Eccles. ix. 4),

"A *living dog* is better than a *dead lion*,"

postulates the whole question, and places the dog in the lowest scale of the animal world as contrasted with the majestic lion, the king of beasts.

Another young lady correspondent questions the propriety of sitting in judgment on Professor Ruskin, and says she is just finishing her education at a college where the Professor is a benefactor and held in high regard.

My dear child, I yield to no one in admiration for Professor Ruskin; I think I know the college to which you refer, and have

been not unconnected with it myself in a teaching capacity—moreover, I had probably read Ruskin before you were born ; but I must remind you that I quoted Professor Ruskin's *own words*, though in justice alike to the author of the *Odyssey* (who is always true to the canons of his art) and to the hero Odysseus himself, it seemed desirable to point out that it would have been ruinous to the hero's chance of ridding his house of its unwelcome parasites, and rescuing his wife, if he had prematurely revealed himself by any rash recognition of Eumæus, or affectionate demonstration towards Argus. This might have increased Professor Ruskin's pleasure, but it would have violated the dramatic unities.

Homer, at any rate, narrates the incident with tenderness and evident appreciation.

That there may be no possible doubt on this matter, the reference to my quotation is Ruskin's *Modern Painters* (vol. v. p. 263, large edition).

It is interesting to find that the story of Gelert is as popular as ever. In answer to numerous correspondents I may say that I have nothing to add as regards the historical basis of the story. There seems no reason to doubt the popular version of it as adopted by the Welsh nation and incorporated in most of the guide books to the Principality, though, as I pointed out before, there is a similar legend common to many nations and dating back to a far more remote antiquity. The Welsh, at any rate, are very proud of their Gelert, and it is very pleasant to think that they are so.

I lately wrote some lines on the subject for an Aberdare paper, and they seemed to strike a sympathetic chord in the native heart. If it be not egotistic I should like to append them, together with one of the Welsh translations, or rather imitations, that have been sent me.

“ AT GELERT'S GRAVE.

“ Here in this pleasant vale  
Peacefully lies  
One whose pathetic tale  
Moistens all eyes !

Long 'twas ago, and he,  
Long laid to rest,  
Of all the dogs that be,  
Bravest and best !

What strange presentiment  
Moved him to stay,  
When the whole household went  
Hunting that day ?

Reason akin to men's ?  
Mere instinct true ?  
Ah ! that no mortal kens,  
None ever knew !

He, the king's trusted hound,  
Hounds all above,  
This once was truant found,  
Truant for love ;

Love linked with latent fear  
Wistful and wild,  
On trail of trouble near  
Threat'ning the child.

Sequel so dark and drear  
Who does not know ?  
Who has not wiped a tear,  
Touched by its woe ?

Bed blood-besprent, the sire,  
Maddened with dread,  
Raining hot blows in ire  
On the dog's head ;

Wolf grim and ghastly found  
After a while,  
Little one safe and sound  
Wakes with a smile.

Ah ! we can well believe -  
Stooping to kiss  
Checks of his child that eve  
How he would miss

Gelert the tried and true,  
Faithfulest friend,  
And how his heart would rue  
Gelert's sad end.

Ofttimes above the dead,  
Brooding in pain,  
Stood he with bowed bare head  
Mourning the slain.

And though long years have rolled,  
Dear is the spot,  
Still is its fame extolled,  
Never forgot !

Still the dog's vigilance  
'Thrills all the vale,  
Theme still of sweet romance,  
Topic of tale.

Dead is he ? Well, I pray  
Suffer sweet hope  
Still to have fullest sway  
Freedom of scope !

Pardon the fervent prayer,  
Fondly exprest,  
That somehow and somewhere  
He may be blest."

As the scene of the story is laid in Wales, and is so dear to Welsh hearts, perhaps it may interest some readers to see a Welsh translation, or rather imitation, of my lines, by Mr. D. Silyn Evans :

“Yn y dyffryn hyfryd hwr  
Bedd a welir,  
I greadur ffyddlon-gwn  
Gyffra ddeigr’.

Dewraf un o'r cwn oedd ef  
Yn mhob helfa,  
Gwefr a myn'd oedd yn ei lef—  
Gi anwyla’.

Didwyll safodd yn y ty  
Gyda 'r baban,  
Pan oedd pawb o'r teulu cu  
'N hela allan.

Erchyll flaidd i'r ty a ddaeth  
At y baban;  
Gyrodd trwy ei galon aeth—  
Blentyn egwan.

Gelert yntau ruthrai'n lew  
Arno 'n ddigllon,  
Ei ladd a wnaeth yn angerdd llew,  
Fleiddgi creulon.

Gelert redai yn ei wa'd  
At Llewelyn,  
A gwenai arno heb un brad  
Yn ei ddychryn.

Rhagddo'r meistr i'r ty a aeth  
Mewn drwgdeimlad,  
Gwel'd y gwael rodd iddo saeth  
Mewn amrantiad.

Gelert waedlodd gyda'i gledd  
I farwolaeth;  
Ow! mae'r baban bach mewn hedd,  
Heb un artaeth,

Wylai teulu mawr a man,  
Trengai Gelert,  
Trist yw'n bron a lleddf yw'n can  
Uwch bedd Gelert.”

Several inquirers ask for information as to the earliest English poets who make any reference to the dog, and as to the mediæval metrical romances.

In answering them, I should like to draw particular attention to a very full and carefully compiled anthology of dog-poetry by Mr. R. Maynard Leonard, published by David Nutt in the Strand.

Here the reader will find a veritable mine of information and illustration on the subject from one who has made an exhaustive study of the dog in British poetry. I wish I had had access to the work when I first took up the subject, as I should have been saved much trouble and research. I can confidently recommend all who are interested in the matter to procure a copy of the work, and they will have at hand a ready reference-book, not only to well-known authors, but to many little-known sources of pleasure and profit.

Of early writers there is, of course, Geoffrey Chaucer (1328–1400), who wrote “the rape of Chanticleer” (in the “Nonnes Preestes Tale,”) “the fawning whelp” (in the “Booke of the Dutchesse,”) and has many other allusions to dogs in his *Canterbury Tales*—*e.g.*, in the Prologue, and in the “Knightes Tale.”

Blind Harry, the minstrel (flourished about 1490), the author of *Sir William Wallace*.

John Barbour, author of *The Bruce*, who flourished about 1340, describes in graphic language the pursuit of the patriot by John of Lorne, and how Bruce put the bloodhound off the scent by wading through some water.

William Stewart (born 1481) wrote the *Buik of the Chronicles of Scotland*, a metrical version of Bœce’s history. In this occurs a description of the theft of a dog belonging to the Scots King Carthlyntus by the Picts lords, which begins :

“The Pictis houndis were nocht of sic speed  
As Scottis houndis, nor yet sae gude at need.”

Robert Crowley (about 1540) describes Sunday bear-baiting.  
Turbeville (1550) sang the praises of the chase :

“O gamesters all, a little by your leave,  
Can you such joys in trifling games conceive ? ”

and also wrote “Love me, Love my Dog.”

William Hamilton (about 1700) has a very sprightly poem on “Bonny Heck.” These are the first and last stanzas :

“ Alas, alas ! quo’ bonny Heck  
On former days when I reflec,  
I was a dog in much respec  
For doughty deed ;  
But now I must hing by the neck  
Without remeed.  
\* \* \* \* \*  
But if my puppies ance were ready  
Which I gat on a bonny leddy,  
They’ll be baith cliver, keen, and beddy,  
And ne’er neglec  
To clink it like their ancient deddy  
The famous Heck.”

Juliana Berners, an early poetess, published in 1481 her *Boke of St. Albans*, which contains the oft-quoted lines on the properties of a good greyhound :

“ A greyhound should be headed like a Snake,  
And necked like a Drake,  
Footed like a Cat,  
Tailed like a Rat,  
Sided like a Team,  
Chined like a Beam.”

Samuel Butler (who flourished about 1640) discourses on bear-baiting with dogs :

“ A bold adventurous exercise,  
With ancient heroes in high prize,  
For authors do affirm it came  
From Isthmian and Nemaean game.”

And Tickell (about 1720) wrote directions on the training of hunting-dogs :

“ Thy care be first the various gifts to trace,  
The minds and genius of the latrant race.”

But by far the most interesting didactic writer on the chase is William Somerville, who lived about the same time as Tickell. He gives clear directions for the management of the kennel, on training puppies, how to punish sheep-worrying, and how to deal with mad dogs. He also alludes to Argus in the following lines :

“ Unnumbered accidents and various ills  
Attend thy pack, hang hovering o'er their heads,  
And point the way that leads to death's dark cave.  
Short is their span ; few at the date arrive  
Of ancient Argus, in old Homer's song  
So highly honoured—kind sagacious brute.”

He also invokes his Muse to sing of the horrors of hydrophobia :

“ Sing, philosophic Muse, the dire effects  
Of this contagious bite on man.”

Two mediæval romances are quoted by Mr. Leonard (pp. 92–100). The first being the story of the dog and the adder, from a MS. in the Cambridge University Library ; the second, the story of Sir Roger's *True Love*, of which the MS. was discovered in the reign of Henry VI. The story is well known, with its melancholy conclusion :

“ His hound would not from him away,  
But ever on his grave he lay  
Till death had brought him down.”

There is another mediæval romance called *Sir Tristrem*, by Thomas the Rhymer of Ercildoune.

Mr. Leonard preserves for us a translation from the Indian epic, the *Mahabharata*, which was, curiously enough, published in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW of October 1848, in an anonymous article on "Indian Epic Poetry."

So much, then, for early writers on the dog.

More than one correspondent has written to ask if I am correct in my statement about a metrical version of the story from *Nisami* ("Pearls cannot equal the whiteness of his teeth"), by Miss Ellice Hopkins, as they think I must have mistaken the author. But I can assure them that Miss Hopkins has found time amidst her social work not only to write poetry, but a very successful novel. The version I referred to is to be found in a little volume of hers called *Swallow Flights of Song*, published by Messrs. Macmillan, and containing many delightful lyrics.

Several charmingly *naïve* persons have favoured me with specimens of the dog-story, all more or less astounding—mostly old chestnuts, ancient and apocryphal. I have heard them all before; but they possess wonderful tenacity of life. One such I may just mention, as the writer apparently does not know the sequel. It refers to the dog who, not receiving his dinner at the proper time, went into the garden and picked a piece of forget-me-not with its teeth, and went and gravely deposited it on his mistress's lap. The sequel is this: a rather green-looking young man was telling this old threadbare story at a meeting in all guilelessness of heart: it elicited no applause, nor yet wonder nor incredulity, only there was an ominous shuffling of the feet. Meeting one of his auditors afterwards, he asked what was the meaning of this feet-shuffling. "Oh," replied the other, "that was only the shuffling of the feet of the young men who carried out Ananias."

By some, again, I am interrogated as to my opinion of the dog-muzzling order. I should not have supposed that my opinion was of the slightest value to anybody. It appeared to me to be a *bonâ fide* attempt on the part of the Board of Agriculture to stamp out the plague of rabies in the best way they could devise. I am told it has been fairly successful, despite the behaviour of the anti-vivisection school of thought and the so-called humanitarians, who have thwarted and evaded the law as much as possible. These amiable people delight in pointing out the ineffectual operation of the law because it applies only to infected districts or counties, and not to the whole country. But if they raised such an outcry against a partial order, what would they not have done against a universal one? Such faddists and fanatics are very illogical and unsatisfactory people. The author of the muzzling-order has been indeed a most

long-suffering man, and the dogged obstinacy of his opponents is much to be regretted.

But, worse than all, I am claimed by the anti-vivisectionists as one of themselves, and am asked if I can address meetings in support of the cause.

Now, by all the powers of Olympus and Tartarus, I protest against this thing. Because I quoted Lewis Morris, or any one else, am I to be dubbed and labelled and classified as anti-this or anti-that, and enrolled *volens volens* in a crusade of whose methods and propaganda I do not approve?

That I am all in favour of kindness to animals, and deprecate all cruelty and the infliction of unnecessary pain, may, I think, be fairly inferred from my previous article; but I am not prepared to admit absolutely and unconditionally and unreservedly that it is in every case and every degree immoral to seek to advance medical or scientific knowledge by means of experiments on animals. I may be inclined personally to distrust the conclusions arrived at by such experiments; but that does not affect the main question; still less am I prepared to call every biologist an "inhuman devil;" and when I find, as I frequently do, that many anti-vivisectionists throw charity, consistency, and common-sense overboard like so much lumber out of a sinking ship, I am more than ever fortified in my resolution to abide outside their charmed, but hardly charming, circle.

I might speak much more strongly, but I prefer to leave these troublesome people severely alone, and pass on to pleasanter topics.

When writing of Homer's Argus before, I accidentally omitted to compare it with Southey's Theron, as the two passages naturally lend themselves to comparison.

Theron belonged to Roderick, the last King of the Visigoths, who, having escaped in the guise of a peasant from the battle-field, returned to his kingdom after a hermit-life of twenty years. Theron alone knew him:

"And he rose and licked  
His withered hand, and earnestly looked up  
With eyes whose human meaning did not need  
The aid of speech; and moaned as if at once  
To court and chide the long-withheld caress."

The unrecognised king withdrawing from the painful interview with Florinda and Rusilla, retired, followed by the dog,

"Into the thickest grove; there yielding way  
To his o'erburdened nature, from all eyes  
Apart he cast himself upon the ground,  
And threw his arms around the dog, and cried  
While tears streamed down, 'Thou, Theron, thou hast known  
Thy poor lost master, Theron, none but thou.'"

It would be interesting to collect the different allusions to Cerberus from classical authors, and observe the strange ideas the ancients had of his person and functions. Cerberus had his counterpart in Sarama, the spotted creature to whom the Brahmin prays, and who acts as a sort of Portitor of Paradise.

The Greek poet Euripides was said to have been torn in pieces by the dogs of Archelaus, King of Macedonia.

It has been pointed out to me with reference to Sykes's dog in *Oliver Twist* that even this ill-used animal did not wholly desert his master, though he does run away from him when the murderer tries to drown him so as to remove a possible clue to his identity. I had not forgotten the fact, though I appeared to overlook it. There are many lifelike descriptions of this dog (whose name was Bull's Eye) in the earlier chapters of *Oliver Twist*, but it is at the very close that the most tragic scene occurs. Sykes is trying to escape by a rope, but the noose slips, and he hangs suspended by thirty feet of rope. Bull's Eye tries to bite the rope, if perchance he can thus render help to his master. Finally he jumps. This is how Dickens describes the scene :

"A dog which had lain concealed now ran backwards and forwards on the parapet with a howl, and collecting himself for a spring, jumped for the dead man's shoulders. Missing his aim he fell into the ditch, turning completely over as he went, and striking his head against a stone dashed out his brains."

This pathetic and fatal endeavour of the returned and forgiving dog to succour his hanging master—so that, though anything but "lovely and pleasant in their lives," they were at any rate "in their deaths not divided"—is the very consummation of the poor dog's unwavering loyalty.

Dickens was himself very fond of dogs, and Mr. Forster tells us many pleasant anecdotes of Turk and Linda.

Lovers of Dickens's works will never forget Diogenes, who so absurdly arrives at the Dombey residence in a hackney cab, into which he had been lured under pretence of rats in the straw. All through the book he is a most amusing dog.

It is pleasant to find that authors who have written feelingly on dogs in general have been deeply attached to their own dogs in particular.

Scott was, perhaps, the most devoted dog-lover that ever was. Any one who has ever read Lockhart's *Life* will readily admit this. "Scott and his dogs" is a well-known picture, and has become a well-known phrase.

Who can forget the descriptions of Camp and Maida? It was Camp who once bit the baker and was severely reprov'd for his misdeed, after which he never heard the word "baker" mentioned,

even in the most casual way, without crawling under the table in the most dire distress.

Scott felt Camp's death acutely. It is said that on the evening of the sad event he excused himself from attending a dinner-party, pleading as his apology "the death of a dear old friend."

Maida was, if possible, even more beloved. She was a cross between a wolf- and a deer-hound. Scores of artists painted Maida's likeness. Once a friend of Scott's picked up at Munich a common snuff-box, price one franc, with Maida for a frontispiece, and the superscription, "Der liebbling Hund von Walter Scott," showing how far the fame of the dog-lover had travelled.

Maida died of sheer old age. The well-known epitaph for her grave, by Lockhart, ran thus :

"Maidæ marmoreâ dormis sub imagine ; Maida,  
Ad ianuam domini sit tibi terra levis,"

which Scott translated into English thus :

"Beneath the sculptured form which late you wore  
Sleep soundly, Maida, at your master's door."

Of course there is a very bad quantity in the second line of the Latin, for the word is "iānua," not "iānuā." The first line is often incorrectly given, with the word "iaces" substituted for "dormis," which, of course, spoils the scansion. Arthur Hallam wrote an appreciative poem on Scott's dogs at Melrose Abbey :

"There an old man sat serene,  
And well I knew that thoughtful mien  
Of him whose early lyre had thrown  
Over these mouldering walls the magic of its tone.  
It was a comfort too to see  
Those dogs that from him ne'er would rove,  
And always eyed him reverently  
With glances of depending love."

All Scott's novels have dogs in them. *Woodstock* would be stripped of half its glory if it were robbed of Bevis, the favourite hound of the Cavalier Sir Henry Lee.

In the *Talisman* the staghound Roswal is almost as much the hero as Sir Kenneth himself.

Gerth, the famous herdsman of *Ivanhoe*, would seem only half himself without Fangs—half mastiff and half greyhound.

Juno, in the *Antiquary*, is well drawn, so is the jealous Wolf, the staghound of Avenel Castle, and Wasp, the rough terrier of Harry Bertram. Sir Walter Scott, in face of impending ruin, confesses in his diary (December 1825) that, among all his sad thoughts, the saddest was that of his dogs waiting vainly for him at Abbotsford.

Charles Kingsley's own dogs are feelingly described by John Martineau, a former pupil at Eversley Rectory.

Of these, Dandie, Sweep, and Victor (the last a present from the Queen) lie buried on the Rectory lawn, with the brief inscription, "Fideli fideles." Only a few yards away lies Kingsley himself, with his well-known epitaph:

"Amavimus, amamus, amabimus."

I referred in my last article to the Dogs' Cemetery at Hyde Park, and some readers may be interested to hear that a very interesting paper on the subject appeared in the *Golden Penny* for July 30 ultimo.

With regard to the immortality of dogs or other animals, many opinions might be cited in the affirmative. As Lamartine says:

"No! God will never quench His spark divine,  
Whether within some glorious orb it shine,  
Or lighten up the spaniel's tender gaze  
Who leads his poor blind master through the maze  
Of this dark world." (*Translation.*)

"I hae never been able to persuade my heart and my understanding that dowgs hae na immortal sowls," pants the Shepherd in *Noctes Ambrosianae*, when Mr. North's "great Newfunlan" swims out to the assistance of himself and his companion, Mr. Tickler, in a rough sea off Portobello; "his soul maun be immortal!"

Later on this noble animal was cruelly poisoned, and Christopher North (Professor Wilson) and his friends lament his many virtues.

"Often do I wonder," says the Shepherd again, "whether or no birds and beasts and insects have immortal sowls!" To which the English Opium-Eater, who happens to be present, replies, "What God makes, why should He annihilate?" "True, true, Mr. de Quincey," gladly agrees Hogg.

Some of our readers may remember Luther's words to his dog, "Never mind, little Hans, thou too shalt have a golden tail some day"; or, according to a better translation, "Thou too, in the Resurrection, shalt have a little golden tail."

Swinburne, in his sonnet to Dr. John Brown, speaks of

"The night of death's sweet sleep, wherein may be  
A star to show your spirit in present sight,  
Some happier island in the Elysian sea,  
Where Rab may lick the hand of Marjorie."

"My dear lord, there is a spirit dwelling in good beasts, though dreamy and unconscious," says the Chaplain in Fonqu's weird romance of *Sintram and his Companions*.

Coleridge, writing long before Darwin, seems inclined to conjecture the beast to be an "unripe or degenerated humanity."

"What are they," asks a writer in *Lux Mundi*, speaking of

animals. "Had they a past? May they not have a future? What is the relation of their consciousness to the mighty life which pulses within the universe? May not Eastern speculations about these things be nearer the truth than Western science?"

"Nothing better serves to establish our own immortality than to believe that all souls are imperishable," writes Leibnitz.

And if we may quote the Ettrick Shepherd yet once more, "Perhaps the verra bit bonny glitterin' insects that we ca' ephemeral never dee, but live through a' eternity. The universe is aiblins wide enuch."

Or, as Walt Whitman sweetly sings :

"All, all for immortality;  
Love, like the light, silently wrapping all,  
Nature's amelioration blessing all."

It would seem, then, that there are a large number of people who demur to the saying about "the brute beast that perisheth."

I omitted to mention a lifelike little simile from dog-nature found in Tennyson, in the *Idylls of the King* ("Geraint and Enid") :

"... Growling like a dog when his good bone  
Seems to be plucked at by the village boys,  
Who love to vex him eating, and he fears  
To lose his bone, and lays his foot upon it,  
(Gnawing and growling.)"

"The Twa Dogs" of Burns is primarily a tribute of praise to Luath, Burns's favourite collie. It was Caesar who "was nane o' Scotland's dogs."

The Ettrick Shepherd (Hogg), whom we have quoted above, had a dog, Sirrah, which once recovered seven hundred lambs lost in the night. At the rising of the sun, Sirrah was found standing sentinel over a ravine, and there stood the lambs whom he had mustered in the dark, *not one missing!*

Pope's dog Bounce is remembered chiefly from its epithet, "O rare Bounce," which was subsequently abandoned as seeming a sort of parody on the well-known inscription, "O rare Ben Jonson."

Mrs. Browning's Flush lies buried in the vaults under Casa Guidi.

Sims, in one of his popular ballads called "Told to the Missionary," gives the story of a coster's dog. There had been a scare about hydrophobia, and the police were ordered to look strictly after the payment of the dog tax,

"And the bobbies came down on us costers, came in a reggerlar wax,  
And them as 'ad got no licence was summerned to pay the tax."

A coster, whose "missus was dyin wi' fever," could not afford the money, and so tries to drown his dog in the canal, but falls in himself. His head is kept above water by the dog till further assistance

comes. The coster on his death-bed tells the whole story<sup>7</sup> to a missionary, and says :

"What did I do with her, eh? You hardly need to ax,  
Why, I sold my barrer on Monday, an' paid the bloomin' tax."

He begs the missionary to look after the poor creature when he is gone :

"When the Lord in His mercy calls me to my last eternal pitch,  
I know as you'll treat her kindly—promise to take my bitch."

The Italians are not remarkable for kindness to animals, but rather the reverse. They have, however, a story of a Neapolitan driver notorious for his ill-treatment of his horse. After death, the man presented himself at the gate of Paradise, but was refused admittance. He was recommended, however, to apply at the neighbouring Paradise of animals, if haply he might find favour there. The driver did so, and lo! the door was opened to him by the very same poor, starved, worn-out old hack on which he had been wont to shower his blows and curses, now transformed into a celestial steed of wondrous beauty. But, alas! the horse had not yet learned forgiveness, and here, too, the driver met with rejection.

Victor Hugo has a story of the Sultan Murad, a man steeped in wickedness, who found mercy in Hades because he had once driven away a swarm of flies from a dying hog!

Geddes (about 1760) has a humorous tale of a "wee bit wifukie comin' frae the fair," but she "got a wee bit drappukie," and sat down by the dykeside and fell asleep; a "packman laddie" came by and "clippit a' her gowden locks," and when the wifukie wakened, she thought "this is nae me." She knew that her dog Doussiekie would recognise her if she was unaltered, but he failed to welcome her, so her moaning refrain is still the same :

"This is nae me."

This reminds us of the nursery tale :

"There was a little woman as I have heard tell,  
She went to market her eggs to sell."

But she fell asleep, too, and a pedlar cut her petticoats up to her knees; when she woke she did not know herself, but reflected that

"If it be I, as I do hope it be,  
I've a little dog at home, and he knows me;"

but, alas! when she got home, the dog

"He began to bark, so she began to cry  
Lawk a mercy on me! this is none of I."

This reminds us of another nursery rhyme of immortal fame

"Old Mother Hubbard went to the cupboard, to get her poor dog a bone," &c., and of many another old favourite besides of fact and fiction, prose and verse. They crowd one upon another as one opens the gates of memory and ransacks the corners of one's brain.

Indeed, it is only when one prepares to lay down the pen that a full sense of the magnitude of the subject is felt, and a realisation of the inability to do it justice.

Time and space prevent the telling of much that is worthy to be told, and the commendation of many dogs that deserve mention; of Skovmark, the comrade of Sintram in his wanderings; of the dog that for sixteen years soothed the solitude of Robinson Crusoe; of George Eliot's Mumps in the *Mill on the Floss*; of Miss Yonge's Bustle in the *Heir of Redclyffe*; of Royal in *Blair Castle*, a book which Ruskin declares to be the most perfect picture of a perfect child and a perfect dog, over whose cruel death many a child has shed floods of tears; of Launce's Crab; and Snarleyow, in Marryat, that impossibly outrageous dog belonging to Lieutenant Vanslyperken; of Isla and Puck, and other canine favourites associated with the name of Ouida; of Vic of Rhoda Broughton's *Nancy*; of Raphael-Aben-Ezra's Bran, in that fascinating book *Hypatia*, wherein Kingsley depicts the social life of Alexandria fourteen centuries ago; of Huz and Buz of *Verdant Green*; of Cartouche, the title and hero of the most charming little dog-story ever written, of *Rab and His Friends* and *Horæ Subsecivæ*, which will ever endear to us the name of Dr. John Brown; of Chowder, so humorously portrayed by Smollett in *Humphrey Clinker*; of John Bright's dogs; of Mr. Gladstone's Fritz, that died of grief during its master's absence at Bournemouth, predeceasing his master by only a few weeks; of the dogs of Charlotte Brontë and Mary Russell Mitford; of the poodle Bingo, so cleverly drawn by F. Anstey; of Crabbe's miser and his dog Fang; of that other poodle, Sir Isaac, described in Lytton's *What will He do with it?* of Don, the bloodhound, in Hall Caine's *Christian*, perhaps the only Christian in this hopelessly incomprehensible book; of Barry Cornwall's bloodhound Herod, and Mr. George Meredith's dachshund Islet, and of many another, whose name is legion, to set forth whom in all their glory would require the *centum linguae* of which Virgil speaks.

Here, at any rate, I must stop, amply satisfied if I have invested with any additional interest a deeply interesting subject, or vindicated in any further degree the claims of the poor dog to be considered

"Trusted and faithful, tried and true,  
Watchful and swift to work our will.  
(Grateful for gifts that are his due,  
To duty's call obedient still."

J. HUDSON.

## RELIGIOUS DOCTRINE NOT THEOLOGICAL CREED.

THE question, What is religious doctrine?—what is its nature and essence? never had greater interest than at the present time. Both on the Continent and in England, in the French Catholic ferment, led by M. Victor Charbonnel and M. l'Abbé Bonhomme,<sup>1</sup> which has also extended to Germany, and in the three sermons preached at the opening of the Church Congress in 1896, the growing dissatisfaction of both Catholics and Protestants at the identification of Christian<sup>2</sup> doctrine with the theological creeds of their respective Churches is plainly apparent. One does not much wonder at Romanists becoming restless under the tyranny of dogma, or at M. Zola's utter condemnation of Christianity, as he sees it, in comparison with science; but it is somewhat surprising to find English prelates thus uneasy. Said the Archbishop of York at the late Congress:

"There is no reason why we should not reconsider our statements of doctrine. . . . Are there not, in the estimation of most of us, one or two at least of the Thirty-nine Articles which might be brought more into accordance with the needs as well as the spirit of the present day?"

And the Bishop of Ballarat, who followed him, boldly declared that

"The faith which yields a blind assent to mysterious dogmas because propounded by ecclesiastical authority is not the faith of Scripture at all, it is, in fact, fanaticism, and there is an unbelief which is preferable to it."

Still, again, the Bishop of Rochester, after warning against the danger of over-definition, did not hesitate to affirm that there is

"a duty of ignorance as well as a duty of knowledge, . . . that Gnosticism is an abiding danger as well as Agnosticism; and that Christian theology must find a place for the truth that is in both, and must be wisely silent as well as bravely speak. . . . How boldly have great dogmatists, looking back, acknowledged that dogma is a necessary evil, laying stress on both words."

<sup>1</sup> Both have left the Romish Church, and preached with great success, the one in Belgium and Holland, the other in France, "a religion free from ceremonies, dogmas and priests." Numbers of French priests have followed their example in formally renouncing Catholicism under the influence of the Huguenot thinker, Sabatier.

<sup>2</sup> This word is used when required by the connection, instead of "religious," but both alike stand for general Christian sentiments apart from dogmatic positions.

But this expression of discontent with existing creeds, as representing Christian doctrine, takes more formal shape in Dr. A. Sabatier's recently published lecture on *The Vitality of Christian Dogmas*, the gist of which is, that in order that theological creeds may properly represent religious doctrine, they require periodical revision; are, in fact, as he says, "in a perpetual course of transformation," which the Church should aid and guide by sympathy and criticism. It is through this "process of evolution," Dr. Sabatier thinks, dogmas will be preserved amid the changes of theological and scientific thought. "In truth, dogmas do not die, they become transformed." And through "their power of evolution" Christianity will be saved. "Christianity cannot perish; it has never failed to adapt itself to the state of mind and thought of past centuries; and it will find and create the dogmatic form which will suit future times."

The present anxiety for the revision of dogma plainly results from the previous fatal error of identifying it with religious doctrine. Neither the English prelates above quoted, nor Dr. Sabatier, make any clear distinction between "doctrine" and "dogma." The Doctor repeatedly confounds the two.<sup>1</sup> But it hardly needs pointing out that there is a whole world of difference between them. Religious *doctrine* or teaching is the intellectual recognition of truth presented to the individual by divine revelation—in Scripture, the universe and humanity—and through spiritual communion with God and the unseen. Religious *dogma* is the formal statement of this truth, as recognised by theologians, Churches, sects, and schools. The one is simple, subjective, practical; the other, elaborate, objective, theoretical. The former naturally varies with the individual's enlightenment and character, and claims, of course, no influence except over the person holding it. The latter is bound by its very constitution to be universal and final, and claims authoritative acceptance from all. The two thus present exactly opposite features. Doctrine concerns itself with vital truths in their broad outline; dogma with insoluble problems in their incomprehensible details. Doctrine, therefore, making no pretence to infallibility (like dogma), is clearly susceptible of "evolution," without loss or discredit, whereas the least change in dogma, whose very being depends on its final authority, must be fatal to it. All that Dr. Sabatier therefore says of "dogmas" properly applies to "doctrines," and where he couples them (as on pp. 36, 38), he confuses the issue. It is *doctrines*, not "dogmas," which have issued, by reflection, out of the soul's religious

<sup>1</sup> *The Vitality of Christian Dogmas and their Power of Evolution: a Study in Religious Philosophy.* By A. Sabatier, D.D., Dean of the Faculty of Protestant Theology, Paris. London: A. & C. Black, 1898. See also Sabatier's *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1879). In Book III.—*Dogma*—virtually the same positions are maintained at considerable length.

<sup>2</sup> Frequently using the terms interchangeably, as when he says, "When you suppress Christian dogma Christianity itself is suppressed; when you put aside absolutely all religious doctrine, religion itself is destroyed" (p. 38).

experience. It is *Christian doctrines*, not "dogmas," that may therefore "be modified," that "are in ~~no~~ danger of dying" (pp. 36, 37). Two things so opposite in character as religious doctrine and theological creed, or dogma, cannot possibly, as theologians and Churches have contended, be identical. That there is, and must be, for every intelligent person, some intellectual presentation of religious truth, is self-evident. Religion can, no more than law or medicine, be resolved into pure practice; they must each have an intellectual basis. What we assert is that this presentation consists in the informal recognition of religious truths by each normally constituted individual, unbiassed by human authority, not in any formal definitions of it by creeds or schools.

Three theoretical considerations may be adduced in support of this contention: the relation of religion to the human mind, the real demands of Christianity, and the conditions of unity and growth.

*The relation of religion to the human mind* conclusively shows that religious doctrine must of necessity be a matter of personal experience and conviction, and can never be truly accepted as an imposed creed or authoritative dogma. For this "teaching,"<sup>1</sup> unlike secular instruction, is not measurable by its bulk or literary accuracy, but by its moral quality and spiritual force. It may be gathered from every possible source, but, like the nourishment of the tree, every particle of it must be assimilated by the individual's spiritual being—must become part of himself—in order that it may contribute to his religious life and strength. Clearly, then, mentally and morally considered, doctrine and dogma lie at two opposite poles. While the one emphasises quality and veracity, and calls for supreme conviction, the other emphasises quantity and definition, and can, in the very nature of things, obtain only a formal assent. Dogmas are concerned with objective statements of religion which could never enter into the individual's real consciousness or minister to his spiritual life. We therefore entirely differ from Dr. Sabatier when he says "dogmas are not dead things." Formulated creeds have, it is true, exerted great power, sometimes as temporary supports to truth through their informal doctrinal ideas, but oftener as instruments of spiritual tyranny, through the ecclesiastical authority behind them. Their force, *as creeds*, has always been due to the latter, never to their essential vitality. Dr. Sabatier himself seems conscious of this when he admits (p. 17) that men mistake dogmas for religion, and that instead of dogmas producing religion, "it is religion which produces dogmas," "produces them naturally as a tree produces flowers and fruit." So the "sentiment or vital instinct," which is the true "life of religion, *naturally* produced" the astounding creeds of Romish and Calvinistic theology! Such is the

<sup>1</sup> Used in R.V. for "doctrine," either in the text or margin.

result of confounding "dogma" with "doctrine," attributing to objective creeds what really belongs to the simple experiences and convictions of individual souls. Religion produces "doctrine," begets simple profound perceptions and convictions of spiritual things; but "dogmas," formulated creeds and systems, it never produces, except as it is treated as a science by theologians, or as a tool by Churches.

This plea for "the vitality of dogmas" appears to arise from a confusion between theological ideas and theological creeds. No one supposes that religious doctrine does not involve theological *ideas*; what we allege is that it does not consist in theological *creeds*. For the two are widely severed, practically representing the difference between "doctrine" and "dogma." Simple theological ideas of God as Spirit, Father; of Christ as Saviour, divine or human, or both; of sin, forgiveness, immortality, &c., profound as they are, baffling conception and eluding expression, may yet be reached by individual experience and conviction. But formulated theological ideas—*i.e.*, creeds—can never be so reached. And there are a certain class of theological conceptions—*e.g.*, "the Trinity," Papal Infallibility, Purgatory, Election, &c.—which are essentially dogmatic, and can only be expressed in creeds, because they can only be apprehended in one way, whilst the simpler ideas admit of varied interpretations. A truly spiritual mind will readily grasp the simpler religious ideas that require no creed forms, but not the complex ones, which exist only in dogmas. God as Father, Christ as Saviour, the Holy Spirit as sanctifier, men may recognise through personal experience and conviction. But no one ever thus reached the intricacies of the Athanasian Creed, the contradictions of Transubstantiation, the anomalies of baptismal regeneration, the vulgarities of the "Blood Theology," or the puerilities of Romish and Anglican ritual.

*The real demands of Christianity* further prove that religious doctrine is not identical with theological creed. So far as Christ and the Bible are concerned, the claim is never for belief in a theory or proposition, but for personal faith in the teacher and practical fidelity to his teaching—for the acceptance of principles, not of dogmas. The one condition of "Salvation"—whatever meaning we may attach to that term—is belief in *Christ* (John iii. 16), and we are left to interpret this belief for ourselves. Nor do the apostolic writers claim more than this. "Pauline doctrine" is never urged upon men by Paul himself; that has been the work of the creed-mongers who succeeded him. The real theme of the undoubtedly great Apostle was "Christ crucified," and his supreme urgency such a practical belief in the Atonement as would inevitably lead to the loftiest moral and spiritual character. It is perfectly certain there is no authoritative creed in Scripture, nor any justifiable grounds for

the formal creeds of Christendom. And that these formularies constitute no integral part of Christian doctrine may be inferred from the fact that they are not only absent from the Bible, but were utterly unknown during the first three centuries. Yet at no period has Christianity shown greater boldness and vitality, and religious belief been more firm and steadfast, amid the fiercest persecutions, than during this post-apostolic age, before doctrine had become crystallised into formal creeds.

That the three "ancient creeds," as they are called—the *Apostles'*, *Nicene*, and *Athanasian* Creeds—possess no more claim to be part of Christian doctrine than more modern formularies is evident both from their date and origin. What is called the *Apostles' Creed* dates from the fourth century, and was certainly not their work. The date of the *Nicene Creed* (adopted at the Council of Nice) is A.D. 325. It was revised in 381 and again in 883. The *Athanasian Creed*, acknowledged not to have been composed by Athanasius, is traced to the sixth century, and was not received by the Western Church till the tenth century, and not until the Reformation by Protestants. The circumstances under which these creeds took shape are sufficiently indicated by their date. These are, perhaps unconsciously, idealised by Dr. Sabatier when he says :

"Nothing is more false than to represent the Fathers of the Councils . . . as theorists, or even as theologians by profession, gathered together by the impulse of speculative zeal to resolve metaphysical enigmas,"

and pleads for them as martyrs for the Church, and for the dogmas they elaborated as "rigidly determined by contemporary controversies and difficulties." The salient fact, however, is that it was not until the Church had lost its early simplicity, and become secularised and corrupt, that it concerned itself about theological subtleties. When it lost its individual personal convictions it fell back on formulated creeds authoritatively dictated by the Church as a whole, and its leaders naturally used this opportunity to increase and consolidate their power.

By the middle of the third century the Church had, in fact, degenerated into an unruly mob of fiery controversialists, all bent on claiming precedence for their special theories.<sup>1</sup> That "dogmas depend on the circumstances which give them birth" is certainly the strongest proof that they do not constitute Christian doctrine. It was rather irreligion—the rage and clamour of opposing sects—than "religion," as Dr. Sabatier thinks, which produced "these dogmas." History tells us how, for instance, at the Council of Nice, the Emperor Constantine "attended most of the sittings, seeking to soften asperities, of which there were too many. Bishop abused

<sup>1</sup> No fewer than fifteen heretical sects are mentioned as belonging to the second century, and to these ten or twelve more were added in the third.

bishop, and pastor other pastors, till their jealousies were exposed, and a fearful schism threatened the Church. The Emperor smiled on the storm, and gradually overcoming opposition, produced a formal agreement." Thus did these "valiant priests and pastors understand," as Dr. Sabatier naïvely says, "their mission as soldiers in full battle, and whose main care was to save the Church, its life, its unity, its honour, for which they were ready to die as soldiers die for their country" (p. 32). Apart from these unseemly asperities, the repeated revisions of the *Nicene* Creed savour far more of policy and contrivance than of religious inspiration. Such, indeed, was the general theological fanaticism of the time that the very shopkeepers, as most people have heard, were as anxious to know whether their customers thought our Lord was *Homoousios*, "of the same substance" with the Father, or *Homoiousios*, "of similar substance," as to dispose of their wares. With all our deep respect for the great statesman whose loss England has just been called to mourn, we feel it impossible to accept the conclusions of the annexed letter, originally addressed by Mr. Gladstone to the Newark electors in 1841, and recently quoted to show his freedom from bigotry :

"I consider it clearly forbidden by my duty as a member of the Church to recognise any scheme of human opinions in theology as the basis of my belief and of my hopes for the divine mercy, and that the sum of Christianity, in my view, is that contained in the ancient creeds and demonstrated by the supreme authority of Scripture."

How, we ask, can any just estimate of the conditions under which "these ancient creeds" were formed warrant the conclusion that they contain "the sum of Christianity," or that their grotesque and illogical subtleties are "demonstrated by Scripture"? What could be more completely a "scheme of human opinions"? Judged by ancient as well as modern controversies, "the history of creeds" may well be called an "interesting but humiliating" one—"the history of the Church's melancholy aberrations from the simple doctrines of Jesus."<sup>1</sup>

*The conditions of unity and growth* also confirm the position that religious doctrine is not theological creed. It is matter of common observation that creeds, though claiming to provide the secret of unity, really constitute the divisive element in Churches; that there is far more real unity in Free Churches, which have no authoritative dogmas, than in State Churches where these are enforced. The latter, as the Anglican Church emphatically shows just now, are often torn with the fiercest dissensions, and this has always been practically the experience of creed-bound Churches. But the dissensions within hierarchical Churches, through the influence of rigid creeds, against which some minds are sure to

<sup>1</sup> These views would of course equally apply to later creeds—to the speculations of the schoolmen and of Calvin.

rebel, is nothing to the hostility arising from this source between rival Churches. However men may talk about the reunion of Christendom, or Romanist and Anglican pretend to hold out the olive branch to each other, they can only secure any measure of unity by a corresponding sacrifice of their respective creeds. Those Churches, on the other hand, which are free from dogmatic formulas, do, as a matter of fact, realise a large degree of practical brotherhood and co-operation, which, it is to be hoped, increasing liberal views will further augment and extend. But the severance which creeds create shows how utterly foreign they are to real religious doctrine; that the contradictions and contrarieties of dogma—whether Protestant or Romanist, Arminian, Calvinist, or Unitarian—constitute so many barriers to approach and sympathy, and present an *olla podrida* of beliefs which is anything but edifying to the impartial inquirer. When one thinks of the controversies and dissensions that have arisen from the diametrically opposite views of theologians, one wonders how Churches based on creeds have been able to exist at all pacifically side by side. Nor would this have been possible had not such Churches, as we see in the case of the English prelates already quoted, and in the overtures of the “Catholic Truth Society,” practically conceded that Christian doctrine is something more, and other, than the *rudis indigestaque moles* of dogmas which they theoretically hold it to be.<sup>1</sup>

And one of the chief causes of the powerlessness of creeds to promote unity consists in their incapacity for growth. Doctrine—simple truth reached through individual experience and conviction—may grow; but dogma, whose *raison d'être* is authority, and which must therefore be unchangeable or nothing, never can. Hence Dr. Sabatier, when referring to the evolution of dogma, unconsciously speaks of it in the terms of doctrine:

“In order to feel this warm and intense life of dogmas, and to see how supple and malleable it makes them, one must not seek them in the confessions of faith or symbolical books in which they are registered and classed in order. . . . To feel the life of words . . . you must take them from the lips of your fellow-men in daily intercourse. . . . Dogmas offer the same phenomenon. . . . Watch them in the daily practice of individual or public piety; listen to the prayers, . . . note what each believer finds in them, catch them in daily practical applications, and you will be quite surprised to find these apparently heretical formulas so easy, so undulating, so rich in meaning and in shade, and susceptible of so many interpretations” (p. 23).

This (like the analysis of Dogma on p. 28) has an obvious application to *doctrine*, but none whatever to *dogma*. To take dogmas out of their authorised and rigid forms is practically to destroy

<sup>1</sup> See *Catholics and Nonconformists*. By the Bishop of Clifton. Catholic Truth Society. 1898.

them. And this finds pertinent illustration in the example, on p. 26, of the totally different senses in which the simple sentiment, "I believe in God the Father Almighty," even as part of a creed, may be understood. How plainly this shows the valuelessness, the helplessness of dead dogma, in contact with the living life and thoughts of men! And the writer himself seems to have some inkling of this, when he says:

"By the fact that the Church lives on and continues her experiences through the ages, while the dogmatic formula, from the day when it is adopted, remains stationary, a sort of rupture, a disagreement more or less open, is produced almost immediately between this stationary formula and the conscience of the advancing Church" (p. 82).

Truly, "a rupture" which never ceases, and the only cure for which is to discard the "stationary dogmatic formula" for the ever-living, ever-growing, spontaneous convictions of the human heart. Well may Dr. Sabatier despairingly add: "Who is to restore the equilibrium and create harmony? Who is to settle the terms of conciliation? . . . Who is . . . to keep the dogma *supple and malleable* (italics ours) by bathing it constantly in the warmth of Church life?"

But besides being incapable of growth itself, dogma checks it both in truth and character. *Doctrine* not only favours growth, but it does *not* favour degeneration. Dogmas, on the contrary, by their very stagnation become liable to fatal deterioration. Illustrations of this degeneracy abound. Romish dogma has presented a constant example of this vicious change, becoming increasingly corrupt and false in sentiment as Rome's arrogant claims to infallibility and supremacy have been more and more scornfully derided. One of the most marked features of this dogmatic degeneracy is Rome's power of keeping her dogmas so "supple and malleable" that Romanism is one thing in one country—in Switzerland—and quite a different thing in another country—South America.<sup>1</sup> One of the latest curiosities of Rome's pernicious compromise with dogma is found in her teaching of what is called "Baptism by Desire," which strikingly shows how the instincts of humanity insist on accommodation within the most rigid creeds. To assuage the lot of unbaptized infants, American Catholic divines have hit on the following device. As the unbaptized infant is unconscious of its privation, its longing for heaven is supposed to constitute "baptism by desire," a form of the rite recognised by Rome. In a similar way, Calvinists bridged over the difficulty of infant election by saying that all dying infants were elect. And what degenerate changes Anglican dogma has undergone! Why, Dr. Pusey himself would utterly fail to recognise in the advanced ritualism of to-day, with its processions, masses, vestments, crucifixes, and adoration of the Cross and the Host, the

<sup>1</sup> Joan of Arc is now declared a saint by the Church which once burned her as a heretic.

sober High Churchism which once went under his name.<sup>1</sup> A singular instance of this dogmatic degeneration towards Romish materialism occurs in connection with the following verse from the *Christian Year*. Keble originally wrote in 1870 :

“ O come to our Communion Feast  
Then present in the heart,  
Not in the hands, th’ Eternal Priest  
Will His true self impart.”—(P. 217.)

But in Keble’s closing years, Anglican Romanisers persuaded him to alter the third line to “As in the hands,” teaching the exact opposite. Thus does dogma tend to become depraved—and many other instances might be cited<sup>2</sup>—to grow worse and worse, because it is susceptible of no true growth. Doctrine binds men together, because it enables them to grow together; but dogma severs them or unites them only by superficial bonds, because it lacks the cohesive force of vital spontaneous convictions—convictions which no Popes, Churches, councils, or creeds can ever impart.

Space absolutely forbids any adequate appeal to many practical arguments, such as might be drawn from the true theory of a Church, the real claims of orthodoxy, the attitude of reformers to dogma, and the growth of practical Christianity, all which tend to show that religious doctrine is not theological creed. A few hints in these directions must suffice.

The idea that “dogmas” possess “vitality,” and are essential to Christianity, really involves a false theory of the Christian Church; that it is a visible objective body, identical with some actual communion, instead of an invisible spiritual body gathered out of all Churches and sects. Which of these is to superintend the growth of dogma and determine its proper fruit? The fact that each Church must necessarily claim precedence for its creeds renders the growth of creeds, as such, manifestly impossible. Individual convictions, however diverse, experience no hindrance from this source. To whatever outward communities men belong, their personal convictions alone constitute their real beliefs. Then, in no Church do the real claims of orthodoxy centre in dogma. In most Protestant and Free Churches this is formally disowned.<sup>3</sup> Even Romanists have their outer circle of “uncovenanted mercies.” What the foremost preachers in all Churches insist on is, not the

<sup>1</sup> There are 39 Anglican churches in London where incense is burnt, 111 where the mixed chalice is used, 95 where Popish vestments are worn, 209 where lighted candles are used ceremonially, and 301 where the manual acts are hid.

<sup>2</sup> The anxiety, for example, of the English clergy for Papal confirmation of Anglican orders, and the submission of some to re-ordination by Catholic Bishops while still holding livings in the English Church.

<sup>3</sup> See this year’s chairman’s address to the Congregational Union, by Rev. A. Rowland, B.A., LL.B., in which the manifest shrinkage in the forces of denominationalism and dogmatic theology in comparison with those of ethical and religious sentiments is regarded as quite a hopeful sign of the times in relation to Christianity.

acceptance of "dogmas," however "up-to-date," but fidelity to the spirit and practical demands of the Christian life. In illustration of this, contrast Mr. Gladstone's letter on p. 328 with the following observation, in which, many years after, he summed up the opinions expressed at a Nonconformist gathering: "Well, the longer I live the more I feel that Christianity does not consist in any particular system of Church government, or in any credal statement, but that Christianity is Christ." Arthur Helps once told Max Müller that a clergyman in England "can say anything if he knows how to say it"; in proof of which the Professor said that an eminent divine declared from the pulpit, before the University of Oxford, "that belief in miracles was henceforth impossible, but the real teaching of Christ would remain unshaken."

The attitude of reformers and religious pioneers to dogma has always been practically one of opposition. They have never really insisted on it as an essential element in religion. The course taken by religious reformers, from Isaiah to General Booth (though we do not hereby endorse all the principles of the Salvation Army), has invariably been to insist on personal experience, and especially on practical character, rather than on theological niceties, in their dealings with inquirers and converts. The practice of all the most earnest souls in all ages, and of every Church, of all martyrs and confessors and teachers, has been to take the simpler, freer, more generous line of "doctrine," unhampered by technicalities of theology, which presents itself to the average intelligence, and through this they have always made their most successful and telling appeals. The moment men have attempted to preach "dogma" instead of "doctrine," to bolster up a Church instead of teaching Christianity, they have failed, however supported by tradition and authority. And the growth of practical Christianity is daily making it more and more evident that if religion is to be applied to common life it must be free from the trammels of theological creeds. Romanists and Protestants, Trinitarians and Unitarians, believers in all creeds and in none, now unite in the common prosecution of philanthropic objects, which could never otherwise be attained. It is the "evolution" of *doctrine*, not of "dogma," that is increasingly called for by the growth of practical Christianity. It would have been simply impossible for our forefathers, tied and bound as they were by rigid creeds, to have entered into the religious and social movements of to-day. We do not ask—neither the Church nor society asks—for a "religion without *doctrine*;" we do ask—Dr. Sabatier notwithstanding—the Church and the world asks—for "a religion without *dogma*."

CHARLES FORD.

## THE DANGERS OF RITUALISM.

I CANNOT get rid of the painful impression I received when reading Purcell's biography of Cardinal Manning, especially that part which relates the internal struggle of Archdeacon Manning spiritually with Rome whilst still a member of the Anglican Church. His life as therein described was little better than that of an adulteress, compelled to live a double life, giving now and then a friendly smile to the betrayed husband. Manning soon perceived he was living a life of deception, and in the bitterness of his heart he complained that his dealings were considered by many false and deceitful, and he regretted he could do nothing to explain them. In this miserable plight are now hundreds, probably thousands, of clergymen in the Church of England, whose owl-like proceedings have been recently unravelled by Mr. Walter Walsh, who, in his *Secret History of the Oxford Movement*,<sup>1</sup> has written the most formidable and irrefutable indictment against the Ritualistic party, exposing them in their true colours. I have read many histories of conspiracy, revolt, and secret societies. My native land has had more than its share of them, but I never came across such a state of things as that described by Mr. W. Walsh. From the authoritative description he gives therein of the proceedings of the several ritualistic societies they appear to surpass for subtilty and deceitfulness any Jesuitical plot ever discovered. I do not wish to discuss this movement from a theological point of view. People differ very easily on theology, and to put two theologians aright takes something more than an article in the *Reviews*. I prefer to speak of it from a moral and political point of view. It matters little whether the ultimate object is—as it appears to me to be—the corporate submission to Rome or simply the introduction into the Anglican Church modern and ancient doctrines and habits of Rome. One thing is as bad as the other, and both are condemned by the very law these clergymen, by their ordination oath, promise to observe.

We have therefore an indisputable breach of faith, commonly called perjury. Sir William Harcourt, from a place of high responsibility, called them law-breakers, and his utterance found an echo in thousands throughout the land. When a minister of religion—it matters not whether it is established by law or not—plays fast and loose with the laws of the land, he gives to others a very pernicious

<sup>1</sup> *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement*. By Walter Walsh. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

example. To be rebels sometimes is an honour : but the rebellion must be open and straightforward. Many rebels who have been condemned by their contemporaries have been afterwards glorified by posterity ; but to Judas Iscariot posterity has never given such an honour, and I do not think history will treat otherwise the present rebels in the Church of England.

We are living in an age of full liberty, and our friends the Romanisers are absolutely free to follow their own inclinations. They may go to Rome or stay in the Anglican Church without fear of molestation. England will let them go over without sorrow or regret ; Rome will receive them with mingled pleasure. To remain in the Establishment to undermine the same is essentially the work of betrayers. The Church, as generally understood, is divided into laity, clergy, and bishops. The Ritualistic clergy ignore the bishops, suppress the laity, and proclaim themselves to be the Church—the only depository of the revealed truth ! Hence a widespread agitation from one end to the other of the realm. Places of worship first transformed into a theatre, thence into an arena where ministers and congregations meet to fight. Much bad blood is already running in the veins of people otherwise peaceful and loyal. Bishops were appealed to, to restore the peace ; but it seems that they are powerless either to do good or to prevent evil. No doubt there are some who would like to act were it not for the thought of displeasing the most advanced brethren on the Episcopal Bench. Some have even tried to do something, and they have met with defiance by part of the Ritualistic clergy, who side with the bishops only so long as the bishops are for them. The remedy is now entirely in the hands of the laity, and they can put the things aright.

The laity is moving strongly in this direction. Some self-fearing and God-dishonouring people may feel indignant to see John Kensit move in their midst with a spirit of a John Knox. They call him an agitator ; but there is nothing offensive in it. If the cause is holy, the agitator is a godly man. Christ himself was a great agitator, and a great destroyer of iniquity too. But what about the other hundreds of peaceful Christian worshippers who had solemnly protested in their own parish church ? While I was preparing this article a member of St. Columba's Church, Sunderland, after the divine service, rose and said :

“ In the name of Almighty God I denounce this so-called worship as a wicked, idolatrous mummery, hateful and abhorrent to the sight of God ; and you, of the Secret Society of the Holy Cross, I denounce as a perjured traitor, false to your ordination vows, a traitor to the Church that feeds you, an enemy of the God you profess, but whose name you dishonour, professing to be a minister of the Lord Jesus Christ, but leading the souls of these blind people captive of the will of your master—the Devil.”

A few days after Lady Wimborne denounced in the *Times* the Ritualistic campaign in language more temperate but not less resolute.

"I think," she says, "to have sufficiently made good my accusations, and I would only add one word on the more general aspect of the question. I have found myself acting a small part in the general expression of dislike and mistrust in the High Church movement which has found expression in many ways. Churchmen are awakening to the real danger that besets them. If some of their protests have been violent, this is not surprising. Priestcraft has always been abhorrent to the Anglo-Saxon mind.

"An attempt is being made to undermine the Protestant fabric. Under the guise of ritual dust has been thrown in the eyes of the simple and uninitiated. Ritualism in its present development is Romanism.

"Once this is grasped we detect in the priest of the Ritualistic party, with his confessional, the figure of the ecclesiastical middleman. We see in lights and incense and vestments a theatrical *mise-en-scène*, which distracts rather than fixes the mind on the eternal truths of our religion; and in the invocation to the Virgin and saints not an innocent contemplation of the lives of great and good Christians, but a return to the Mariolatry and idolatry which we long since discarded."

Some seem to think that it is only a question of rubrics, candles, incense, pictures—all things *per se* very harmless. These are but the external part of a great revolutionary and reactionary movement.

The Romanising clergy do not want these things merely for decorating the building or beautifying the service, but by symbolic teaching to invest themselves with unscriptural supernatural power. Let the Presbyterian assume the character of a vice-God, and there will be no more brethren in the Church of Jesus Christ, but all-powerful fathers and priest-ridden children. The world has changed many a time its face, but priestcraft is *semper eadem*—all-asserting and domineering. Sacerdotalism, to use an expression dear to the Romanisers, does not admit individual liberty or private judgment: it divides the world into two castes—the masters and the servants, the tyrants and the slaves. Sacerdotalism has been the ruin of many countries, and a blessing to none. English public liberties and individual independence are therefore threatened by this Romanising movement.

With the trustworthy escort of Mr. Walter Walsh's book, I will now describe summarily the obnoxious point of this Romanising campaign.

Most properly Mr. Walsh started his indictment from the secrecy which accompanied this but half-unveiled movement. It was Dr. Newman who first taught the doctrine of secrecy in matters ecclesiastical, when in his work, *Disciplina Arcani*, he held forth the doctrine of Clement of Alexandria, which contains this maxim: "He—the priest—thinks and speaks the truth except when careful treatment is necessary, and as a physician for the good of his patients he will lie, or rather utter a lie."

Dr. Newman, alive to the importance of such a teaching, foresaw this most obvious objection:

"It may be asked, How was any secrecy practicable, seeing that the Scriptures were open to every one who chose to consult them?" and he gave this wonderful reply:

"The secret doctrines of the early Church have never been learnt merely from Scripture. Surely the sacred volume was never intended, and it is not adapted, to teach us our creed."

In this simple way Dr. Newman discarded the Bible, and daring not to shut it, he left it open to the laity, but told the clergy in sympathy with him to look elsewhere for the explanation of their creed. This was the first fatal step in the reactionary movement. Light would have killed it at its first appearance. Secrecy was necessary, and he preached it, and others preached and practised after him.

From the *doctrine* of secrecy Dr. Newman passed to its twin-sister, the doctrine of reserve, by which he revolutionised the Anglican Church. This was no doubt another necessary step towards the re-introduction of Sacerdotalism into the Anglican Church. Dr. Newman said: "We have, most of us, dreadfully low notions of the Blessed Sacrament"; and Mr. Isaac Williams added: "The object of the present inquiry is to ascertain whether it is, not in God's dealings with humanity a very remarkable holding back of sacred and important truths"; and he concluded that some of the truths "were exclusively revealed only to the priests." The object is clear. One must be a priest to be in full communion with God.

Secrecy and insincerity are two inseparable elements of the same spirit. One covers the other, and to hide deeper their own movement, Dr. Pusey suggested to write against Rome, "so disposing," he said, "of ultra-Protestantism by a sidewind, and teaching people Catholicism without their suspecting. We might thus have people with us instead of against us, and they might find themselves Catholic before they were aware." Well, if this is not decoying people I do not know what to call it. Such a scheme should be condemned by all honest people, and it is humiliating to find it preached by a religious body of so-called reformers.

It is more humiliating still to re-read portions of Dr. Newman's bitterest attacks on Rome, now that we know they were written to help the reunion with Rome. Alas, the mighty have fallen! Dr. Newman secretly repudiated his own writings in these words: "If you ask me how an individual could venture to publish such views of a communion so ancient, so wide-spreading, I answer, I am not speaking my own words, and such views are necessary for our position."

He recanted his accusations against Rome in the same paper in which they appeared, and in his *Apologia*, written twenty-five years

after, he wrote that he then *fully believed* in the same accusations. Dr. Newman was succeeded by Mr. W. G. Ward, who was more Catholic than Newman, but nevertheless he felt bound to retain his external communion with the Anglican Church, because he believed he was bringing many of them towards Rome. Discussing with his own son about equivocation, he gave him this advice: "Make yourself clear that you are justified in deception, and then lie like a trooper." Can a perverted father give to his own son a more corruptible principle than this?

The first external movement was the erection of monastic houses. The thing was carried out in secrecy, but a house is not a secret document. Strange rumours floated about, and the Bishop of Oxford, to Newman's unspeakable dismay, wrote to him about it. Newman's reply is another sad document to read. He absolutely denied he was aiming at any ecclesiastical or external effects, and he added he was doing "a most necessary thing for keeping a certain class of minds firm in their allegiance to our Church," and he assured his lordship he "was not attempting a revival of the monastic orders in anything approaching to the Romanist sense of the terms." Mr. Walsh collected a score of independent testimonials as to the character of these monastic houses. All testify they were a perfect copy of Roman convents and nunneries. If Dr. Newman so far deceived a bishop who was against him, how much more are now friendly bishops deceived by modern Newmans?—and there are many of them. I insist on this point, because there is no more pernicious teachings than those which teach to work in secret, to use equivocal expressions, to live a life of lies. This can be exemplified with Father Faber. Before 'verting to Rome, he wrote: "My life shall be—God willing—one crusade against the detestable and diabolical heresy of Protestantism." In another letter he wrote: "The nearest approach I can make to an imagination of heaven is that it is like Rome." Knowing as I know the miserable and polluted condition of Rome at the time Father Faber wrote this letter, I am unable to utter the remark it deserves. Father Faber came back to England, resumed his Protestant rectorship at Elton, and wishing, perhaps, to emphasise his imagination of Rome the nearest point to heaven, asked Mr. R. Hope Scott, then in Italy, "to buy an instrument of humiliation for persons of delicate frames." With which circumlocution he meant a cat-o'-five-tails. This is how Father Faber, still a clergyman in the Anglican communion, mentioned the article he wanted. "What was described to me was of a very sacred character—five cords, each with five knots, in memory of the five wounds of our Lord." It is this perverted sense of humanity, this unconscious appealing to brutality, this damnable system of glorifying God by vilifying God's own creation, that I dread most. One may or may not look to the spiritual point of

view, but none can neglect the human aspect of these things. Here we have an English gentleman, brought up to kind feelings towards mankind, who at his first contact with Rome became an executioner, and even before he entered that Church asked to be supplied with Rome's instrument of torture.

Horrible to say, these instruments are now in use by the Romanising clergy to an extent to give serious thought for the future of this country. Mr. Walsh has gathered together evidences from various sources, all tending to prove that the *Discipline* and other instruments are used by the Romanising clergy on themselves and on others, specially on the inmates of their so-called retreats. Dr. Pusey, in his *Advice on Hearing Confession*, stated that the *Discipline* for about a quarter of an hour a day may be enforced by a father confessor upon any Sister of Mercy. Fancy English ladies, at the dictation of their spiritual father, to be thus whipped on their naked flesh! It makes one shudder only to think of it.

I cannot enter into details, but those who wish to know more about it can read profitably Mr. Walsh's book, and *Nunnery Life in the Church of England*, by Sister Mary Agnes, O.S.B. The impression the reading of Miss Povey's book left on me was that the unholy Inquisition had reappeared in our midst, and the evidences now collected by Mr. Walsh have more strongly convinced me in this distasteful opinion.

The late Dr. Tait, writing on April 14, 1850, to a clergyman who had submitted to him the rules of a proposed sisterhood, remarked :

"I object absolutely as un-Christian, and savouring of the worst evils of Rome, to the vows involved in such a context in the statement as 'she is for ever consecrated to the service of her heavenly spouse.' I object to the expression itself as unwarranted by God's Word, and savouring of one of the most carnal perversions of the Church of Rome."

Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, at the Oxford Church Congress in 1862, delivered a stirring speech on this very subject, emphasising Dr. Tait's condemnation of vows, and of the so-called religious life. "I confess," he said, "that I have the very deepest objection in any way whatever to apply the word *religious* to such a life. I think it was adopted at a time when the standard of lay piety was very low, and at all events, as no good seems to me to be got by the use of a word ambiguous at least in its meaning, and which seems to imply that God can be better served in the unmarried sisterhood than in the blessed and holy state of matrimony, I think it is a pity that it should be used." A score of suchlike authoritative declarations are gathered in this book, and yet *quantum mutatus ab illo*. Bishops no more condemn sisterhoods, and some are under their lordships' high patronage.

As it was to be expected, a series of secret societies sprang out

from this secret movement. The Society of the Holy Cross leads the way. It was founded by one Joseph Newton Smith and five other Romanisers, three of whom soon after went over to Rome. Secrecy is the fundamental principle of this society, and the confessional its principal weapon. This is another point of the controversy worthy of the greatest consideration. If Ritualism had no other danger in store for the society, this one, the confessional-box, is more than sufficient for its condemnation. One brother of this society, at one of its secret meetings, said, "We must be prepared to show that confession is neither unmanly nor un-English." A very hard task, not yet fulfilled. Lord Salisbury, a very High Churchman, speaking in the House of Lords, said: "We know that besides it, the confessional, being unfavourable to what we believe to be Christian truth, in its results has been injurious to the moral independence and virility of the nation, to an extent to affect the character of mankind."

I am speaking with some personal experience which allows me to say that the confessional-box and human degradation are inseparable. This society published secretly and anonymously a book which was called indecent and immoral by all the nation—I allude to *The Priest in Absolution*. It was Lord Redesdale who first called the attention of the public to this publication in the House of Lords. Dr. Tait, as Archbishop of Canterbury, asked the master of that society to withdraw at once that book and to destroy it. The society, in an equivocal declaration, seemed to grant his lordship's request, but the book was never really withdrawn, and the circulation of the same continued. The public and the bishops have been continually baffled by this society (which still exists), which enjoys the secret patronage of a few bishops. One of the last proposals of this society was that of establishing a chair of "moral theology"—the very thing it needs; but unless morality be taught by persons who have nothing to do with the above-mentioned book it should be called a chair of "immoral theology." The confessional has been a source of scandals in every country, and the Ritualistic confessional-box has been already polluted. A man may be pleased to consider himself of a supernatural order, but his human frail nature is with him: the temptations are great and numerous—even without the confessional-box.

The Vicar of St. Saviour's, Leeds, was one of the first to enforce confession. A scandal took place; the Bishop of Ripon fully inquired into it, and then he wrote as follows to the vicar:

"These are the facts. The deacon sent a married woman to confess to you as a priest. You received that female to confession and put to her questions which made her feel very much ashamed and greatly distressed her, and which were of such an indelicate nature that she would never tell her husband of them."

The vicar, in his reply, put the cap on it when he said: "No woman would ever tell her husband what passed in the confession." Theologians may differ, and the world lets them differ at their sweet will, but old sound common sense condemns it.

To say the least, this appeal by part of the Romanisers to woman and woman alone is highly suspicious. Here is what a vicar wrote to Manning: "The difficulty with which I am confronted in the practice of hearing confession is the opposition to be feared on the part of the husband to the wife's opening her grief to another man." A natural opposition too, and fully justified. Father A. Wirth, O.S.B., gives this instruction to priests: "In the pulpit be a lion, in the confessional a fox." The husband naturally objects to any intercourse between the wife and the fox, but the fox manages, in too many places, to reach the wife without her husband's knowledge.

I am at a loss to understand the policy of the Episcopal Bench on this point. In July 1877 they met to discuss this very subject, and confession, as understood by the Society of the Holy Cross, was condemned by all the bishops, and yet the confessional-box has spread ever since, and it is now the necessary requisite of Ritualistic churches. One more testimonial on this subject. Dr. Samuel Wilberforce (a High Churchman) said:

"I so firmly believe that of all the curses of popery this—the confessional—is the crowning curse, that I cannot allow within my charge the continuance of any ministry which is infected by it."

This letter of the Bishop of Oxford to Dr. Pusey does away with the statement that bishops have no authority to stop this kind of things in their dioceses. They have this power, otherwise Dr. Pusey would have challenged it when it was applied against him.

In a recent discussion in Parliament some one stated that he did not believe that there was a secret conspiracy in the Church to hand over the Anglican Establishment to Rome. Mr. Walsh's book will convince any one that such a conspiracy does exist, and has existed for the last forty years. I cannot enter into details, but I wish to refer the reader to the evidences gathered by Mr. Walsh from authentic sources. His indictment is throughout grounded on statements made by Romanisers themselves in their secret conventicles and in their private correspondence since published. He quoted them from their own writings—*Ex ore tuo te judico*. He judged them from their own actions and words. Amongst the many striking particulars of this conspiracy the most remarkable of all is that of the secret re-ordination of a number of clergymen in the Church of England. The *Church Review*, the official organ of the Romanising party, in its issue of December 28, 1878, affirmed that the Rev. F. G. Lee, Vicar of All Saints', Lambeth, was one of the three bishops secretly ordained. According to the *Tonbridge Chronicle* of October 16, 1886, this secret ordination took place on a

sea voyage. Dr. Lee and two clergymen in the Church of England, accompanied by three foreign bishops, went on board a vessel. When in mid-ocean the three clergymen were conditionally—*i.e.*, surreptitiously—baptized, ordained deacons and priests, and then consecrated bishops. A Roman Catholic priest stated in 1886 as follows: "The Order of Corporate Reunion is under Dr. Lee, who is undoubtedly a bishop, which is more than can be said by anybody of his neighbours at Lambeth Palace." Dr. Lee, far from denying this charge, wrote a letter in which he stated that his spiritual chief was the Pope of Rome, and not the Archbishop of Canterbury. He has been oftentimes called Bishop Lee without any one challenging this. I cannot help asking how is it that the Primate of all England allows Dr. Lee to hold preferment in the Anglican Church whilst he is reckoned by others as a *real* bishop? Moreover, it has been stated publicly that Dr. Lee, in his capacity of a bishop, has re-ordained a great number of clergymen. The *Roman Catholic Standard*, edited by one who was formerly an advanced Ritualistic clergyman, in its issue for November 22, 1894, says: "We have just lately learnt that there are just now eight hundred clergymen of the Church of England (it would have been more proper to say clergymen in the Church of England) who have been validly ordained by Dr. Lee and his co-bishops of the Order of Corporate Reunion." If so, Dr. Lee's dream of providing a body with which the Pope could deal seems likely to be realised. After this, I think that to speak of betrayers, lawlessness, and law-breakers in the Church of England is not one whit too strong.

Mr. A. J. Balfour, speaking as leader of the House, said that the Romanising movement was limited to a few churches. It will, no doubt, surprise many to learn that so far back as the year 1867, a Romanising address in favour of a reconciliation between the Roman and Anglican Communions was signed by 1212 clergymen in the Church of England and by 4153 of the laity. And the number of Romanisers has ever since enormously increased.

Why do not the Romanising clergy in the Church of England leave it and go to Rome? This is a fair demand. An associate of the Order of the Holy Redeemer, the most secret society of all, has given us this edifying reply:

"I believe that no man is justified in staying within the Church [he himself was within] save when he feels the vocation of God to assist in restoring her to her lost place, in humble, implicit, and unquestioning submission to the See of Peter and to the authority of the Holy Father the Pope, which is the object of the Order of the Holy Redeemer."

Can audacity and perversity go a step further? Yes.

In some of the churches in the Anglican Establishment this prayer is said:

"Let us pray also for our most blessed Pontiff Leo XIII., that our

Lord and God, Who hath chosen him from the order of the Episcopate, would preserve him in health and safety to His holy Church for the governance of God's holy people."

I have in the course of this article oftentimes spoken of the want of straightforwardness and sincerity on the part of the Romanising clergy. I will now give an example of the same order on the part of the Roman Church. Here it is. Lord Teignmouth, in his *Reminiscences*, says:

"I saw the conditions on which a lady had been received into the Romish allegiance by a priest of Amiens, whom she had consulted, as sanctioned by the bishop of the diocese. They were as follows: That she should not be required to censure the Church of England, to forego the use of the authorised version of the Holy Scripture, to abstain the domestic worship of Protestants, or to acquiesce in any form of Mariolatry."

Is this a state of things to be tolerated any longer? If falsehood pervades the religious life of a people, what else remains to be relied upon?

And now, in concluding, I must give a hearing to Mr. Walter Walsh himself:

"It is Protestantism," he says, "with God's help, that has been the cause of England's prosperity and of that of all other Protestant countries. While Roman Catholic countries, which acknowledge Papal supremacy, are everywhere going down in the scale of nations. Protestant nations are everywhere growing in prosperity. They are at the head of the world in everything which makes nations truly great and glorious. We have just cause for being ashamed of the men in the Church of England who are trying to destroy that religion which gives them their daily bread. The man who bites the hand which feeds him is justly held in contempt."

"Anarchy and lawlessness in the Church, a state of things in which every clergyman does that which is right in his own eyes, is certainly one calculated to create alarm. We may be thankful that there are yet thousands of clergymen who love law and order; but, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that the lawless spirit is very widespread indeed amongst the Romanising clergy. Nor should it be forgotten that the spirit of lawlessness and anarchy is a contagious disease. It will not stop within the Church. The people of England will argue that what is good for the clergy is good also for them. If the ministers of the Gospel will not obey the laws of the Church, why should they obey the laws of the State? This is an aspect of the Ritualistic question which is deserving of the serious attention of statesmen. Popery is an enemy to national prosperity. Looking abroad throughout the whole world, we find that Popery degrades the nations instead of raising them to a higher level. It has dragged down Spain from her proud eminence to be the most degraded and poverty-stricken nation in Europe. [This was written before the beginning of the war.] It has kept the South American Republics and nations in a state of degradation, immorality, and ignorance deplorable to behold. When we contrast Popish countries with Protestant lands can we doubt any longer which religion most promotes national prosperity? Common sense can answer these questions in only one way."

As my name will betray my nationality, I think I may be allowed

to give my personal testimony. Once I used to laugh at hearing people talking as Mr. Walsh has done in the foregoing quotations. I do not laugh any more. My heart is too sad to allow me this pleasure. Sacerdotalism has wrought havoc in the heart and character of my countrymen. It has simply emasculated them. You will behold in them a gifted race politically free, morally greatly ruined by the false teachings and practices of the Church which made of them either infidels or slaves—two sorts of people unfit to properly govern themselves in a constitutional way. The greatest blessing to men is liberty of conscience. This blessing Rome denies to her subjects. I am sure that this point only is more than sufficient to make free-born citizens to loathe any Romeward movement. Would-be slaves only look for bondage to Rome. Free people, for the preservation of their own liberties, must look elsewhere. Farther from Rome, farther from tyranny and persecution, and nearer to God, liberty, and morality. This is my personal testimony, and my reason for writing the present article.

GIOVANNI DALLA VECCHIA.

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

### PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

*For Ever and Ever*<sup>1</sup> is one of those phrases which are consecrated by use, or perhaps we should ask, with Mr. H. H. Vowles, if there is any difference between "for ever" and "for ever and ever"; if the first "ever" means without end, what is the second for? And we may be drawn to go further, and again ask with the writer of this book, what did the Hebrew writers of the Old Testament and the Greek writers of the New Testament mean when they made use of words which the English translators and revisers of the Bible have rendered by such words as "for ever," "everlasting," "eternal," and so on? Upon this highly interesting theme Mr. Vowles has a great deal that is new and we think a great deal that is true to say. Mr. Vowles is a serious writer and writes with a serious purpose, but he is not devoid of humour. Discussing the treatment of the word *aiōn* and its derivatives, he wants to know why in the singular it means "for ever," but in the plural "unto the ages" only; or why it means, according to King James's translators, "world," but with a preposition before it (*eis ton aiōna*), "perpetuity." The late Dean Burgon dealt the Revisers some hard blows, but he was not more severe than Mr. Vowles, who, finding that Bishop Westcott admits that "eternal life" in New Testament phraseology means "life indeed," and that "it is not an endless duration of being in time, but being of which time is not a measure," and that the Revisers, of whom Bishop Westcott was one, invariably render *aiōnios* by "eternal"—goes on to say: "No doubt he (Westcott) was an advocate for some better phrase than 'for ever and ever,' or 'unto the ages of the ages,' and was outvoted. For matters of this kind were settled by vote, like another penny added to the income tax, as, indeed, were great doctrines in ancient times; and votes were not weighed; and they were—and it is not uncharitable to say so—sometimes influenced by other motives than exclusive regard to the matter in hand." Readers of Mr. Vowles's book will find some very clear light thrown upon a subject which has been made unnecessarily obscure by the requirements of orthodoxy, and also some very beautiful passages on the true nature of the religion of the Bible.

<sup>1</sup> *For Ever and Ever*. A Popular Study in Hebrew, Greek, and English Words By Henry H. Vowles. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1898.

Turning over the pages of the next volume upon our table, we alight upon an essay or discourse on the words of eternal life—from which we gather that the writer regards “eternal life” as synonymous with endless existence. The writer of the book reviewed above would tell him that the place of *eternal life* is in “ethics,” and not in “futurity.”

It is only fair to say that Mr. de Quetteville prefers ethical religion to dogmatic, and that his papers<sup>1</sup> are pleasing, if not profound.

*Footsteps in Human Progress, Secular and Religious: A Short Series of Letters to a Friend*, is the title or a short sketch of the subject indicated in the title by James Samuelson (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.), the “friend” being the Rev. John Shepton, late principal of the Liverpool Institute. It is an able and well-written sketch, but much too brief.

*Church Ministry and Sacraments*, by Rev. Norman McLeod, D.D. (“Guild Text Books,” A. & C. Black), is an able Presbyterian exposition of these important subjects.

## SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS, AND JURISPRUDENCE.

*Problems of Modern Industry*,<sup>2</sup> by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, consists of a series of papers on industrial questions, many of which have already appeared in the monthlies. In Chapter I., “The Diary of an Investigator,” by Mrs. Webb, we have another of those human documents similar to *Three Months in a German Workshop*. The investigator, clearly Mrs. Webb herself, spent a week in an East End slop-shop of the lowest class, and she describes to the life the characteristics of those sweating-dens where so much of our humanity toils for a pittance barely sufficient to keep body and soul together. There is, of course, nothing new in this description. We remember in our college days the narration of similar facts by our President, the present Bishop of Hereford, but these facts gain much in the telling with the multitude, when told as the personal experiences of such a competent observer and writer as Mrs. Beatrice Webb.

Another admirable chapter to which public attention cannot be too strongly drawn is that entitled “How to Do Away with the Sweating System.” In this Mrs. Webb points out how, in the East End trades, the middleman, who is popularly supposed to be man-spider or sweater, grinding the faces of the poor, is quickly disappearing, and being replaced by a greater monster, the wholesale manufacturer, who grinds more closely and himself pockets the

<sup>1</sup> *Short Studies on Vital Subjects*. By the Rev. P. W. de Quetteville, M.A. London: Elliot Stock 1889.

<sup>2</sup> *Problems of Modern Industry*. By Sydney and Beatrice Webb. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. 1898.

middleman's profits. One result of this appears to be a further extension of work in the homes, and consequently a further shrinkage of the operation of the Factory Acts. Legislation alone, says Mrs. Webb, is competent to cope with these gigantic evils. To put it shortly, she urges provision for a double registration by landlord and employer of all places in which manufacturing work is carried on.

Where all is so excellent it seems invidious to pick and choose; but we cannot pass over in complete silence the last two chapters by Mr. Webb, entitled "The Difficulties of Individualism" and "Socialism: True and False," which represent the views we have so frequently expressed in these columns. In these chapters Mr. Webb convincingly proves the impossibility of pure individualism in a democratic society, and clearly distinguishes the true from the spurious socialism, and shows how real individualism is quite compatible with democratic collectivism or scientific socialism, whichever we like to call it.

In *Heinrich Graetz*,<sup>1</sup> by Dr. Philip Bloch, Rabbi of Posen, a disciple of Graetz, and for more than a quarter of a century his intimate friend, we have a highly appreciative memoir, and, at the same time, a brief sketch of the Jewish communities established in that part of Polish territory which, after the disruption and final partition of Poland in 1795, passed under the dominion of Prussia and Austria. With the introduction of Prussian supervision, especially in education, the old religious system became impossible. Two parties arose in the Jewish communities—the one, the party of emancipation and reform; the other, of strict orthodoxy. Graetz at first took the side of the former, but soon, terrified at his scepticism, to which his wide and voracious search for knowledge had led him, he returned to his original faith, and by his learning gave strength to the orthodox party, of which he became the leader, and, at the same time, the creator of a new line of thought. Graetz is chiefly interesting to us as one of those marvellously learned and critical minds which, unable to escape from their religious bias, endeavour to reconcile religion with science, and so to prop up beliefs which no longer sway or control the conduct of their followers.

*A Handbook to the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897*,<sup>2</sup> by Messrs. Minton-Senhouse and Emery, contains an excellent and succinct account of this recent statute, and of the general state of the law. The forms in the Appendix should prove especially valuable to working men and their representatives, and the modest price of one shilling brings this eminently practical little treatise within the reach of all. We do not quite follow the authors in their view that the cost of insurance will be borne more or less by the workman, and

<sup>1</sup> *Heinrich Graetz. A Memoir.* By Philip Bloch. London: David Nutt. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *A Handbook to the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897.* With the Full Text of the Act, the Regulations as to Medical Reform, and the Workmen's Compensation Rules 1898. By R. M. Minton-Senhouse and G. F. Emery, LL.M., Barrister-at-Law. London and Derby: Bemrose & Sons, Ltd.

that thus capital and labour will contribute their proper quota. We are inclined to think that wages will remain unaltered, and that capital will bear the burden which it ought, but which hitherto it has succeeded for the most part in evading.

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

UNDER the title of *Father and Son*,<sup>1</sup> Miss Harriet Thomas has presented to the world in a handsome volume the Memoirs of her father, the Rev. Thomas Thomas, late Canon of Bangor, and of her brother, Llewellyn Thomas, Fellow and Vice-Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, and Canon-Designate of St. Asaph. Some fine dedication lines by Sir Lewis Morris are prefixed to the Memoirs. The book is the record of two lives nobly lived. The Latin verses of Llewellyn Thomas are excellent. The English verses are not quite so good. Llewellyn Thomas was the more erudite of the two persons whose Memoirs are contained in the volume. His scholarship, perhaps, bordered on pedantry; but we cannot deny to him the character of a very learned man.

*Gerhard Tersteegen*<sup>2</sup> forms the subject of a very enthusiastic biography by Mr. H. E. Govan, M.A. The religious character of this worthy man, a Prussian by birth, savours too much of the conventicle. The selections from Tersteegen's writings cannot be described as pleasant reading. We do not care to describe them as exhibiting a great deal of cant; but their unctuousness is unendurable to ordinary mortals, who do not want to be preached to death.

Mr. Oliphant Smeaton has contributed to the "Famous Scots Series" an admirable biography of the great Scottish poet, William Dunbar.<sup>3</sup> Too little has been written about this great genius, who may bear favourable comparison with even the best English poets of his time. The facts of his life are clearly set forth by Mr. Smeaton, and his literary achievements are indicated with critical acumen. Dunbar had a varied and interesting career. He commenced life as a priest, then, abandoning the ecclesiastical state, he became a courtier. He was one of the most brilliant figures at the Court of Scotland's "Merry Monarch," James IV. Some idea of the exquisite loveliness of some of Dunbar's lyrical poetry may be formed from the following quotation from his ode "To the Princess Margaret on her arrival in Holyrood":

<sup>1</sup> *Father and Son: Memoirs of Thomas Thomas, Canon of Bangor, Vicar of Carnarvon, Ruabon, and Islandaff; and of Llewellyn Thomas, Fellow and Vice Principal of Jesus College, Oxford.* Edited by Harriet Thomas. With a Dedication by Sir Lewis Morris. London: H. Froude.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Gerhard Tersteegen.* By H. E. Govan, M.A. London: James Nisbet.

<sup>3</sup> *William Dunbar.* By Oliphant Smeaton. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier.

"New fair, fairest of every fair,  
 Princess most pleasant and preclare,  
 The lustiest ~~one~~ alyve that bene,  
 Welcome of Scotland to be Quene.  
 Young, tender plant of pulchritude,  
 Descendyd of Imperyalle blude,  
 Freshe, fragrant flaire of fayrehede shene,  
 Welcome of Scotland to be Quene."

In estimating Dunbar's place as a poet, Mr. Smeaton rightly places him between Chaucer and Spenser. We recommend all students of literature to read this book.

The interest that is taken in South African affairs, coupled with the suspicion that there may yet be exciting chapters in the history of the relations between Great Britain and the South African Republic, serves to give a special value to two works, by the same author, which have somewhat tardily come under our notice. The author in question is Mr. F. Reginald Statham, whose name will be familiar to newspaper readers for his constant endeavours to throw light on various South African questions which are but little understood in this country, and who has, we believe, qualified himself as an authority in respect of these questions by more than twenty years of a journalist's life in the South African continent. Dealing with these two works in the order of their publication, *South Africa as it is*<sup>1</sup> may be regarded as a history of political events in the South African continent for the last twenty years, commencing with that annexation of the Transvaal in 1877 which, if not a crime, was one of the most remarkable blunders ever committed by a British Government. In an introductory chapter Mr. Statham dwells with proper emphasis on the difficulties in the way of acquiring an accurate knowledge of South Africa and its affairs, quoting an old and approved saying in the South African Colonies to the effect that "no High Commissioner can acquire an independent knowledge of the country in which he is so important a factor in less than three years," and pointing out that the increased facilities for travel provided by the construction of railways have augmented those difficulties rather than diminished them. Seeing that a High Commissioner's usual term of office is five years, it would seem to follow that, after spending three years in making himself acquainted with the interests he has to deal with, a High Commissioner is left with only two years during which to put his experience into practice—a fact which may very fairly account for the mistakes into which various holders of this high office have fallen. It is significant, too, that the one High Commissioner who in recent times has been fairly successful—the late Lord Rosmead—largely owed his success to the fact that he held his position through nearly two of the usual terms. Dealing with the events that followed the Transvaal annexation with the

<sup>1</sup> *South Africa as it is*. By F. Reginald Statham. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

clearness and precision natural to one who was in the most intimate contact with those events, Mr. Statham not only furnishes his readers with a series of graphic and telling pictures, but gives a clearer view of the influences and principles at work than has ever been supplied by any writer in the same field. For example, his account of the disaster at Isandhlwana and of the defence of Rorke's Drift, although compressed into some eight or nine pages, is a perfect model of forcible description, and gives an admirable idea of how the whole thing happened. No less forcible is his account of the beginnings and the progress of the war waged by the Transvaal burghers for the assertion of their independence. Of more immediate interest, however, is Mr. Statham's sketch of the rise into power of the financial influence of the "intruding millionaire," which, originating in the amalgamation of the Kimberley diamond mines in 1888, assumed such extraordinary dimensions in connection with the Jameson raid in 1895. Intermediate between these events came the invasion and conquest of Matabeleland by the forces of the Chartered Company, an institution which Mr. Statham does not hesitate to accuse of having "abused the trust of a great nation, and climbed to financial success by ways foul with deceit and saturated with bloodshed." In dealing with the organisation and explosion of the plot against the South African Republic that resulted in the Jameson raid, Mr. Statham warmly and successfully defends the Transvaal Government against the charges of oppression and unprogressiveness which have been so freely levelled against it, quoting facts and figures of the most weighty kind in support of his arguments. Writing before the sittings of the South African Committee, he expresses grave fears as to the results of that attempt to whitewash Mr. Rhodes for which the Committee was chiefly remarkable, urging that the reinstatement of Mr. Rhodes in a dominating position in South Africa could only have the most disastrous results, in fomenting race-enmities and preparing the way for a desolating civil war in which the interests of civilisation would suffer wreck. Events that have occurred since this warning was written have served, unfortunately, to give it greatly increased force. The volume, which we are glad to know has been translated both into French and German, is one that should be universally and carefully read, not only for the value of its information, but also for the excellence of its style.

Mr. Statham's other volume—*Paul Kruger and his Times*<sup>1</sup>—may be regarded in some sort as a sequel to the work which has just been noticed. If, owing to difficulties to which the author alludes in a prefatory note, the book does not give so complete and perfect a personal sketch of Mr. Kruger as some people might desire, there

<sup>1</sup> *Paul Kruger and His Times*. By F. Reginald Statham. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

can be no doubt that it supplies in a most bright and readable form far more information regarding Mr. Kruger than can be acquired from any other source. The chief difficulty Mr. Statham has had to encounter consists in Mr. Kruger's rooted dislike to talk about himself, or to be communicative as to his own personal history—a dislike which might perhaps advantageously be copied in other quarters, and which is quite in keeping with the simplicity and earnestness of character here ascribed to him. In spite of this difficulty, however, the author has succeeded in producing a most vivid and life-like sketch of the man who is certainly the most commanding figure in the South Africa of to-day, and whose history is essentially the history of the Republic over which he has for the fourth time been elected President. Born in the Colesberg district of the Cape Colony in the year 1825, Paul Kruger, when a boy of some ten or eleven years of age, shared all the hardships and the struggles of the Dutch farmers who, in 1836, left the Cape Colony in search of new homes in the then unknown country north of the Orange River. The results of this movement, usually alluded to as "the great trek," have been of the utmost importance to South Africa, for it was by these emigrant farmers that the Republics of the Orange Free State and Transvaal were founded, as well as the Republic (now the Colony) of Natal. As a boy, Paul Kruger took part in the severe conflicts with the native chiefs whose territories were invaded, and as a young man he was early elected to posts of responsibility by his fellow-burghers. The part he took in the early struggles of the Republic of which he has now been for so many years President is well described in Mr. Statham's pages, his performances ever tending to increase the confidence with which he was regarded. But for his firmness on several occasions and his adherence to the cause of order, the chaos that marked the internal affairs of the Transvaal thirty to forty years ago might have continued till this day. It was the public respect and confidence he had secured that placed him, after the annexation, in the position of advocate of popular rights before the British Government, and though the two missions he undertook to England in 1877 and 1878 were at the moment barren of results, they served the better to identify him as the man who could best be trusted to fill the chief Executive office in the restored Republic. Again, as in his *South Africa as it is*, Mr. Statham makes use of voluminous facts and figures to repel the charges of oppression and unprogressiveness made against Mr. Kruger and his Government, and as these facts and figures are chiefly derived from reports of the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines—the body which officially represents gold-mining interests—it seems difficult to do anything else but to accept them. Both the religious and the humorous side of Mr. Kruger's character are sympathetically touched on in Mr. Statham's pages, the President's religion being a sincere reproduction of the evangelicalism

of Newton and Cowper; while his humour bears a strong resemblance to that displayed by Abraham Lincoln. Having regard to the circumstances of his birth, his early adventures, and his almost entire lack of what we should now call education, Mr. Kruger, as seen through these pages, indeed supplies us with an example of a man "self-honoured, self-secure," who, bringing his natural genius to bear upon the affairs of the country of which he is a citizen, well earned the title of patriot and statesman.

### BELLES LETTRES.

THE *Ambition of Judith*<sup>1</sup> is a clever book. The story cannot be described as true to life; and it is too full of what we may call "viewyness"; but Miss Olive Birrell knows how to write, and in course of time she will be able to master the art of narrative. The character of Judith is an interesting study. Clive and Fidelia will also interest certain readers. In some of the dialogues we find a great deal too much about Francis and John Henry Newman. These matters impede the natural flow of the story. But, with all its faults, it is a book of great merit.

The *Shamrock and Heather*<sup>2</sup> is an Irish-Scotch story. We regret to have to say that the author knows very little about either Irish or Scotch human nature. The book contains 325 dreary pages. It is too great an infliction on even the least critical of novel readers.

The edition of the *Androtion*<sup>3</sup> of Demosthenes in the University Tutorial Series is admirably done, and will be found most useful by students. Mr. T. R. Mills, M.A., in his introduction, gives an account of the life of Demosthenes and an analysis of the speech. The notes are short but clear.

The latest section of the Oxford English Dictionary published (Volume V.—HAVERSINE—HEEL)<sup>4</sup> contains 795 main words, 394 combinations explained under these, and 169 subordinate entries—1358 in all. This section contains no word of any importance from Latin. Many of the native English words, such as *head* and *heart*, receive elaborate explanation in the section.

In his new novel, *The Making of a Saint*,<sup>5</sup> Mr. W. S. Maughan has given us an exceedingly clever study of Italian life some four hundred years ago. The adventures of Filippo Brandolini, who, after a life of voluptuousness and passion, spends his closing days as a Brother of the Order of St. Francis of Assisi, furnish a curious

<sup>1</sup> *The Ambition of Judith*. By Olive Birrell. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *The Shamrock and Heather*. By Walmer Downe. London: Digby, Long & Co.

<sup>3</sup> *Demosthenes: Androtion*. Edited by T. R. Mills, M.A. London: W. B. Clive.

<sup>4</sup> *The Oxford English Dictionary* (HAVERSINE—HEEL), vol. v. Edited by Dr. J. A. H. Murray. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press.

<sup>5</sup> *The Making of a Saint*. By William Somerset Maughan. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

subject for fiction. The story is not altogether a pleasant one, and is told in a rather cynical strain. Still, it will add to the reputation which the author had already won by *Liza of Lambeth*.

In *Idylls*<sup>1</sup> we have an attempt to be philosophic within the limits of the short story. We cannot say that the experiment is a success.

*New Wine ; New Bottles*,<sup>2</sup> is the obvious title of a very much wrought-out specimen of fiction by Battie Hawkins. The story has some interest, but the author lacks narrative power.

*Hilda* :<sup>3</sup> *A Study in Passion* by Harley Rodney is one of those books which were better unwritten. It is an example of that itch for publishing everything which at the present time has become a form of moral or mental disease.

## POETRY.

In the volume entitled *Episodes of Joy*<sup>4</sup> there are some tolerably good verses, but there is little, if any, true poetry in the book. One poem, entitled "Two Lives," dealing with a tender domestic episode, is perhaps the best effort of the author's Muse.

*Vox Humana*,<sup>5</sup> by the late Mr. John Mills, contains much poetry that has the genuine ring. The sonnets are remarkably fine. We may direct attention to two of them, "Stoic and Christian," and "Damien," which might have been penned by Wordsworth. "The Dead Pansy" is a beautiful poem. Indeed, the volume proves that Mr. Mills was really endowed with the "vision and the faculty divine."

## ART.

*Architecture among the Poets*<sup>6</sup> is one of those delightful and suggestive books which Mr. H. Heathcote Statham gives to the English public from the overflow of his *Builder*. It is delightful, because it doubles our mental joy in his favourite art by associating it with the beauty of good poetry. Not that poets have commonly understood or cared for architecture as an art, as Mr. Statham shows. It is only in these later days that Tennyson and Browning showed some little intelligence of the matter, and William Morris opened the door to a whole people into the delights of colour decoration. But poets, from Chaucer down, have associated buildings with their finer thought, if not for art's sake, then for remembrance of past

<sup>1</sup> *Idylls*. By M. Manor Kellyer.

<sup>2</sup> *New Wine ; New Bottles*. By Battie Hawkins. London : Digby, Long & Co.

<sup>3</sup> *Hilda*. By Harley Rodney. Digby, Long & Co.

<sup>4</sup> *Episodes of Joy*. By Temple Newell. London : Digby, Long & Co.

<sup>5</sup> *Vox Humana*. By John Mills. London : T. Fisher Unwin.

<sup>6</sup> *Architecture among the Poets*. By H. Heathcote Statham. London : B. T. Batsford. 1898.

times, or as symbols of life, or parts of the landscape. Our author's citations, with the pleasant comments in between, and here and there a picture sketch as suprising as the original thoughts with which the 150 pages of the book are filled, make up a volume which will be pleasant reading over and over again.

But his book is even more suggestive than it is delightful. It is an example of studies that may be made in the natural history of mind, showing the evolution of race and culture. Why did the English people once produce art-work of high order, notably in architecture? and why, for the last two or three hundred years, have the public of this country, as a body, been "ignorant of and indifferent to architecture"? The poets show a progressive appreciation of art; is the progress verified in the public also? Clough imagined he could not find the Christian religion in St. Peter's, Rome, but only in Rheims or Westminster. Is not this British ignorance of a whole spiritual side of the Renaissance? Life is so complex, like the one basis ("metaphysical"?) of architecture and music.

" . . . I, who have seen  
So many lands, and midst such marvels been,  
Clearer than these abodes of outland men,  
Can see above the green and unburnt fen  
The little houses of an English town,  
Cross-timbered, thatched with fen-reeds coarse and brown,  
And high o'er these, three gables, great and fair,  
That slender rods of columns do upbear  
Over the minster doors, and imagery  
Of kings, and flowers no summer field doth see,  
Wrought in these gables.—Yea, and I heard withal  
In the fresh morning air the trowels fall  
Upon the stone, a thin noise far away;  
For high up wrought the masons on that day,  
Since to the monks that house seemed scarcely well  
Till they had set a spire or pinnacle  
Each side the great porch."

Mr. Statham calls this passage from the prologue to the sixth book of *The Earthly Paradise* a "real glimpse into the actualities of mediæval building." It is found further quoted in the next book on the reviewer's table:

"Yet is it still the tale I then heard told  
Within the guest house of that Minster Close,  
Whose walls, like cliffs new made, before us rose."

The book is *Peterborough: the Cathedral and See*,<sup>1</sup> in Bell's "Cathedral Series"—monographs "planned to supply visitors to the great English cathedrals with accurate and well illustrated guide-books at a popular price." The Rev. W. D. Sweeting, M.A., who is the author, appeals "to a careful and painstaking study of

<sup>1</sup> *Peterborough: the Cathedral and See*. By the Rev. W. D. Sweeting, M.A. London: George Bell & Sons. 1898.

the cathedral and its history, during a residence at Peterborough of more than twenty years." It is, in fact, one of the excellencies of this series that the writers are not professionals, whose work is cleverly turned out for a publisher's pittance, but men whose lives are entwined with the architectural pile which they undertake to describe to others as they have seen it themselves. The same characteristic mark, though perhaps not so strongly, appears in a companion volume—*Norwich*—by Mr. C. H. B. Quennell.<sup>1</sup> As we have noticed in preceding volumes of this series, the method followed gives, first, the history of the fabric (seen in this connection, the word *fabrique*, applied to the vestry-board of churches in French law, becomes intelligible to the puzzled Englishman), then a description, part by part, of the exterior, a detailed description of the interior, and final chapters on the succession of bishops in the See itself, and on the city around. Each volume is illustrated, mainly from photographic views, with forty or more intelligible and interesting engravings. In this way, these monographs are not mere guide-books for the hasty tourist (although they serve that purpose well), but they are also books for the library for one who wishes to have at hand summary and fairly complete information about the great monuments of his native land.

That which is striking in all these cathedral buildings is their growth from the people's heart. The music-halls of our day do not more thoroughly represent popular aspiration. Each age takes its pleasure, solemnly or gaily, after its own fashion; and the cathedrals in their own time were not without noisy life. Nowadays, when, as Sir Arthur Helps remarked, religion has somewhat shrunk within them, like a kernel drying in its shell, they are still the home of meditative feeling and of all the reminiscences of the past. It is, once again, the excellency in chief of this series that its writers piously note down all that stirs this feeling. We only wish Mr. Sweeting had told us a little more about the abbot's rule in Peterborough, in the anti-Reformation times, when it was not yet a bishop's town. Was he an abbot *nullius*, in episcopal orders himself, and confirming his people and ordaining his own monks? And were the monks delegated to the work of the parishes? But where so much is given, there is no right to ask for matter that must seem antiquarian, though it has a living connection with the people formed by an abbot's sway rather than that of a bishop. The book gives us much to be thankful for, including the careful description of the wood-carvings, with their symbolism and legendary meaning.

Most important of all, in these volumes there is found a plain but exact architectural description of each part of the edifice, the

<sup>1</sup> *Norwich: the Cathedral and See.* By C. H. B. Quennell. London: George Bell and Sons, 1898.

changes in style of the towers as they grew age after age, the Scriptural meaning of the sculptured bosses in the fourteen bays of the nave vault at Norwich, and so on. There is no reason why the profane, after using these books, should not have a clear idea of a beautiful building, instead of a vague impression that a broken arch is Gothic and a round one Norman.

Mr. Gleeson White, who is one of the editors of Bell's "Cathedral Series," has extended his hand to an industrial but decorative art in *A Note on Simplicity in Furniture for Bedrooms*,<sup>1</sup> which has been published by one of the great London houses in reference to their own productions. Mr. Quennell, who has written of Norwich Cathedral, has here made the sketches of washstands and wardrobes. Everything is very English, quite as much so as the cathedrals, and far less breakable than the Louis XV. *bric-à-brac*, which belongs to a naughty taste, coinciding with music-hall splendour.

"Illis relinquo, quorum imagines lambunt  
Hederæ sequaces—ipse *semipaganus*."

From the manner of it, rather than from the matter, the unique book of Mr. A. S. Murray—*Twelve Hundred Miles on the River Murray*<sup>2</sup>—falls under Art. It is an agreeable account of experience in a boat on an Australian river little known to the inhabitants of that corner of the world called Europe. But the eight chapters of text are accompanied by fifteen large oblong plates in colours, which, printed separately, have been fastened on thick paper and bound up in the long atlas-like volume. The expense of such an experiment in book-making must have been considerable; and we are glad to say that success is the result. The book is not only one of those handsome articles of decorative furniture about a room, but it is most instructive and inspiring. If such are the hues of the Australian landscape, let winter excursions be organised at once that we may see them before we die. Humboldt remarked the stamp distinctively imprinted on natural scenery by the forms and tints of the foliage of the prevalent trees. Why do not the young Australian painters, who have made a name for themselves at the Salon and Academy, show us these gum-trees by the rivers of their native land, instead of re-copying what we all know from childhood? Certainly, Mr. Murray has done much in this work to give a real and visual stamp to our book-knowledge of his continent of the Antipodes. We need not say that the mechanical part is well done—the book is a rich *souvenir* of Australia.

The minister of the place, who is likely, therefore, to take the

<sup>1</sup> *A Note on Simplicity of Design in Furniture for Bedrooms*. By Gleeson White. London: Heal & Son. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *Twelve Hundred Miles on the River Murray*. By A. S. Murray. With facsimile illustrations in colours by the Author. Australia: George Robertson & Co. London: J. S. Virtue & Co. 1898.

work to heart, has prepared a convenient book on *Iona*<sup>1</sup> as "a concise and reliable history and description of the ruins, with drawings and descriptions of a selection of the carved stones." The book is interesting, even for those who have not the happiness of visiting the island, provided they love the story of the dawning of Christian life in the British Isles. The element of controversy, which too often appears in writings on the Celtic saints and monks, is quite wanting; and Saint Columba's disciples are allowed to speak for themselves without modern Glasgow interpretation. Great attention has been given to historical and monumental details, and the illustrations of the carved stones are useful to the student of the remains of Celtic art—a subject to which we have already drawn attention in notices of works on Manx and Cornish stone crosses.

Some months ago we had occasion to call attention to an important volume on *The Ceramics of Swansea and Nantgarw*, published with great wealth of detail and pictorial reproduction by Messrs. Bemrose & Sons. Mr. William Bemrose has now given us another volume, forming an equally splendid memorial of one of our too little known art industries—*Bow, Chelsea, and Derby Porcelain*.<sup>2</sup> The volume contains 174 pages of thick paper, handsomely printed, with 20 superb inset plates, and 30 half-tone illustrations. This means that the volume amply serves the twofold needs of an art-book to be an art-work in itself and to explain the art of which it treats. In the present case, the book is a detailed monograph, giving completely all that is known of its subject. Mr. Bemrose has edited with great diligence all the documents which concern a time and places of veritable English decorative art. Hannah More—or was it Jane Taylor?—enlivened our childhood with stories of sedate English families, on whose chimneypieces stood in kindly rows Chelsea shepherdesses and the like. Mr. Bemrose's fifth plate destroys our illusion agreeably. "The Music Lesson" is worthy of Watteau or the Regency, and is not at all redolent of the atmosphere of Clapham, as we conceive it to have been. The truth is beginning to appear that the eclipse of domestic art in England is a matter of our own century. We certainly cannot have too many books of this kind, making us know what has been done in our own land in the line of things pretty to see. Special attention has been paid in the volume to the wants of the collector, by plates of Marks and pages from the work-book of William Duesbury, while he was enamelling porcelain—1751-3. The student of workmen's life might also find something here, as well as he who desires English names for things which we too often know only in some foreign lingo.

<sup>1</sup> *Iona: its History, Antiquities, &c.* By the Rev. Archibald Macmillan. *Its Carved Stones.* By Robert Brydall, F.S.A. Scot. London: Houlston & Sons. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *Bow, Chelsea, and Derby Porcelain.* By William Bemrose. London: Bemrose and Sons. 1898.

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PARTIES AND PARLIAMENT.

THE result of the recent electoral contest at Southport has served, as it would appear, to cheer the drooping spirits of official Liberals, and to encourage them in the hope that when, some three years hence, a general election falls due, the present occupants of Cabinet posts will be replaced by those whose home is at present on the front Opposition bench. So pious a hope may well command sympathy. Sympathy, however, by no means of necessity involves conviction. On the contrary, the gravest doubt may be expressed as to the likelihood of such a hope being realised, with the addition of a perhaps still graver doubt as to the desirability of such realisation. For what has been alleged as the chief cause of Sir Herbert Naylor-Leyland's success? Nothing else than this—the disgust felt at the weakness of the foreign policy of the existing Government. Lord Salisbury's foreign policy, it has been complained, is timid and flabby. He has neglected opportunities; he has sacrificed British interests; he has allowed himself to be bluffed and humbugged by the agents and representatives of Russia in the Far East. "No Liberal Ministry," it is loudly contended, "would have sat down so tamely to eat humble pie at the bidding of Russia. Lord Salisbury has betrayed the country, and it is time for Liberals to show him that the country cannot be betrayed with impunity."

We do not profess to be in the secrets of the official managers of the Liberal party, and we are therefore quite unaware whether the above argument actually represents their views. There is this presumption in favour of the conclusion that it does represent them—that the argument has been given a prominent place by Liberal journals believed to be officially inspired. The argument is one which undoubtedly possesses all the piquant charm of a *tu quoque*.

"What! you call yourselves Conservatives, and allow national interests to be dealt with in this manner? Why, nothing that was ever done by Liberals was one-quarter so pusillanimous! If Rosebery had only been at the Foreign Office, instead of Salisbury, you would have seen something very different!" Thus those who have been stung with the reproach of being Little Englanders attempt to show that they are, after all, bigger than the Big Englanders. The attempt is, perhaps, in some ways not unnatural. It is, however, an attempt which, from a genuinely Liberal point of view, is singularly shortsighted and perilous. This is mainly because it withdraws the attention of Liberals from those domestic questions which it is, or should be, their special duty to keep in view, and better enables the aristocratic party to play their old well-known game of making use of foreign politics for the purpose of keeping domestic questions in the background. Beyond this, it is so terribly easy to be misled in respect of questions of foreign policy. The newspapers, which profess to know so much, as a rule know so little, facts are so easily misrepresented, communications made to Continental correspondents are so often intended to mislead, that the man who professes to know all about foreign policy is often just as ignorant as the man who professes to know nothing. This in a general way. As regards the influence of questions of foreign policy in the Southport election, surely, having regard to the ingrained tendencies of Tory Administrations, nothing could be more unwise on the part of a Liberal candidate than to complain that the foreign policy of a Tory Government has been too moderate and pacific.

Nothing, then, can be more unsafe, as a general rule, as a basis for party divisions, than questions of foreign policy. There are, of course, exceptional occasions when questions of foreign policy justify a clear popular division of feeling and conviction. Such an occasion certainly arose in 1880, when Lord Beaconsfield's policy of foreign adventure had disgusted and alarmed the whole country. It was against that policy of foreign adventure that Mr. Gladstone secured the support of the constituencies, and was able to command so large a majority in the House of Commons. This, however, was an exceptional case that justified exceptional treatment. What particularly contributes to the inadvisability of making foreign policy a ground of party division is the absence of popular or constitutional control over foreign policy. Upon some broad question of foreign policy Parliament, or the constituencies, may place a Government in a minority. But neither the constituencies nor Parliament can practically suggest anything or control anything, while the occupants of the front Opposition bench, through fear of establishing a precedent which might one day be awkward for themselves, will seldom back up any attack made by independent Liberals on the

foreign policy of a Tory Government. Until, then, the principle of popular and parliamentary control over foreign policy is accepted, and until the direction of foreign policy ceases to be a constitutional prerogative of the Sovereign, it will hardly be possible and seldom advantageous to deal with foreign policy on a party basis, if even then.

There is another reason for this. In its relations with outside Powers, with foreign Governments, the nation is one and indivisible. Every act is a national act, even though a considerable minority, or even a majority, in the country may disapprove that act. To discuss such acts from a party point of view is to run the risk of weakening the nation in its dealings with foreign States—a result as little welcome to the masses as to the classes. Those who keep this consideration steadily before their eyes will fully understand the depth of the blunder committed by the “*Liberal Forwards*” when, a year or two ago, they organised an attack on Lord Salisbury’s Government on the basis of the Armenian atrocities. Probably the mistake was made through a reliance on the effect produced ten years previously by Mr. Gladstone’s Bulgarian agitation. If England arose to save Bulgarians, England might also arise to save Armenians. The conditions of the two problems, however, were essentially different. It was not for a party purpose, but out of pure enthusiasm for humanity, that Mr. Gladstone took up the cause of the Bulgarians. If his crusade should happen to weaken the position of the Beaconsfield Administration, perhaps all the better; but it was on behalf of the Bulgarians that his indignation was aroused. But, beyond this, there was the fact that while in 1876 Lord Beaconsfield’s Government was giving the Sultan negative support in his suppression of the Bulgarians, in 1896 Lord Salisbury’s Government was occupying a position of strong condemnation in respect of the treatment of the Armenians. These facts made all the difference in the world, but the “*Liberal Forwards*,” in their eager desire to find some ground of party attack on Lord Salisbury’s Ministry, ignored the difference. Possibly they did not perceive it.

Something of the same kind has to be said with regard to attempts made to embarrass Lord Salisbury’s Government by references to the responsibility for the latest campaign on the Indian frontier. Every one will remember the full-dress debate in the House of Commons—a debate that consumed many hours of valuable time—as to the responsibility for the building of a certain road which was alleged to be the original cause of the war. Can any one conscientiously say that the country was one halfpenny the better for that debate? It was all so much solemn flogging of a dead horse. With the utmost ingenuity and eloquence Opposition leaders sought to show that they did not, when in office, order the construction of that road; with equal eloquence and ingenuity members of

the Government sought to prove that, even if their predecessors in office did not order the construction of the road, they did something else which was even more certain to bring about a collision with the hill tribes. The whole and sole object of the Opposition was to have some stone to throw at their Parliamentary antagonists in the presence of the constituencies. Was there ever greater trouble taken, was there ever more time wasted, for the securing of a more trivial result? The country was absolutely unmoved by the debate, in spite of the efforts of party newspapers. And that for three reasons. In the first place, there is a profound conviction in the mind of the public that, even if a mistake has been made in respect of such matters as this, it is a national mistake, by which the nation ought to stand, and from which no section of the community, even though they may have seen and deplored the mistake from the first, can or ought to reap any party benefit. In the next place, the whole discussion turned on documents the proper and correct understanding and interpretation of which was only within the reach of administrative experts. And in the third place, even if a Tory Ministry had constructed ten roads which their opponents had refused to construct, neither Tory nor Liberal voters would have been able to resist the attraction of the Highland piper who continued to use his fingers in spite of a bullet through his foot.

It is, however, not merely in respect of foreign and military policy that there is a tendency, and a growing tendency, to drag into the dubious mazes of a party conflict matters which are properly outside the limits of party division. Take, for example, the temperance question. That is a matter in respect of which every individual, no matter what his views in other respects, has a complete and perfect right to his own opinion, according to his information and his intelligence. It is a matter, moreover, in respect of which each constituency has a complete right to instruct its representatives in Parliament. It is in precise and exact accordance with the principles of local option for a member of Parliament to say: "If you can show me that you have a majority here opposed to the liquor traffic, then I shall be bound to give effect to the views of that majority by my vote in Parliament." Such an attitude would not only be intelligible and reasonable, but it would have the effect of spurring on the disciples of temperance in their work of making converts. As things are, however, the parliamentary candidate, and the Liberal candidate especially, finds himself in the presence of a dilemma of a most vexatious and puzzling kind. Either he must adopt the extreme views of a somewhat intolerant and aggressive minority, or he must run the risk of seeing the vote of that minority placed in the scale against him, out of pure sectarian revenge, when the polling day arrives. Meantime, the adoption of the views of the extreme temperance party by Liberal candidates directly prejudices the

temperance cause by giving an altogether false importance to the trade interests of brewers and publicans, whose vote—by no means an unimportant vote, as things go—is cast on the other side. The whole result is as bad for temperance principles as it is for general political morality. Liberal candidates, rather than lose an election, hypocritically proclaim their acceptance of principles in which they do not believe and which they have no desire to see prevailing, while, on the other hand, the interests of one particular trade are exalted into a kind of bulwark of the Constitution.

There is worse than this. It is bad enough that an important question of social habit should be invested with the appearance of political principle. It is infinitely more degrading and demoralising when party leaders try to gain an advantage by importing the *odium theologicum* into political questions. That there is at the moment a strong disposition on the part of the leading Liberals to adopt this course there can be no denying. In view of the unhappy dissensions that have arisen in the Church of England over certain matters of ritual, Sir William Harcourt has declared himself the defender of the Protestant faith, and undertaken the task of lecturing the bishops upon the duties of their office. Apart from the dire indecency of such a spectacle—a spectacle far more indecently hypocritical than the proclaimed acceptance of temperance principles by a confirmed consumer of choice vintages—nothing could be more calculated to bring all religion into disrepute, and nothing could be more opposed to the best established Liberal principles. It is not, of course, difficult to understand why it is done. There is the Nonconformist vote to be pacified, on the one hand; there are the bishops, who almost always vote Tory, to be snubbed and chastised on the other. There is one short, obvious, and honest way out of the difficulty if a Church “as by law established” is suspected of playing false to the historical principles which it represents. Disestablish that Church; why not? That would both please the Nonconformists and annoy the bishops; beyond this, it would in many cases not be unacceptable to those who are responsible for an ornate ritual. That is the course which a true Liberal would adopt, feeling only too glad of the opportunity of placing religious matters outside the limits of political discussion, of inaugurating an era of absolute religious equality, and of terminating the ridiculous anomaly that gives legislative rights to the heads of a particular ecclesiastical body. Disestablishment, however, is not included in the programme of the official Liberals. It is a move too sweeping, too radical, too just, too much opposed to the interests of the landed Whigs, who still desire to exercise patronage and power by the aid of the hoodwinked masses. Mr. Gladstone, both as a High Churchman and a man of principle, would not only have diligently refrained from throwing the oil of religious controversy into the furnace of political disagreement; he would, on an

evident necessity arising, have boldly hoisted the flag of disestablishment and religious equality, and would have sailed on to victory. But Mr. Gladstone was a man of genius and a man of principle, and those who imagine that they have succeeded him fall somewhat short of being either one or the other.

What, then, is the true party division at the present moment? It is not to be found in foreign politics, nor in Indian policy, nor in such social movements as the temperance question, nor (still less) in the maintenance of a certain Church "by law established." It is to be found precisely where it was found ten, twenty, thirty years ago. It is to be found in the insistence on the full and free control of public affairs by the voice of a majority expressed through the House of Commons. For the last sixty years it has been the endeavour of the Liberal party, so far as the interested brake-power of Whig landowners would allow it, to secure that a Government, which is popular in name shall be popular in reality. Set free the will of the people, the will of the masses, from the restraining and overruling power of the interested and greedy classes, and we should not be long before we arrived at a reliable conception of a national policy. But what is the first step towards this desirable end? None other than the abolition, or at any rate at the outset the effectual limitation, of the legislative power of a Chamber which possibly represents the interests of one-tenth per cent. of the population of the British Empire. Mr. Gladstone, there is good reason to believe, was prepared to fight on this platform, and if he had fought on this platform there can be little doubt that he would have carried his point with constituencies which are fairly sick of the peddling and hesitation which characterise the policy of the Liberal leaders of to-day. Mr. Gladstone's colleagues, however, refused to go with him. They dreaded the curtailment of those privileges and opportunities which, in the absence of a really popular control over Parliament, come so agreeably in their way. Nevertheless, this is the only platform which, for the present, can give life to the Liberalism scattered up and down throughout the country. When once a real and living popular control has been established, then we can go on to consider more at leisure the ends for which that popular control can be made use of.

## ASPECTS OF EMPIRE AND COLONISATION :

### PAST AND PROSPECTIVE.

ONE of the most characteristic and striking features in the political history of Europe during the last twenty—but more particularly the last ten—years has been the growth and development of the Imperial spirit; by which is meant not such imperialism as Louis XIV., or Napoleon, or Frederick the Great conceived of—which latter was a spirit indulged by monarchs while little, if at all, shared in or sympathised with by the people as a whole—but a spirit common to rulers and ruled alike. The constitutional monarchy, the democratic republic, the autocratic empire, and the despotic bureaucracy are all alike at the present time affected by the same influences and display the same tendencies. Germany, confined within comparatively narrow and certainly clearly defined boundaries, is seeking an outlet for her superfluous, overflowing, and often discontented people, and though as yet barely consolidated as an empire in Europe, already indulges in dreams of empire beyond the seas, and even now, in her imagination, she has bridged centuries and peopled continents, and rules supreme and undisputed mistress of the world on land and sea! To such lengths and heights can the imperial fancy and imagination go!

France, with less demonstration and perhaps more practical results, has been steadily endeavouring to build up a French empire of the East—a Franco-Burmese-Siamese-Chinese empire—upon the model of, and in some measure to counterbalance, the great Anglo-Indian Empire; and she is further seeking to develop, by colonisation and intercourse, those slices of the African Continent which she has been able to secure in the scramble which took place amongst the European Powers at the time of its wholesale partition.

Russia, during the period in question, has been steadily and uninterruptedly pursuing her traditional policy of European and Asiatic expansion, agglomeration, and assimilation, and now looms a prodigious and threatening mass through the murky political atmosphere.

The United States of America, too, vast as is their present extent,

have of recent years given evidence of their desire to dominate the relations of all the States of America in both the Northern and in the Southern continents, and to exclude Europe from all participation in the territories of the New World. To do this they seem almost prepared to hold as of no account all rights of prescription, conquest, occupation, and trade, and appear to manifest an intention, or at least a desire, to create a vast American Empire or Federation which should embrace the whole American continent, North and South, and be of such prodigious dimensions, population, and resources as to defy, if need be, the united power of the Old World, and which may stand alone—the great World-State.

The long and ever-longer periods of peace in Europe since the Peace of 1815, during which time the various European nations have prosecuted the art of peace with great and ever-increasing industry and success, as the improvements of civilisation have become more widely appreciated and applied, have afforded opportunities for a consolidation of power and nationality to those nations which formerly were too much distracted by war and its exigencies to be able to look far ahead. But with peace has come science, and with science population; and with population has come the realisation of the narrowness of the geographical and political boundaries of the great European States compared to the dimensions of the States of the New World, and the vast areas in other regions lying yet unoccupied, or at the best, scantily peopled by uncivilised savages. Along with this conviction there has been forced upon their minds the fact that Britain has already and for long realised what they have only lately and very slowly been perceiving, as with the increase of population and industries, and all the social and political problems which invariably and inevitably follow, the fact has been urgently driven home and its significance fully recognised.

It is not, however, too late, they say to themselves, to follow Britain's example, and to rival if not to surpass her success. Along with this conviction, which in itself may be laudable enough, there is a set determination, the outcome of jealousy and dread, to humble that Power, which by forestalling them has acquired such a vast preponderance in the politics of the world as even, in their belief, to menace their liberties.

But their schemes appear to omit from consideration many points of practical and first-rate import, upon which it is proposed to remark in the course of this article.

It is natural that the energies of a nation should expand, just as the capacities of an individual should grow, and that it should look around for fields for their development.

The necessity for such expansion was brought home to the British mind, long before that of the rest of Europe, by the hard-and-fast nature of the boundaries of our island and the rapid increase of a

manufacturing and industrial population. Our geographical situation, too, enabling us as it did to hold aloof, in great measure, from the entanglements of Continental politics, rendered the expansion more easy and gradual, and by giving time and opportunity for its natural development greatly increased the chances of stable and permanent results. The other nations of Europe, however, have only in comparatively recent years begun to feel the pressure of increasing population and restricted boundaries; and to all of them the necessity of extension and with that the dreams of empire have come about the same time. The spirit of rivalry has been at once called into play, and is infinitely keener because of the vastness of the stake. It is life or death to each nation; for that one which is outstripped will fall back, weakened hopelessly, into the position of a second or even third rate State, and her surplus population will go to fill the territories and enhance the greatness of some one or other more fortunate or stronger rival.

The States that are following Britain in the race for empire are fain to take her as their model, as being the only existing example of what they seek to attain, and, indeed, whose expansion and success first roused them to a sense of their own position and requirements, and excited both their envy and their dread; but, whilst doing so, they altogether fail to grasp in their entirety the principles upon which that Empire is based, and the methods of its administration.

The days of empire—real empire—by conquest are past. An empire can now only be built up by intercourse, and by assimilation, and by the final predominance of one particular national type over all these with which it comes into contact. There are, however, few, if any, nations that possess all the inherent qualities that go to create or to extend an empire by these means.

A military rule, an empire based upon the sword, is still, no doubt, possible; but such a rule has seldom been stable and lasting, and is never a source of real strength to the dominant Power, unless (and only to a limited extent does the qualification apply) martial rigour is leavened by principles both enlightened and humane. The British-Indian Empire is, no doubt, just such an empire; but it is no exception. Were it not that India is ruled with impartial justice and humanity, and that moreover her administrators possess in a high degree the capacity for empire, and the power to rule others wisely and with a view to the real welfare of the governed—a cardinal principle of British administration—our empire in India would be as precarious as the existence of the Government of an average South American Republic, and as fleeting as that of Egypt over Phœnicia, or of Austria over Italy.

There are, indeed, nations possessing in a remarkable degree some of the essential qualities which make for empire, but for the most

part they are wanting in some one or other quality without which anything like success or stability is almost impossible. Russia, for example, after Britain and to a far greater extent than France, Germany, Holland, or Belgium, possesses such qualities. She has a remarkable faculty for persuasive and successful intercourse and an extraordinary power of assimilating and incorporating what appear to be almost irreconcilable elements, and for binding all together in the immovable grip of her iron despotism. But from amid the heterogeneous throng of Greek-Christians, Armenians, Slavs, Turcomans and Germans, Mussulmans, Buddhists, Jews, Catholics and Protestants, that constitutes the population of the great dominions of the Czar, there does not emerge one particular composite type, possessing all the best qualities of the component parts, which predominates over all the rest while yet modifying and elevating the whole. The Russian Empire, in fact, while an empire in the generally understood sense of the term, is yet not an empire in the sense here contemplated, and which it is hoped to demonstrate. It is, indeed, an empire in the same sense as the Roman Empire, or the Austrian Empire, or the Spanish Empire, or the Napoleonic Empire is understood in history. It is made up of a great number of separate elements, often totally distinct; it is, in fact, a congeries of nations held together by a highly centralised force and the bond of a common fear of the governing power. There neither is nor can be any real cohesion, for the elements that go to form a national unity of spirit and character are entirely absent. Race, religion, language, literature, and history all combine towards disintegration and militate strongly against unity. In its essential character the growth of the Russian Empire violates, or at least does not coincide with, one of the primary principles of sound national expansion: I refer to the distinction between the extension of the nationality *with* the State, and the extension of the State *beyond* the nationality. The former possesses the inherent element of cohesion and stability; the latter, those of weakness and insecurity. This distinction is vital and is the keynote of the present article.

It is manifest that a State made up of a number of heterogeneous and dissimilar elements, though of vast extent and possibly possessing thereby great political influence, yet contains within itself causes of weakness and seeds of disintegration which may assume at any moment dangerous forms. This is the case with Russia, as of all other great empires of ancient and modern times with which we are acquainted, and to this cause may easily be ascribed their weakness and their ultimate decline.

The Roman Empire, in its later days, possessed no real nationality and no real unity. The component parts had lost their own individuality, and had had thrust upon them a nationality having for them no associations and no traditions. The bond that held the

whole together was precarious and artificial, and when the final strain was applied it snapped asunder.

The Holy Roman Empire for long held together under the House of Austria; but the inherent weakness and rivalry of its irreconcilable parts at length forced it to yield to the repeated shocks it received from without, and, little by little, it fell to pieces. The modern Austrian Empire, reduced as it is to a shadow of its former self, still contains all the elements of instability and danger, for German, Hungarian, and Slav are essentially dissimilar, and can never coalesce.

The great Spanish Empire of Ferdinand and Isabella, of Charles II. and of Philip II., was no exception. It was powerful and warlike, and was justly dreaded; but it was precarious and artificial in its nature; it was Spanish in little more than name; the mutual enmity of its parts, fostered by the innate cruelty of the ruling nationality, was a permanent weakness and a constant temptation to its enemies; and it, too, shared the fate of previous empires similarly based.

In all such cases, of which these are merely examples taken at random, there is, indeed, an extension of empire, and perhaps, to a certain extent, of political influence; but there is no accompanying and co-extensive increase of strength and power. The State is extended to embrace all its parts in a nominal unity; but the real nationality forms only a small fraction of the State.

Circumstances form probably the most potent factor in the success or failure of the various schemes of empire on the part of different nations in past and present times: ethnological considerations, national character and temperament, geographical position both as regards the State expanding and the regions into which the expansion is directed, national policy—domestic and external—physical conditions and surroundings, are all elements and factors in the process of State expansion. But, after all, these are mere incidents with which every State, in its life, has to reckon, and of which all at the outset stand an equal chance. Some nations are, in this respect, as with individuals, more highly favoured, while others are heavily handicapped. In the end the issue resolves itself according to the natural law of the survival of the fittest—perhaps synonymous with “the most fortunate”—and that nation in which are combined the greatest number of favourable elements naturally dominates in time over its less favoured rivals.

We shall now proceed to examine briefly some illustrations of the principles just enunciated.

Russia is in the position of a State which, in the ordinary and natural course of its expansion, is almost forced to embrace heterogeneous elements of weakness and danger: her geographical situation demands it, while her political circumstances, her natural character, and her system of government—illiberal, despotic, suspicious, and

interfering—all tend to aggravate the dangerous and disintegrating elements.

Chance may be said to have brought about the rise of the great Spanish and Portuguese Empires, and in that respect Spain and Portugal were more than ordinarily favoured.

Chance or circumstances, however, had, at the same time, given to these countries a narrow and selfish political system, improvident ideas of policy, harsh methods of administration and intercourse; above all, bigoted, cruel, and intolerant religious sentiments. In all these respects they were more than usually unfortunate.

Circumstances still further affected these countries in that those regions of the world to which they were led, and over which they sought to extend their authority and into which to introduce their nationality, were already peopled by regularly organised communities, which, although incapable of offering a successful resistance to the superior science of the East, were yet far too numerous for the conquerors either to eradicate or to assimilate, far exceeding as they did the limited numbers of the Spaniards and the Portuguese, and these continued to influence their character with ever-increasing power as the invaders were of necessity driven to intermingle and to intermarry with the inhabitants.

It was the misfortune, too, of both these countries that they were almost totally devoid of the faculty of human sympathy, which is the key to the secret of successful rule, and were thus rendered selfish and cruel and intolerant in their policy towards those who came under their sway. Intolerance, greed of gain, erroneous conceptions of the relations of a mother-country towards her dependencies leading to a fatal fiscal policy rendered nugatory the advantage that chance had put in the way of Spain and Portugal, and opened the road to empire for other more liberal and more provident nations.

The Dutch Empire grew out of the very causes that had ruined the chances of stable and lasting empire for Spain and Portugal. Intolerance, oppression, and a narrow policy brought about the revolt of the Netherlands from the Spanish yoke. Circumstances were in favour of the Dutch, in that for long they had been accustomed to live by fighting with the elements at sea, and they had in that way developed a hardihood and a resource which were lacking to their neighbours of the Belgian provinces. The former were thus able to make a successful resistance; the latter sank into servitude and poverty. The Dutch Provinces, with their independence, found the Spanish and Portuguese dominions across the seas open to their depredations; and encouraged by success and plunder far beyond their wildest dreams, they began to entertain in their turn schemes of world-wide empire. For a short time, too, they seemed to have actually realised their ambitions. All honour to the Dutch for their bold bid for empire! Fate, however, had

decreed otherwise. Holland simply did not possess the population necessary to extend her influence and her nationality over the vast territories of which she became the mistress, or to hold them once she had become possessed. Her example had, in the meantime, fired the imagination and roused the energies of a rival, like themselves maritime, commercial, and enterprising by nature, but possessed of infinitely greater natural resources. The result of the rivalry was as certain as it was natural. Britain assumed the place that Holland had occupied, and proceeded to contest with France the supremacy of both the East and West.

The Spanish and Portuguese possessions beyond seas had been acquired more through chance than by any design or necessity, and they had been administered upon a narrow system of civil and ecclesiastical government even more rigorous than their domestic policy. They were regarded as permanent sources of profit to the home-country, to be worked with that object alone; and the most arbitrary restrictions were imposed upon the colonial trade. The American trade, for example, was limited in the first place to Spanish subjects; and, secondly, to a single port of embarkation—Seville, though Cadiz later received a similar privilege. For more than two hundred years Spain persisted in this narrow policy, until she perceived, when too late, that far from obtaining the profit from her colonial possessions that she so jealously sought to retain for herself, not only were those possessions comparatively unremunerative and their advantage small contrasted with the returns derived by the other nations of Europe who had followed Spain and Portugal in the race of enterprise and contest for empire, but they actually constituted a very positive and real source of weakness and danger. The colonial policy of Spain and Portugal inevitably gave rise to contraband trade on the part of the other nations of Europe, tempted by the richness of the prospect, which at last reached proportions their respective Governments could no longer fail to observe, but were powerless to prevent.

The isolation, too, of the territories, the insignificance of the Spanish and Portuguese compared to the native populations, and the rich commercial character and prospects of these regions, were ready inducements to active enemies and to lawless buccaneers. The Dutch eagerly seized the opportunities thus afforded when driven to withstand the intolerable yoke of Spain, and reaped a harvest of commercial and territorial empire both in America and the East Indies.

The Dutch successes, however, were an active cause of envy and rivalry on the part of other nations; and France and Britain entered the lists.

France was heavily handicapped with European interests and embroilments. She soon found herself unable to maintain the struggle with the Dutch and British for the Spanish-American

colonies, but formed schemes of empire and colonisation on the North American continent.

Britain, on the other hand, had benefited by the opportunities which the distant Spanish settlements afforded for enterprise and enrichment, and the arrogant attitude of Spain towards this and all other countries encouraged her. There had been developed a maritime and audacious spirit, exemplified by such names as Drake, Hawkins, Sidney, Grenville, Blake, and these other bold and roving gentlemen-pirates and discoverers whom we associate with the rise of Britain's naval power and the beginnings of her over-sea empire.

At the time when the Dutch attained their supremacy, France and Britain had already established settlements on the North American continent; and even then there had begun to be apparent a difference between the capacities of the two nations for successful colonisation. Both countries had an advantage over their predecessors in that the countries they had occupied were comparatively empty, and the native population was either eradicated or completely distinct and insignificant both in numbers and consideration. The North American settlements thus possessed the important character of being almost wholly French or English in their composition; and the British territories, even at the time of Charles II., owing to the relative capacities for multiplication and colonisation, greatly exceeded in population those of the French.

It was, moreover, a circumstance to France's disadvantage that the causes of emigration in that country were not so active as in Britain. She did not, indeed, lack enterprise, or provident political leaders, amongst whom Coligny and Colbert stand out conspicuously. But the spirit of enterprise was not so generally infused throughout the French as the British people; and the importance of her European interests, with the natural enough desire to get possession of the Spanish Burgundian provinces on her own borders at home, blinded France to the importance of the struggle in America.

In Britain's favour, on the other hand, it happened that the growth of her American colonies—or *possessions*, as they were regarded under the theory of colonisation then in vogue—took place at a period of social dissension and disintegration at home, and an immense stimulus was given to emigration amongst those who, rather than renounce their liberty of thought and action, sought to carry their principles to new lands over-sea. The struggle with Holland had called out every faculty of resource and seamanship on the part of Britain, and its conclusion left her mistress of the sea. It was the misfortune of France that the policy of her rulers brought her into hostilities with Britain at this juncture. By the time of what is known as the Definitive Treaty of 1763, concluded between Britain, France, and Spain, this country found itself dominant in the North American continent, in India, in the East Indies, and on the sea.

What has just been said constitutes some brief reflections on the course of empire in the past; and it is proposed to discuss shortly, in what follows, the probable course and character of empire in the future.

It has been observed to what an extent empire has been dependent upon the factors, circumstances, national character, and consequent policy; and we are justified in forming conclusions from experience as to the relative capacities of the different nationalities for empire and for colonisation.

The Dutch, the French, and the British Empires of the past, all differed in their characters and policies from those of Spain and Portugal, as also from each other.

The Dutch policy, while selfish and narrow indeed, was far from being so intolerant or so illiberal as that of Spain. But her empire was, from the first, erected on too narrow a basis, and in its very nature was incapable of permanence. Her colonies never, at the best, partook of anything more than the nature of settlements, and they, dominated by the Spanish and Portuguese conceptions, were worked wholly with a view to profit. Holland was absolutely incapable of effectually colonising any of her great Eastern and American possessions, far less of defending them; and consequently, after a short period of unnatural prosperity, most of these were piece by piece wrested from her.

The Empires of Spain, Portugal, and Holland were essentially ones of conquest and aggrandisement, without any necessary expansion from within, administered with the sole object of profiting the mother-countries. There was in each of these cases an expansion of the State, indeed, but without any corresponding extension of the nationality; and whilst there was, doubtless, an apparent increase of power and prestige, it was always precarious and artificial, possessing all the elements of instability and danger.

The Empires of France and Britain, up to the point at which we paused, were built on the double basis of conquest and colonisation. Trade rivalry was the motive power with both, but in the case of Britain there was superadded the stimulus of social dissension, and, later still, the necessities of a growing and confined population; whilst there were, besides, the further advantages of greater maritime power and less European embroilment. It was, indeed, this last factor which is perhaps chiefly responsible for France's ultimate failure in the contest, coupled with the facts, already noted, of an apparently greater capacity for colonisation and multiplication on the part of her rival.

The contest between France and Britain in India and the East is essentially distinct, yet affected by many of the factors that influenced the struggle in the other parts of the world.

The policies of both France and Britain were, in the main, liberal.

On the part of France there was a wise application of capital and industry, supported by much philosophic theory. On the part of Britain there was an indifference in her colonial policy, arising possibly from the fact that her colonies were far from being of essential importance to her, but were rather regarded as the home of her disturbing elements. This political indifference, however, had indirectly a beneficial result, for, coupled with the isolation which the then imperfect means of communication could do little to remedy, it gave full opportunity for the free development of the characteristic national type—the Teutonic as opposed to the Latin—and for the spontaneous growth of national institutions under the most favourable conditions.

It was characteristic of the Latin conquerors or colonists that they lacked enterprise in developing the regions where they found themselves, and rarely went beyond the limits of the civilisation that they found around and to their hands. They depended upon the great natural wealth which was obtained by means of the rudest appliances, and the type became in time idle, listless, and degraded.

The Teutonic conquerors or colonists, on the other hand, besides possessing a character much more enterprising and a temperament much more restless, were so far fortunate that the regions they occupied were not only much emptier and more temperate, but did not so readily yield their treasures. Further, whereas the Latin colonists carried with them their bigotry and their intolerance, and sacerdotal influence was ever, in their settlements, a malignant growth, a deadly blight, an element of disturbance and reaction, the Teutonic settlements, on the other hand, were singularly free from priestly influence; many, indeed, were established having as their express object freedom of religious thought along with political liberty.

The isolation, also, to which all the external settlements of European nations were subject until well on in the present century worked upon the various types in different ways. In the Latin settlements the priestly influence became rampant, selfish, and ultimately disintegrating. In the Teutonic settlements national institutions took shape, fostered by circumstances, and freed from the thralldom of an ancient, highly complex, and slow-moving social system.

The nature of the authority exercised by the mother-country over her colonies or dependencies had also great influence in determining the nature of their development. Spain and Portugal treated their colonies in nearly all respects as conquered dependencies, to be worked solely for their benefit, and imposed harsh and unreasonable restrictions upon their life and industry.

Holland and France followed the example of these countries in large measure, and imposed restrictions upon their colonists much

greater in number and more unjust in nature than were placed upon their subjects at home.

The British colonies were, from the first, free from such burdens, and, apart from certain fixed restrictions in the matter of trade, were absolutely free to develop their institutions as they pleased.

"The misfortune of the British colonial policy at this time" (*i.e.*, prior to the American War of Independence), remarks Sir John Seeley, "was, not that it interfered too much, but that such interference as it admitted was of an invidious kind. It claimed very little, but what it did claim was unjust. It gave unbounded liberty except in one department, namely trade, and in that department it interfered to fine the colonists for the benefit of the home traders."

The American War of Independence closes the epoch of old empires of modern times—old in the sense that they were a class distinct from those of the present day, based upon principles radically different, and founded more upon mere conquest than upon occupation and colonisation. We have now to see what the nature of the new Imperial system is, or will be.

Of all the former empires we have referred to, that of Britain alone survives, but altered altogether in character and principle. At the time of the American War of Independence her empire practically consisted of her American colonies and her West Indian possessions. Her power in India was not established for many years later. With the loss of her American colonies Britain practically lost her empire. But it was only for a time. Her attention had been diverted from America at that time by engrossing concerns and struggles in Europe, out of which she ultimately emerged victorious, stronger and wealthier. Her loss of America was not due to weakness, but to inattention. She found herself at that juncture face to face with the necessity of acquiring new territory for her increasing population and their expanding energies, in place of that now broken away. At the same time she could profit by studying the causes which had brought about her then position. So a new empire has been built up, a colonial empire in the truest sense, an empire of national expansion and assimilation, not of mere conquest and rule, based upon entirely new economic and political principles.

The growth of this second and greater British Empire is one of the most remarkable phases in history. It has attained dimensions and prosperity unsurpassed and even undreamt of before; until its extent, its character, and its success have revived in the nations of Europe dreams of their bygone glory—often magnified and distorted as dreams are wont to be—and has roused in them the lust of empire, vastly quickened by the stings of jealousy and failure.

It appears almost certain the empire of the future will be one of colonisation—of pure national expansion—and not of mere conquest.

The permanence of the empires of the future will depend upon the application of the principles to be deduced from the lessons and example of the empires of the past.

The nations that are again starting upon the race for empire have now a stimulus which never before actuated them—namely, the urgent necessity of providing for their rapidly multiplying and overflowing populations. This cannot be done by mere conquest. The States of the world, great and small, have assumed too set a form, and the doctrine of nationalities has taken too deep a root, for it to be now possible successfully and permanently to superinduce upon any organised State, by mere conquest, alien institutions and alien rule. Besides, the more enlightened and more humane public spirit of modern times is strongly opposed to wanton interference with or disturbance of national rights and liberties.

The expansion of the various nations beyond their own natural limits must consequently take other forms and directions. It must, if it is to be stable, be a system of real national as opposed to mere State expansion, either by regulated overflow into waste territories, or by peaceful intercourse and trade (rather than by organised aggression and conquest) in those comparatively empty regions where the barbarous customs or only semi-civilised institutions can either be easily assimilated or eradicated.

There is, indeed, another mode of State expansion possible, but it is one which is more strictly a mere overflow by which the surplus population is lost to the home-country, as in the cases where the subjects of one State emigrate to another, subjecting themselves to its institutions, they and their descendants becoming merged in their acquired nationality. This, however, is not the kind of State expansion we have here been considering, where a nation's surplus population carries with it the institutions and ideas of the home-country, and seeks to reproduce them in other regions.

The homogeneity of the new British Empire is that which distinguishes it from every other, past and present. Putting India aside, the colonists of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa are identical and typically British according to that composite type generally understood as the "colonial." The predominance of the British colonial type of the present over all others significantly connotes the causes of this survival and predominance. Race, religion, language, literature, and history, all combine towards the unity of the various parts as well as of the whole; and it will now depend in the highest degree upon the wisdom and judgment of the leaders of the Empire in the future whether this moral unity is to be converted into a realised and tangible fact. It is this species of empire which the other nations of Europe are seeking to emulate—an expansion at once of the State and of the Nation. The success and permanence, however, of any of the new empires must largely

depend upon the sense in which each nation interprets the lessons of the past.

If the empires of the future are to be the empires of colonisation rather than of conquest, the conceptions of the nature of colonies and their relation to the home-country must be fundamentally altered from those prevailing in former times: Colonies must not, as then, be regarded as possessions of the home-country existing during its pleasure and to be worked for its profit. It is probable that this possessory idea can be explained by the circumstances accompanying the growth of European States beyond seas during the period we have been considering. This extension was not, in any case, induced by inward necessity and the need of finding room for superfluous populations. These elements were wholly absent until a quite late period, and that only in Britain to a moderate degree. The fact is that all colonial extension in former times partook largely, if not altogether, of the nature of speculative enterprises; while the remoteness of the regions, combined with the defective means of communication, rendered schemes of this description highly precarious, unless organised on a scale which only State assistance could afford. The home-countries then, naturally enough, would look for some return from their investments, and may even have regarded the colonial lands as a species of security.

Nor must the colonies be regarded according to the analogy of grown-up sons and daughters becoming emancipated and setting up separate establishments. It is not always safe to apply human analogies to political and social phenomena; and this analogy is one which, while natural enough if not pressed, is yet only applicable according to Greek principle and model, and is wholly inapplicable to the character of colonial empire and development of the present era. Greek colonisation was, no doubt, an extension of the nationality; but there was no corresponding extension of the State. For the Greek State was the City, and any extension beyond that was a breaking away and the formation of a new community. The Greek world was, perhaps, a moral but it certainly was not a political unity.

The modern colonial conception has been the exact opposite of the Greek. It has conceived the State to be the nation, and so far is logically justified; but it has, at the same time, assumed a control in the original State over the extensions only justifiable on the grounds of conquest and possession. It is this conception and this assumption that dominated the policy of all the past empires, restricting their energies, and sowing far and wide the seeds of enmity, discord, and disintegration, which in time ripened and wrought their baneful and fatal effects.

Colonies, in our new view of empire, must be regarded as integral parts of the one State, which, while possessing local and individual interests, have yet their main interests common to those of the whole,

and entitled as such to have their rights and liberties safeguarded with the same jealous care as are those of each and every county, or city, or burgh, or village in the home-country. The oceans should be regarded as connecting links, not as lines of severance, between the mother-country and the colonies. There should be no restrictions placed in the way of trade and commerce calculated in any way to counteract the sense of national unity and sympathy, but every endeavour should be made to make each and every part feel the impulse of their common life.

The theory that prosperous colonies tend to acquire a strength of their own which leads them to demand equal rights with the home-country has been demonstrated; and it has also been shown by bitter experience—as witness the War of Independence—that, if these are refused, they incline to seek, and at times obtain, independence.

Whilst the former statement remains philosophically true, the latter results need never follow if the conception of colonies and empire is altered to that for which we are here contending, namely, an extension at once of the Nation and of the State concurrent and co-extensive.

There can be little doubt that this aspect of empire and colonisation has been receiving, of late years in Britain, ever-widening acceptance, and the results so far promise to work out satisfactorily. It remains to be seen how far these other nations now entering into imperial competition with Britain are able to profit by the lessons of the past. They have certainly in the British Empire a striking present exemplification of the growing results of the altered modern conception, and they can see an Empire covering nearly a fourth part of the earth's surface practically a single nation, possessing unity of race, religion, language, literature, and history; dominated in its social life, in its politics, and in its commerce by principles the most liberal, and attaining in that way an influence and extent far surpassing anything previously known; assimilating all secondary or alien elements in its own special composite type—one which embodies the best national characteristics; and extending its language, its influence, its ideas, and its trade beyond its own boundaries to such an extent as to bid fair to become the real World-Empire.

The phenomenal prosperity of the British Empire is the best proof of the soundness of the principles upon which it is based, and the best excuse for the feelings of envy and rivalry it has roused in other nations. At the same time these considerations should form the highest incentives to British statesmen and administrators to spare no efforts that will tend to render the moral and natural unity a real political fact, that it may undeviatingly continue to pursue and further the great humanitarian ends it proudly professes as its guiding principles.

R. D. MELVILLE.

## THE PART OF WOMEN IN LOCAL ADMINISTRATION.

### III.

#### ENGLAND AND WALES. THE PUBLIC HEALTH.

THE work of the 983 women now (September 1898) acting as Poor-Law guardians in England and Wales extends in some instances beyond the direct care of the poor. They are charged with the protection of infant life, not simply with regard to children whose parents are paupers, but with regard to children put out to nurse in so-called "baby-farms," for the inspection of which the guardians are responsible. In some cases they have carried out this work by means of a committee of ladies. In others, especially among the larger boards, they employ special inspectors for the purpose, the best of these being found to be women, who are, as they ought to be, employed in steadily increasing numbers. By some boards this work is left to the inspector of nuisances. They have also the charge of carrying into effect the Vaccination Acts, and it is here to be noted that 150 boards of guardians have already declined to enforce vaccination upon parents conscientiously objecting. This fact largely led to the embodiment of the "conscience clause" in the Vaccination Act of last session.

One hundred and sixty-four of the women guardians, however, were elected as rural district councillors, and in that capacity fulfil various functions, all dealing more or less directly with the conservation of the public health. For the following brief summary of the duties of rural district councillors the writer is indebted to a lady, Mrs. M'Iquham, who has been, since the year 1881, engaged in this work, being a member of a rural sanitary authority before the creation of rural district councils. The work of these sanitary authorities was enlarged but not created by the Local Government Act of 1894.

"As rural district councillors, women are guardians of the sanitary condition of the whole union outside boroughs and urban districts, of which the parish for which they were elected is but one unit. They deal with questions affecting the welfare, comfort, and morality of the people, and it is their duty to endeavour to secure the best possible conditions of

health for the inhabitants of rural parishes. The rural district councils receive all complaints of nuisances and overcrowding, and it is their business to remedy these. It is their duty, also, to refuse to certify that any newly erected house is fit for habitation unless they are satisfied that it has a sufficient water supply, which it is also their duty to endeavour to secure for every habitation within their area. All new buildings within that area must be submitted for their approval, and by their orders all houses unfit for habitation ought to be closed. It is the duty of their inspector to disinfect houses in which there has been infectious disease, and the councils are also responsible with regard to the control of baby-farms and canal-boats. They have to provide and superintend hospitals for the reception of patients suffering from infectious diseases, and all schemes for the drainage and water supply of their districts must be submitted for their approval. They have, further, the charge of all the minor highways, such as are not under the control of urban authorities, or have not been adopted by the county councils as main roads. Some rural district councils have not yet taken up this work, but all are bound to do so in the early part of next year. The increased use of the bicycle makes it impossible that parish roads should be permitted to remain in their present too often rough and unfinished condition, and rural district councils will be expected to make the roads under their control approach to the condition of those under the control of county councils. The rural district councils have also to deal with certain permissive Acts of Parliament, such as the Cowsheds and Dairies Act and the Notification of Diseases Act. These they may adopt or not at their pleasure. The Notification of Diseases Act gives a schedule of some thirty infectious diseases, which the councils may include or reject as subjects for notification."

It will be seen from this summary that the work of women as rural district councillors is closely analogous to the work of municipal and county council authorities. The difference is simply of degree and not of kind. It is, in fact, almost identical in character, and frequently overlaps. Again, to quote Mrs. M'Ilquham :

"Take, for instance, the matter of allotments. In that matter women, as members of parish and rural district councils, have a voice, but if it be necessary for the county council to be appealed to on the subject, then women have no voice. It is perfectly impossible to see the difference between the powers granted to women and those capriciously withheld from them. The county councils deal with the erection and management of the county lunatic asylums, the prisons and police stations, and with the inmates of these institutions. Women, as Poor-Law guardians and rural district councillors, deal with matters affecting lunatics before they are sent to the asylums, and with the erection and management of workhouses and of temporary and infectious hospitals, and with the inmates thereof. Women, as Poor-Law guardians, are empowered to act as visitors to county lunatic asylums. Indeed, they are (to man's folly, be it said) the only women entitled, in a public capacity, to visit these institutions. What difference is there between the intelligence needed to supervise workhouses, infectious hospitals, &c., and that needed to supervise prisons, police stations, and county asylums? Yet the one class of duties is given to women and the other withheld from them. Men, as county councillors, grant certain important classes of licences in which women are deeply interested, such licensed places being more or less conducive to morality. Women, as rural district councillors, grant other less important classes of licences, such as those for selling paraffin, &c. Many will think that women would be more

suitably employed in supervising the licences that affect social morality than in exercising their judgment as to the suitability of certain buildings for the sale of inflammable material. The management of corporate towns must be carried on solely by men, but that of non-corporate towns may be shared by men and women."

The double functions of women who are elected as rural district councillors, and thereby become Poor-Law guardians, involve of necessity heavier work than that of the simple guardians. It is partly due to this fact that the number of women returned as rural district councillors is relatively small compared with that of the total number of guardians. There are, however, other reasons for this disparity, which are worthy of consideration and, if possible, of removal. The rural parishes which return members to the rural district council have generally only one representative. In the cases where there are two or more, it is relatively less difficult to secure the election of one woman as a rural district councillor, but in cases where only one councillor can be returned, the overwhelming proportion of the male electorate and the steady bias of sex privilege practically ensure the return of a male councillor, except in those rare cases in which a woman is the only person in the parish qualified to give the necessary time and ability to the work. It is to be hoped that during the coming years women rural district councillors will be as largely increased in number as women guardians have been during the past five years.

Although in a previous paper the writer spoke of about 200 women being engaged as parish councillors in England and Wales, it would appear unfortunately to be the fact, that only a much smaller number are so engaged at the present time; so few women appear to have taken the deep interest necessary to induce them to stand and to work, and so large a proportion of these to have been defeated at the elections. Of the women who are or have been parish councillors, eight or nine have been elected chairman by their respective councils, and three are so acting at the present time. The character of parish council work for women can scarcely be better set forth than by the following extracts from a paper which was read by Mrs. Barker, the late chairman of the Sherfield-on-Loddon Parish Council, at a conference of the Women's Emancipation Union, held at St. Martin's Town Hall, London, in 1896:

"I need hardly refer to the ferment of expectation which bubbled in the rustic mind during the autumn of 1894; the wildest notions were abroad as to the effect of the Act; the *talk* was endless, but when the nomination papers were ready, there was a curious unwillingness to put pen to paper; to propose a candidate or even second one. The labourers went about saying, 'I should like to see So-and-so in,' but when it was suggested that they should apply for a paper and nominate their pet *man* (of women they did not think at all), the reply was decided, 'No, no; let us see who they puts up and then we'll think about it.' I was the only married woman on

the list, as Mr. Barker, wishing me to stand instead of him, had conveyed to me some cottages in the parish, and I was placed on the register as a parochial elector. It was only on Monday, October 5, 1896, that I was informed that the revising barrister had this year struck my name off 'owing to legal decisions arrived at since last year'; he further laid down that 'no woman, be she who she may, can claim an ownership vote apart from occupation.' It follows, therefore, that were I to quarrel with my husband, and go and live in one of my own cottages, I should be entitled to a vote, as are three illiterate widows who now reside in them. The only way for me to obtain a vote, short of setting up a separate establishment, is to rent, or if my own, to occupy (as farming it) land to the rateable value of £10; this, probably, in my case would be able to be arranged, but none the less do I feel the folly and deep injustice of the ruling.

"But to return to last year, when I was wearing the honours of a parochial elector. First came the trouble of making the average villager understand who had votes and who, though non-voters, were qualified by residence to sit on the council. And on this point I may remark in passing that the lesson *was then learnt*, none of this ignorance and confusion was found to exist at the election of March 1896; so are steps in local self-government taken, and each year finds us as a nation in advance of what we were before.

"There were only eight nominations for the six places, and the six were chosen by show of hands (anent which I shall have more to say presently), and as soon as possible after the election the council met, and I was unanimously elected to the chair. The other five members were a butcher (V.C.), a carrier, a builder, a market-gardener, and the village shopkeeper, with a most experienced and courteous assistant overseer as clerk; the majority Nonconformists, and Radicals as to politics. From the very outset I earnestly deprecated any sectarian or political 'cleavage,' and in my first address to them I took my stand on the broad Christian basis of doing our best for 'our neighbour' in the largest sense of the word. On these terms we got to work, and I may say they were never departed from, and from first to last I was treated with the utmost consideration, the most absolute courtesy. The first concern was to place the charities of the parish on the new footing; they were four in number, and were, so to speak, of each known variety. No. 1 was disbursed by four non-elected trustees; so, to aid them in their labours, we appointed four others. Unfortunately, the original trustees did not meet the requirements of the Act in a friendly spirit, and resigned *en masse*, leaving the management of an income of over £100 a year to the nominees of the parish council. The second had not been in existence forty years, and so did not come within our scope. The third was one heretofore administered by rector and churchwardens; to this I, in conjunction with another member of the council, were appointed trustees instead of the churchwardens, and as the appointment was confirmed by the Charity Commissioners, it sets at rest the question which, I see, has been raised in some quarters, that women are not eligible as charitable trustees under the Local Government Act, 1894. The fourth, distributed at the sole discretion of the rector, we tried to deal with under the latter half of sub-section 3, clause 14 of the Act, but were defeated on the technical point that, though each parish had a definite sum allotted to it, yet the aggregate from which it was paid benefited more than five parishes, and so was not a parochial charity within the meaning of the Act (clause 75), a decision which aroused great discontent, as not even accounts have to be presented.

"These matters settled, we took the footpaths in hand. I gave the council a 25-inch Ordnance map of the parish, and one by one each land-owner was approached as to the various rights of way through his property;

all that the council claimed, save two, were allowed, and were by me marked on the map: brown for highways, red for bridleways, green for footpaths; this map is now in the parish chest, with a notice engrossed on parchment that the fact of the two footpaths (claimed, but not allowed) not being marked on the map was not to militate against any future claim made by the public. This bit of work, for a wonder, pleased all parties, as it defended the landowners against any new tracks over their lands being claimed as rights of way; finally, I purchased two 6-inch maps, marked them in the same way, had them framed, and then hung up in the two public-houses lying at either extremity of the parish.

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"Before the next election," continues Mrs. Barker, "I informed the council that I did not intend to be nominated at the ensuing elections, adducing the three following reasons for my decision:—first, that for fear of the parish councils crystallising, like the old vestries, I thought a fresh learner ought to be brought in each year, so extending the area of interest and civic education; second, that a change of chairman was desirable; third, that I wished to prove beyond dispute that a woman could take the chair at the parish meeting.

"The March elections approached, and we made a great mistake with the best intentions. Mr. Barker nominated the five old members of the council and one other suitable person to fill up the vacancy made by my retirement. To our dismay, when the evening arrived, and I, having taken the chair, without any opposition, asked for the nomination papers, only one other was forthcoming, making seven candidates for the six places. I instantly saw that this had made a bad impression, and explained that it was not too late for any or every parochial elector in the room to nominate their six in the same way as Mr. Barker had done; but it was no use—none would ask for a paper. Then began the detestable farce of the show of hands—detestable for two reasons: first, that the open vote is seldom the true vote; and, second, the impossibility, even in a small meeting, of absolute accuracy. They hesitated, put up their hands, put them down just as I was going to count them. One put up two hands, several tried to vote for *all* the candidates, and counting a second time made confusion worse confounded, as many changed their minds in the interval.

"The old members were all elected, the two new men were a tie, and a poll was demanded. The effect of our mistake was still more evident when the list of the candidates was posted, for there was Mr. Barker's name against six out of the seven, and the word 'job' was heard in the groups round the posters. In vain we explained that Mr. Barker had only done it out of respect to the old members, and that the nominations were irrespective of sect, class, or politics; that he had only done what they might and ought to have done. It was no use, and they will have to be taught next year by Mr. Barker leaving it all to them, and letting them grope their way unassisted.

"I have read you this somewhat personal account of one year's work, because it struck me as the best way to bring out the effect of the Act on the rural mind, and also to lead up to what seemed to me, and those I have worked with, the points in it which need altering or strengthening. First

<sup>1</sup> The same course was adopted at the same election by Mrs. M'Ilquham, chairman of the Staverton Parish Council, for similar reasons. The chairman of a parish council, if not a candidate, is entitled to act as chairman at the parish meeting, and to act as returning officer should the election be effected at that meeting, either by simple nomination of the exact number of members required, or by show of hands. The provincial press had been declaring that women were legally incompetent to discharge these duties.

and foremost comes the ownership vote for women; next the abolition of the show of hands, with a compulsory poll whenever the nominations exceed in number the places to be filled. At one time I was inclined to advocate triennial elections, but now consider we cannot afford to lose this fanning of the spark of interest every spring; apathy is the damp fuel I dread, not the sharp flame of excitement. So much for alterations, now for the points in which the Act seems to need strengthening. Tracks for wheeled vehicles leading to isolated cottages ought to be classed with footpaths. Many a poor body's home is, in the winter time, almost inaccessible to tradesmen or doctor in many of our country parishes. A definite pronouncement as to stiles, &c., across footpaths is also badly wanted; landowners who have for years repaired them now trying to throw the onus on the rates. Then, in case of a council deciding to repair a footpath, it ought not to be in the landlord's power to stop the carting of materials (with due consideration of times and seasons) for the carrying out that decision. The Small Holdings and Allotments Clauses will never greatly benefit the poor until the council have some power of regulating the rate of rent more in accordance with the agricultural value of the land. We tried to work both, but had to give it up, finding private agreement much more economical and satisfactory.

"It has been objected that parish council business has no opening for definitely feminine work. Well, I grant there is none that a woman can do *better* than a man, as there is in workhouse management, and school boards, and committees; but for all that I must strongly urge all women who have the good of their fellows at heart not to shrink from standing for their parish councils. Beyond the softening effect which I found so valuable, women are so much more earnest about small things than men, and parish council work deals with matters of seemingly small import. A polluted well, an overcrowded cottage, a barrier across a footpath, are too trivial for men to make a stir about, and perhaps offend the wage-giver into the bargain; but an independent woman, knowing that 'trifles make the sum of human things,' and that these trifles, if looked into, will reveal further defects to remedy, will be earnest for frequent meetings; her cry will ever be, 'Look for work, make work, never be content to stand still till all the good you have the power to do for the poor of your parish is an accomplished fact.' Thus softened, thus urged onwards, parish councils have before them a truly useful future. God grant that we, as 'women workers,' may not lose our opportunity."

In addition to the work suggested by Mrs. Barker, parish councils have power

- (1) To remove nuisances.
- (2) To obtain, by agreement, a proper water supply, and bring it to the houses.
- (3) To protect village greens and roadside wastes, and to repair footpaths.
- (4) To carry out any of the following Acts, if adopted by the parish meeting: The Lighting and Watching Act, the Baths and Washhouses Acts, the Burial Acts, the Public Improvement Act, and the Public Libraries Act.
- (5) To appeal, in case the rural district council fails in its duty as local sanitary authority, or in protecting public rights of way.

(6) To appoint overseers and assistant-overseers. As these overseers have not merely to collect the poor rates, levy the education rate, and put every person qualified to vote on the proper register, but have also to give relief to the poor in cases of "sudden" and "urgent" emergency, it is most desirable that one at least in each parish should be a woman. The overwhelming majority of cases of "sudden and urgent emergency" are cases affecting women and children, and needing the sympathy, the knowledge, and the discretion of women. Women are at least as competent as men to discharge the other duties of overseers, but this special duty is emphatically "woman's work." It is therefore well that the number of women overseers is steadily increasing.

The present writer would urge upon women, as Mrs. Barker has done, that they should not lose their opportunity. The failure of women to come forward, and their defeat at the polls, appear to be but part of the general apathy with which the work of the parish councils was regarded at the elections of this spring. In many cases even a parish meeting could scarcely be formed, and where a poll was successfully carried out the number of voters was usually but a very small proportion indeed of those on the register. It would almost seem to be the fact that, unless women will come to the rescue, that part of the Local Government Act which gives power to parish councils will be little more than a failure. The extracts which have been given show abundantly that there is here much work for women to do, and it is work which lies at the very doors of many women.

The plea of Mrs. Barker for the restoration of the ownership vote to women in England and Wales and Scotland has been strengthened by the fact that the recent local government legislation for Ireland has secured that vote to Irishwomen. Its importance arises from the fact that the refusal of the ownership vote in local matters to women by the very same legislation which secured it to male owners has actually diminished the number of women voters, since before the passing of the Act of 1894 the rate-book was the register for the elections of guardians, and has practically disfranchised, so far as voting rights are concerned, the married woman, although the Act professes to enfranchise her. A male non-resident owner, even should he reside hundreds of miles away, may vote in any election under the Local Government Act of 1894. A woman owner, even though she own the entire parish and live no farther off than the borders thereof, may not vote in any such election. Since married women are, by the express provisions of that Act, precluded from being joint occupiers with their husbands, or from being in any way qualified in respect of the same property with their husbands, it is only in virtue of separate occupancy that they can vote in any such election. Happily, as elected persons, the residential qualification

is sufficient in their case in England and Wales (and now also in Ireland). Otherwise nearly half the women now acting as guardians would have been disqualified.

A writer in the September number of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW speaks of "Female Suffrage" as "a matter in respect of which Liberal opinion is more divided," and continues :

"There is this solid justification for the objections to female suffrage proceeding from the Liberal side—that if female suffrage is only partially dealt with, there will be grave danger of reinforcing the armies of Toryism to the disadvantage of the cause of democracy. If female suffrage is adopted at all, it must be adopted on a democratic basis. To grant a vote to the woman of property and deny it to the wife of the mechanic would be as dangerous as it would be grotesque. The personal stake of the wife of the mechanic in the conduct of public affairs is every bit as great as that of the unmarried or widowed possessor of landed property."

This writer would apparently be quite content to refuse to propertied women the right of voting, whilst securing it, as it is secured both for parliamentary and local purposes, to the male owner of property. He appears, moreover, to be strangely in ignorance as to the actual facts of the voting rights of women in this country at the present time, as shown in this and previous articles. It is quite true, as he alleges, that the "personal stake of the wife of the mechanic in the conduct of public affairs is every bit as great as that of the unmarried or widowed possessor of landed property," but no Women's Suffrage Bill has ever yet been before Parliament which proposed to restrict women's suffrage to the *unmarried or widowed possessors of landed property*. As a matter of fact, the number of women in possession of landed property is very small indeed, and the overwhelming proportion of the million or so women who now vote in matters of local government are women who are earning their own living as painfully and hardly as any man, whilst in parishes intimately known to the present writer the number of male *owners* entitled to vote as such equals the total number of women voters, who can only vote as occupiers. The sole effect of refusing the ownership vote to women, coupled with the refusal of the joint occupancy qualification to married women, is practically to exclude all married women from the right of voting, unless and until full adult suffrage be secured. Such proposals on the lips of a Liberal of to-day have unfortunately too much the appearance of a denial of women's suffrage altogether. Undoubtedly womanhood suffrage stands, as that writer declares, on precisely the same logical basis as manhood suffrage; but every successive enlargement of the male electorate, from 1867 up to the present time, has injured the position of women in respect of their opportunities of securing redress for their wrongs, social, legal, and political. The acceptance of manhood suffrage before at least some women are enfranchised for imperial as well as local purposes would

simply mean an indefinite prolongation of their present condition of subjection.

In England and Wales there are some 780 urban districts, with populations ranging from Childwall (Lancs.) with 199 to Ystradyfodwg with over 88,000. To the councils of each of these women are eligible. Urban district councillors, unlike rural district councillors, are not in virtue of their office guardians, the guardians in urban districts being separately elected. The urban district council is the sanitary authority for the district. It retains all the powers possessed by the local boards of health before the legislation of 1894, which constituted these boards urban district councils, and it also exercises, as do the rural district councils, all powers relating to the administration within its own area of the Infant Life Protection Act, the licensing of gang-masters, pawnbrokers, dealers in game, passage brokers, and emigrant runners, the abolition of fairs and the alteration of the dates of holding fairs, and the carrying out of the Acts relating to petroleum. It has also the licensing and control of knackers' yards.

As the Local Government Board may by order confer on a rural district council any or all of the powers of an urban district council, so it may also by order confer upon an urban district council any of the powers of a parish council not otherwise possessed by it. The general character of the work of an urban district council may, therefore, be gathered from what has been said previously as to the work of parish and rural district councils. It is precisely the same in kind, though in many cases its work extends over far larger areas. As yet, however, very few women indeed have been found willing to stand, and of these still fewer have been elected urban district councillors. Two women, however, at any rate, are thus acting at the present time; one for Llandrindod Wells (population 1100) and the other for Barnes (14,000). A woman sat from 1894 to 1898 for Romford (Essex), and one for Litherland, near Liverpool. Women have been candidates in various other places, but their candidature has uniformly been strenuously opposed and themselves defeated. Yet since these councils deal with questions affecting the health of the community, and in many districts with technical instruction, school attendance, the formation of public libraries, public parks, and pleasure-grounds, one would suppose that common sense would dictate that women have at least an equal interest in such matters with men. The splendid work, moreover, done in sanitary matters by the women sanitary inspectors and the women factory inspectors has given abundant proof of their fitness for public service in this direction. It is simply a question of the gradual overcoming of masculine prejudice, and of the gradual awakening of women themselves to a keener sense of public duty. When first it was proposed that women should become Poor-Law guardians, their

utter and hopeless unfitness for such work was largely dilated upon, and steady resistance was offered to the earliest elections. The progress of events, however, has abundantly proved the value of their work, and the value of that work will be no less manifested when once women come forward in considerable numbers to take up this duty of the conservation of public health. The present unsanitary condition of many of our urban districts is ample proof of the need for the aid and co-operation of women. None suffer more than women, and the children for whom they are responsible, from the neglect of these matters.

In addition to parish councils, rural district councils, boards of guardians, and urban district councils, women are also eligible, equally with men, to those local authorities in London which were affected by the Local Government (England and Wales) Act, 1894. These local authorities are : the twenty-nine large vestries, the twelve district boards (which are elected for the parishes in each district by groups of the forty-seven smaller vestries), the Woolwich Board of Health, and the thirty boards of guardians. Women serve at the present time on twenty-eight out of the thirty boards of guardians, and on eight of the twenty-nine large vestries. Many of the vestries and district boards in London deal with populations larger than those of most of the English county boroughs. For example, the population under the control of the Lambeth Vestry at the last census was over 250,000, and under that of the St. Pancras Vestry nearly 250,000. The large vestries and district boards are the sanitary authorities for their various areas. The vestry appoints to some very important public offices, such as the vestry clerk and assistant clerks, surveyors and assistants, sanitary inspectors, rate collectors, and assistant overseers. They also appoint the local medical officer of health and assistants, and a public analyst. There is no sex disqualification for any of these appointments, and women are actually at the present time engaged officially under one or other of the vestries as sanitary inspectors, rate collectors, overseers,<sup>1</sup> and assistant overseers. The overseer must be a householder, and is usually nominated by the vestry. As shown in an earlier paper, it was long ago decided that women could fill the duties of this office, and it is amusing, therefore, to read in the *Instructions and Explanations for the Assistance of Overseers*, "even a woman may be appointed, although men of discretion and substance are usually preferred." It is very probable that women would have fewer complaints to make of being omitted from the Local Government Register if one of the overseers were in every case a woman.

The following account of the character of the work done by the London vestries is condensed from an admirable speech delivered at

<sup>1</sup> One of these ladies writes, under date August 30, 1898 : "It seems that I am the first overseer who has thought it necessary personally to revise the list of voters."

the same Conference at which Mrs. Barker's paper, previously cited, was read, by Mrs. Evans, Poor-Law guardian of the Strand Union and vestryman of St. Martin-in-the-Fields :

"Interest in municipal affairs is engendered mainly and most frequently by the unit, either masculine or feminine, having suffered some injustice, either real or imaginary, and by the desire to do something to remedy the grievance, either for the benefit of the person injured or of those who may come after. Thus it came about in my own case. I was summoned to the Marlborough Street Police Court for the payment of rates on an assessment over £100 in excess of the value of the property I held. This assessment I had got reduced on appeal, but the rate collector maintained that I ought to pay on the higher scale for one quarter and on the lower scale for the second quarter, and the magistrate, Mr. Newton, upheld this view, and forced me to pay the iniquitous demand. This and other grievances in connection with assessment gave me such experience that, when I came into the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, I was prepared to defend myself against over-assessment, and used my statutory privilege of examining the valuation lists and making copies for use at the appeal. I found the Assessment Committee very unsympathetic, and as I left the Board-room I resolved that, if my life was spared, I would sit in that Board-room among the men who refused to listen to my appeal. From this time I began to attend the meetings of the vestry and to learn the manner of conducting public business. As I continued to attend my interest increased, and many a time I longed to join in the debate, but did not then expect that the law would presently allow one of my sex to sit as a vestryman. I attended these meetings *regularly for ten years in my capacity of ratepayer*, and only once succeeded in persuading another woman to accompany me.

"When we arrived at the year 1894 the vestrymen were aroused from their slumbers by hearing that there was a likelihood of women being made eligible for seats on the vestry, and one night I had the pleasure of hearing the clerk, in a grave voice befitting the occasion, report the fact that on the following day the Local Government Bill would be brought into the House of Lords, and submit to the vestry a prepared letter to the Marquis of Salisbury, asking him to favour the St. Martin's Vestry by opposing the Bill. However, the Bill became law, and when it became law the members of the vestry said, 'Of course, Mrs. Evans will now come on the other side of the barrier.' I was therefore elected without opposition, and became, so far as I know, the first woman vestryman elected in England.

"Now as to the work that the London vestries have to do. The vestry is the custodian of public health, under which head is included the examination of all factories, workshops, private houses, stables, slaughter-houses, &c. For this work there is a special committee. The medical officer of health, moreover, attends each meeting of the vestry, and reads a report on the public health during the fortnight since the previous meeting. There is also the Lighting Committee, whose duties are to look after the repairing of all lamps, and the general lighting of the streets and courts of the district. The work of lighting the lamps is relegated to the gas company, who contract to keep the lamps lighted and in good repair. The most important committee is the Works and General Purposes Committee, which has the most extensive powers over the ratepayers. All claims for compensation for injury caused by the negligence of any of the servants of the vestry are sent to this committee and duly considered by it, as also all applications for permission to affix any sign or any lamp encroaching over the public footway, any alteration of the footway for private convenience, the opening of the street for the laying or fixing of

gas or water pipes, telephone or electric wires, and the like. To this committee all notices of the formation of new drains, the repaving of streets, erection of public conveniences, seats, &c., must be submitted. It has also all duties with regard to the execution of sewerage works, and must see that they are carried out. To the Finance Committee is entrusted the duty of inspecting the bills and accounts submitted for payment by the clerk, together with the banker's pass-book, and of rendering to the vestry an account of its financial position at each meeting. In this parish the Housing of the Working Classes Committee has a very easy task, the working classes having for the most part been removed, to make way for flats and what is called a superior class of property. The Improvements Committee deals with any question of widening the streets and of increasing the width of carriage or foot way. The Parliamentary Committee watches the bringing in of all Bills before Parliament which may affect the well-being of the vestry or of the parish which it represents. As St. Martin's boasts the possession of a town hall, a special committee is appointed to look after it, whose duties are to consider applications for hiring the hall, to keep it in repair, to see that it is efficiently officered, and that the officials do their duty. For the last few years we have had, in conjunction with the Strand Board of Works, a Labour Exchange Committee, by means of which persons in need of employment and those who want to employ have their names registered free of charge. This Exchange has done a great amount of good. In parishes such as Paddington, Islington, and St. Pancras, where the parish is not joined for Poor-Law purposes, the vestry is the Assessment Committee, or, rather, it appoints twelve of its members for that duty. The vestry appoints the Commissioners of Public Baths and Washhouses, and also the overseers, who, in the first place, fix the rateable value of all houses and hereditaments in the parish. Our vestry also chooses the trustees of the parochial charities, the Commissioners of the Free Library, and the district governors of Archbishop Tenison's School.

"The proceedings of all the committees must, without exception, be entered in their respective minute-books, and read at the vestry meeting. They can only be enforced when they have been adopted by the vestry, and it often happens that the members of the vestry refer matters back for further consideration by the committee before approving the same. So far as I have seen, there is nothing whatever in the work and duties of a metropolitan vestry that a woman cannot master if she chooses to give her mind to it. Of this I am perfectly certain, that the presence of a woman tends to make the men attend more regularly than they otherwise would."

The work of the London vestries and district boards, as of the London School Board and London boards of guardians, and of the larger boards of guardians and urban district councils throughout the country, demands the devotion of an amount of time which only women of some degree of leisure can give. The largest part of the work of these bodies is done by their various committees, and to serve on several of these committees means very serious and heavy work. Yet in London and in our other large centres of population women are not wanting who have abundant leisure fully to train themselves for such work and effectively to do it. All that is needed is that they should realise the grave national and human importance of the work and their own responsibility in regard to it.

If a sufficient body of women would come forward, the toil of those already engaged in it would be at once lightened and their power for good strengthened.

On the other hand, the work of the smaller bodies lies at the door of multitudes of women who can spare at least some hours each week to attend to it. All women desirous of fitting themselves for the service of the public health would do well to begin their studies by attending the meetings of the local bodies responsible for it, and training themselves, as did Mrs. Evans in this manner, for active work at a later period. It is above all things essential that women should come forward and do their duty in this respect. Until we have the co-operation of women with men in the administration of the public health we shall fail to realise the advantages which a just and wise administration can secure to a community. Motherly thought and influence are needed everywhere, and not simply in the individual home. It is to enlarge their sphere of duty, to carry the homelike qualities out into the world, and to help thus in the great regeneration of humanity which is to come, that women are now summoned by the recent legislation.

IGNOTA.

## MODERN FRANCE.

Now that the gaping wonder which greeted Mr. Courtenay Bodley's book on France has a little composed itself one may perhaps be able to inquire calmly into the reasons of the great interest excited by the question.

Well, in the first place, France and England are closely akin. There was a fashion set by Napoleon Bonaparte of comparing the two countries to Rome and Carthage, with an obvious, if unamiable, conclusion fortunately not carried out. A closer parallel may be found in the relations of ancient Greece to the Roman Republic. The modern inhabitants of Britain to a considerable extent descend from the same forefathers as the people of the more important parts of France—Gauls, Teutons, and Norsemen; but they have drifted into other laws and habits, so that, while the island nation has become law-abiding, yet expansive, the Continental State has been full of internal quarrelling, and more distinguished in the decorative arts than in practical politics. Readers of Johnson—if any such there be—may recollect how he rendered the “*esurient Greek*” a century and a half ago. We and the French are of kin, if less than kind.

Secondly, besides a common origin, the two nations live in close proximity and increasing intercourse. France is nearer to our shores than Ireland, and movements in one country are apt to affect the other. It is even probable that Parliamentary government, now so firmly established among us that crown and coronet are little more conspicuous than the ornamentation of an ivy-clad building, originated in the *États* of northern France. Yet those institutions did not prosper in their native land, till now we find an expert declaring that they must be given up as a failure.

That certainly happened once before. The “*States-General*” of feudal times dwindled until they were entirely lost to sight under Richelieu, their restoration immediately proving the fall of the Bourbon Monarchy consolidated by that Minister. If Mr. Bodley be right, the revival of Parliamentary institutions has not proceeded in the due course of evolution; and they only occupy the land like useless and sickly exotics. Still, even if this be so, there is a reserve to be made, a point to be borne constantly in mind.

Apart from the clergy—who formed a very active section of the

old French Constitution—the *noblesse* was a class capable of producing great statesmen and administrators. Such was Richelieu—already named; such were Louis XI. and Sully in earlier times; and such, with opportunity, would in later times have been Bossuet, Montesquieu, Turgot, perhaps even Tocqueville, Montalembert, and some who yet live. Free from the conspicuous faults of their compatriots, these men were neither frivolous, changeable, vain, nor ready to shed human blood on trifling provocation. You may never be able to call together a sufficient number of men of this kind. We have called them members of the *noblesse*, but there has always been a high middle class allied to and mixing with them—free from the lechery, treachery, and *pose* to which there is a tendency among French political adventurers. If, however, there were any means of forming a Cabinet, or supreme council, of wise and virtuous Frenchmen, it may still be questioned if they could long command the obedience of the modern French. What Decazes and the Duc de Richelieu failed to do under Louis XVIII. would probably come to equal grief if the Orleans dynasty occupied the throne with MM. d'Haussonville, de Vogué, and de Mun for Ministers.

If, now, we seek the reasons why there is so little discipline among the French, and why they are so peculiarly recalcitrant under any semblance of oligarchic rule, we shall fail to find it in any special fondness for liberty. There is far less individual freedom in France than in England; in fact, it is almost inconsistent with that equality which is the second person of the revolutionary trinity. The French have chosen equality rather than liberty, while the English have reversed the preference, and are still content to yield social and political precedence to their best men, so long as their personal independence is not disturbed.

The cause of such diverging tendencies among two peoples of such similar origin is to be sought, evidently, in events occurring subsequent to the original foundation. On each side of the Channel this has been followed by foreign conquest. Only, while the English were a Teutonic people subjugated by kindred races, the Romanised Gauls were subdued by foreign invaders; the consequence being that in the narrow limits of an island the conquered quickly amalgamated with their conquerors; while in France the yoke was borne with sullen submission until it could be thrown off. The moral and political decadence of such a nation is attributable to the wearing out of the higher race and of its qualities, and the gradual resurrection of the buried aboriginal breed, which never assimilated the virtues of the conquerors. With much talk of solidarity the French since Clovis have never been a united people; and now, when the Gallo-Roman has emerged from submission to the Frank, the results are plain to all observers.

Italy, Spain, and France are indeed in somewhat similar conditions,

due to the similarity of socio-political origins in each country. Celtic waves of immigration, in dim and distant days, impinged in those regions upon a primitive race, still represented by the Basques. The old population mingled with the new to produce the hybrid race known to the Roman world as "Celtiberian." These Celtiberians, with remnants of pure Iberians and pure Celts, were overpowered but not destroyed by the soldiers of the great Latin State, the first of whom has left on record a description of the ancient Gauls that almost exactly fits their modern representatives in France. Blended with the decadent Romans, with whom they had much in common, these races formed Neo-Latin communities which adopted the religion, language, and law of their masters; but the Empire fell, and its children, encumbered by an alien civilisation, were unable to protect their fields and towns against Teutonic invasion. That civilisation had taken too deep root to be entirely destroyed, though not of sufficient strength to put forth lasting fruits in the form of national institutions. The Teutonic model prevailed—a military aristocracy with a warlike king for chief; and the lands of Belgium and the Isle of France became the cradles of monarchies. The French Revolution, we have Michelet's authority for believing, was no more than a violent effort of the Gallo-Roman race to throw off the burden of this Teutonic yoke: but that race was not prepared with institutions of its own; if we are to believe Mr. Bodley, such institutions have not yet been found.

Bonaparte was, according to Heine, the standard-bearer of this movement. A more philosophical estimate was formed by Taine, who did not find Napoleon the "Gonfalonier of the Revolution" so much as an Italian condottiere who had strayed into the wrong century. In any case the insurgent races had in him an incomparable master so long as he retained any moderation in his designs. It was only when, yielding to his exuberant imagination, he stretched his military system from Madrid to Moscow that the over-wrought machinery gave way: his final fall came from two nations more united than the French. In Russia the Scandinavian and Slavonic tribes had been amalgamated under the fiery blasts of Tartar incursion; and in 1812 a strong patriotism had arisen before which Napoleon's efforts collapsed and his medley of men melted away. Before that, however, a wedge had been driven into the French power at the other end of Europe, by the ships of Nelson and the tiny but well-handled armies of Wellesley.

Granting these things—and they cannot be denied—one conclusion appears to follow. The central portions of the old Roman Empire lack the solidarity shown in regions where the Teutonic tribes were evolved, or where they have made their permanent homes. Excluding Russia, which is something of a mystery still to other European nations, we seem to see the barbarian at home,

whether in Scandinavia, North Germany, or in Britain; while in France, Spain, Italy, and much of the Danube country he is more or less an intruder; in these latter, therefore, he has always lived apart. In particular, we see the French (ever since the Revolution) keeping down the descendants of their old nobility, exiling the members of the former ruling family, and generally keeping the sons of the Crusaders out of employ, whether civil or military. A vague reflection of this is even thrown upon industrial life. The French capitalists are a mixed class—Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics; only noble in so far as they succeed in purchase of titles and decorations; yet these financial barons are nearly as unpopular in those countries as if they represented the iron chiefs of feudal times. If not sprung from the Franks and Goths they hold something of the same social place that the Franks or Goths once held, and are, like them, regarded as conquerors; in no other way is it easy to account for the hatred between capital and labour which is so remarkable a feature in French life. Our own labour wars are sufficiently disastrous, but they do not involve the same element of irreconcilable animosity; the working class has at all times amongst us found unselfish advocates, and even sometimes actual leaders, who belonged to ancient and influential houses. Nearly seven hundred years ago the Magna Charta movement was led by barons and bishops, even as the Reform agitation was in the present century when the power of the House of Lords was broken by Grey and Russell, and Thirlwall voted for the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland. Eminent members of the labouring classes become employers in their turn, and obtain seats in both Chambers—our peerage is not a patriciate; and doubtless many a pauper “gentleman” secretly looks down upon a beer and banking *noblesse*.

On the whole, then, we are a united people, not “two nations,” as Disraeli put it on the title-page of *Sybil*; we keep our parish councils and county councils open to all deserving citizens; and the entire community co-operates in running the administrative machine, albeit with occasional friction, which, however, is more political than social in origin.

Such as are our domestic difficulties, we perceive them clearly enough; but foreigners envy the *Pax Britannica* of our social order, and colonial commonwealths are growing around us, where the old seed is germinating with such modifications as may be demanded by new conditions. The labour problem, the division of property, and distribution of produce—all such questions arise, here and there, to receive tardy or swift solution. Meanwhile, our old complicated machine clanks on, involving, it is probable, its causes of gradual decay. But a greater Britain will arise from out the azure main, and we hope that in all its parts the whole body of citizens, with equal rights and opportunities, may work without any of the preju-

dices derived from passion; servile labour being more and more confined to engines moved by natural force, while the hands of men and women will be used only in works of skill, and the children left at leisure to receive all due advantages of culture. *Beatum dixerunt populum cui hæc sunt.*

If this should seem a rash aspiration, it is, in any case, one which no reasonable man would make for a Latin race. Perhaps our own governing classes have, in the past, done mischief and retarded progress; they have, at least, been good Britons, and their natural temptations to corruption and class-egoism have been long in process of correction and restraint. The point is that our system of self-government—which has not yet come to its possible perfection—has arisen from somewhat peculiar conditions, and is not likely to thrive equally well in countries where it has not arisen in the natural course of history. So far, at least, Mr. Bodley's views are capable of confirmation; and we can only hope that our intelligent and energetic neighbours across the Channel may ultimately find salvation in their own appropriate manner. They can hardly hope to do so in imitating the institutions of communities that have developed their system out of a totally divergent evolution.

If we turn from politics to art—and particularly to the art of letters—we shall see the same ethnic change, looking like decadence until we observe that it is the necessary consequence of Gallo-Roman ideas and practice rising through a discarded Teuton crust. The French, in spite of revolutionary activity, are really most conservative, and nothing absolutely new was introduced among them by the overthrow of the *ancien régime*. The middle class was far advanced in power and knowledge before the Revolution; the constant efforts of the *bourgeoisie*, from the days of Etienne Marcel, may be remembered, efforts often sanctioned by the tendency of French kings to employ Ministers of that order. Non-nobles were especially distinguished in letters; even, at times, in Parisian society—witness the cases of Voiture, Corneille, La Fontaine, Racine, Molière, Boileau, Voltaire, Rousseau, and many others. Nevertheless, such men long affected the manners of the conquerors and aimed at being gentlemen; nor was it until the present century that the Gauls openly stepped into the heritage of the Franks; and the making of books became a popular industry as circulation deepened and went wider.

The earlier authors, it may be admitted, never had the full Teuton gravity, like Milton and Spenser, who took themselves seriously, almost as priests having charge of men's souls. In place of this you notice among pre-revolutionary French authors a devotion to form, an academy, an artistic conscientiousness, which sometimes tend to assume pontifical tendencies. But the modern author is in a quite different position: whether a producer of poetry, fiction, or

criticism, his main object is to be bought and read. Such a man, addressing a newly-emancipated multitude, can hardly take a sacerdotal attitude—he follows where he ought to guide.

Nevertheless, in the higher and less lucrative class, a standard of style and subject-matter may still be found. The *Thierrys*, Guizot, Mignet, Quinet, Taine, the late Duc d'Aumale, are instances, almost contemporaneous, of good and wholesome writers who established a certain share of public favour without stooping; Michelet and Reran are cases of authors who sought, not without success, to conciliate the educated while attracting a larger public; Henri Beyle and Prosper Mérimée—perhaps one may add Hugo and Musset—are men who were affected by the Revolution, yet maintained in secret an aristocratic ideal. Chateaubriand is almost the strongest type of a man whose whole reason sympathised with democracy, while his tastes remained exclusive.

This association of the Teutonic and Neo-Latin element, being rather a conflict than a synthesis, has not been an absolute advantage to the French. Every people, however, has the fortune that it deserves; and if the French have not had unmixed prosperity they have had distinction, and are the most interesting people in Europe. The present state of the nation is distressing enough; the best men are unheard, the loudest voices are the least responsible. Foreign well-wishers must be content with hoping that the fermentation will settle and a new and salutary combination succeed. The modern French are, in truth, one of the youngest of nations, younger than that other great Republic of the West which can still plead some of the indiscretion of youth. If they will use their mental and material resources in the paths of wisdom, abandon puerile prejudices, and put themselves under the guidance of their best men, there can hardly be a limit to their chances of future welfare.

II. G. KEEFE.

## NEW UNIONISM.

UNDOUBTEDLY the movement known at the moment under the title of New Unionism received a very severe set back in the defeat of the engineers in the late struggle. But that the socialistic spirit that was its animating force, or that the influence exercised by Socialism over the thought and policy of the working classes has been seriously weakened, especially in face of the re-election of Mr. Barnes as secretary to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, there is very little substantial ground for believing.

Under these circumstances it is clear that the character of New Unionism, in so far as it means socialistic trade-unionism, is a subject upon which it is of the utmost importance that a just public opinion should be formed; and, on this account if for no other reason, the *History of Trade-Unionism*, recently published by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, may be said to have come at a peculiarly opportune moment.

These authors, the representative value of whose opinions might be confirmed from numerous other and equally friendly sources, commence their work with the definition of a trade-union as "a continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their employment" (p. 1). The chosen methods by which it is proposed to gain the ends named in this definition may be gathered from a passage that occurs at pp. 399, 400. Here we read:

"The Collectivist victories on the London School Board and County Council, the steady growth of municipal authority, and the increasing influence exercised by working-men members of representative bodies, went far to persuade both socialists and trade-unionists that the only practicable means of securing for the community the ownership and control of the means of production lay in a wide extension of that national and municipal organisation of public services, towards which Parliament and the town councils had already taken the first steps. In these industries in which neither national nor municipal administration was yet possible, the Socialists demanded such a regulation of the conditions of employment as would ensure to every worker a minimum standard of life."

In other words, as we find it more shortly stated at p. 404, the aim of the New Unionists is to capture, not to supersede, existing social structures in the interests of the wage-earners.

Accepting these extracts as constituting a fair description of New Unionism and its aims, the vital questions for public consideration may be classified as three in number. Firstly, the question whether the tendency thus disclosed is to the advantage of the community in general? Secondly, whether it is for the real benefit of the working man as distinguished from other classes of society. Thirdly, whether if it is neither for the advantage of the country nor the class, the source of error is to be sought in a radically wrong state of feeling among those marked as wage-earners by their method of living, or whether it does not rather arise from evils in our social system, for which remedies may be found quite outside the range of pure industrial economics?

Now it can hardly fail to occur to any one who examines the definition of a trade-union given above from the moral point of view, that it is one that leaves such combinations open to a charge of at least possible class selfishness. It may be, of course, that this possibility is merely an unavoidable accident in any practical definition of a special form of association; but it is obvious that, on the surface, a union simply for bettering the condition of one special class rests on a somewhat narrow base. It is certainly sufficiently vague to need the further light that its methods of action can throw upon it before it can of right claim the general sympathy of the public.

These methods are, then, according to Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, frankly political in character. It is proposed, through the extension of the State-ownership of the means of production, to ensure that the payments to wage-earners shall not fall below a certain standard. In fact, to obtain for this class alone the means of living, not according to the voluntary recognition by the community of the value to it of the services rendered, but by the weapon of the forcible interference of legislation.

Stated thus, can there be a doubt but that the aims of New Unionism are essentially antagonistic to some of the most elementary laws of social welfare, such as those that fix useful service as the primary passport to the means of existence, that make it the interest of all that obsolete modes of work should be discarded as soon as possible, and that demand that every reasonable inducement should be held out to each citizen to do the work most needed by his fellow-men?

No doubt the practical applicability of all laws depend to some extent upon circumstances, and that in this case considerations of physical and moral health strictly bound the area within which purely commercial considerations can be allowed to rule in full force. But as no one would seriously contend that wage-earners as a class now include more than a small minority of those who have not the absolute elements of a healthy life open to them, or that the reforms

demanded by the New Unionists do not embrace much more than is meant by a literal interpretation of the words "a minimum standard of life," it cannot be said that either health or morality are here directly in issue.

Abstract argument, however, is hardly likely to carry much weight when opposed, as it must seem to those living nearest to the extremes of poverty, to the direct evidence of actual experience. It cannot be denied that the sum of the wealth now held by the leisure and the employer classes might be considerably reduced without greatly affecting the personal happiness of the individuals who compose them. It equally cannot be denied that the policy of the New Unionists in the advocacy of State employment has actually resulted in an improvement in the position of some among the working men. We have, in fact, now in England reached a point where an outer ring of workers, exposed to all the difficulties of unrestricted competition, are compelled to support out of their earnings an inner ring of privileged municipal employees. Such a position must obviously be satisfactory to those who are reaping the benefits of the system, and were it possible that our social arrangements could be fixed in permanence, as a picture is fixed in a photograph, no doubt the working classes would have no reason to complain. But there is no such thing as rest in human affairs. There can be nothing more certain upon earth than that the present mixed system of employment cannot be maintained at any half-way point that may chance to suit the momentary convenience of the changing advocates of direct employment. The method of paying wages to a limited class of men on a scale, not of proved value, but of some fancy ideas, too often the fruit of electioneering expediency, out of the pockets of ratepayers depending for their own living on the favour of free customers, among whom the protected employees themselves are not the least independent or the least exacting, involves an injustice so striking that its prolongation must inevitably bring about its extinction or its extension to every class within the community. Not that any one supposes that it would be possible to abolish all forms of direct employment. There must always be exceptional private enterprises that, owing to their success, have assumed the rôle of public necessities, and whose continuance it is needful to secure by public management. It is only against direct State control as the normal and most desirable means by which to get the work of society performed that those who are opposed to New Unionism wish to protest.

Regarding, then, the New Union policy as tending ultimately towards the complete abolition of the existing competitive system of employment, it is especially incumbent on the manual worker to consider what would necessarily be the ultimate effect of the change on the position of the more helpless members of the community?

It is always easy to make a plausible case against any existing social arrangement. The imperfections common to everything human ever afford standing ground for assault, and it is only natural that the miseries of the prevailing system of free competition should be more familiar than its advantages or the evils which it prevents. All men can see that the chances of individual humanity are not, in themselves, any sufficient security that free labour bargains shall always be truly in consonance with the real interests either of the individual or of the community. It is a matter of everyday experience that men of average capacity, when unable to satisfy the caprices or the changing tastes of the society around them, are often compelled to accept labour contracts that, were they free to consider their industrial interests alone, they would rightly refuse.

It is this undue pressure in industrial matters in a direction contrary to industrial well-being that the New Unionists propose to lighten by ensuring a minimum standard of life to every worker through State employment. It is contended that if men were no longer dependent on successful competition with each other for the bare needs of happiness, the temptations that now lead to commercial greed and injustice would be much weakened, and the extremes of suffering through want, being rendered more rare, the class hatreds that now agitate the labour-world could no longer find an atmosphere in which to thrive.

There is no one likely to deny the desirability of such results. This is not in doubt. What is now immediately in question is not the end, but the means. Not whether a minimum standard of life is good, but whether direct State employment is the only or the best path by which to try to provide it?

It is easy to understand the attractiveness to manual labourers of suggestions that seem to hold out the hope that by the simple expedient of the vote they may obtain advantages for their class that can now only be gained, if gained at all, by hard and continuous work. To men whose whole energies are absorbed in a struggle merely to live, the power of the State to help them may well appear limitless. But it is the very irresistibility of the force called into play that makes the danger of its mistaken application so peculiarly great. New Unionists, indeed, are never tired of dwelling on the value of the State as the "model employer," forgetting that such virtues as we may see under present circumstances in our public services are probably quite as much owing to the influence of the example of the private employers whom it is proposed to supersede as to any merits inherent in the system itself; and that it is certain, since the distinctions between brain and manual skill are natural, not artificial, though all independent labour were to-morrow made illegal and unnecessary, the world would still see the relationship of master and servant everywhere as fully at work as it is

to-day. In truth, if the lessons of history are to be trusted, it is not a lessening of class privileges and class injustices that we ought to expect from extended public employment, but rather the consolidation of the existing class of employers now only exceptionally united against their workmen, into a caste of permanently linked officials on the one hand, and, on the other, the degradation of the present free workers into a caste of serfs, whose every grievance would be a direct complaint against the society that supported them, and whose refusal, except on their own terms, to use the skill society had given them the chance of acquiring, would be social treason of the worst kind.

These are probabilities not likely to escape the observation of men so astute as the trade-union leaders, and there are many reasons for thinking that it is rather a spirit of despair than of convinced thought that has led to their acceptance of the policy of governmental and municipal direct employment as specially calculated to benefit the working classes. One of the most noteworthy features, indeed, in the speeches and writings of the present Labour party is the tone of pessimism running through them, treating as illusory every hope that the modern workman, whatever his merits, whatever his efforts, can ever be anything but a servant of labour. One powerful trade union actually goes to the length of including in its rules a strong diatribe on the treason to his class involved in the mere wish on the part of a workman to become an employer. Reforms even, generally admitted to be needed in the interests of the poor, are often found condemned only because they have proved inimical to trade-unionism as understood by the New Unionists.

Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb are found thus referring to this characteristic of New Unionism at page 354 :

"A significant proof of the unconscious conversion is to be found in the unanimity with which a Trade Union Congress could repeatedly press for such 'reforms' as peasant proprietorship, the purchase by the artisan of his own cottage, the establishment of 'self-governing workshops,' the multiplication of patents in the hands of individual workmen, and other changes which would cut at the root of trade-unionism or any collective control of the means of production. For whatever advantage there might be in turning the agricultural labourer into a tiny freeholder, it is obvious that under such a system no Agricultural Labourers' Union could exist. However useful it may be to make the town artisan independent of a landlord, it has been proved beyond controversy that wage-earning owners of houses lose that perfect mobility which enables them, through their trade union, to boycott the bad employer or desert the low-paying district. And we can imagine the dismay with which the leaders of the nine hours movement would have discovered that any considerable proportion of the engineering work of Newcastle was being done in workshops owned by artisans whose interests as capitalists or patentees conflicted with the common interests of all the workers."

Surely such conclusions should in themselves be sufficient to

suggest that there must be some radical flaw in the line of thought that has led up to them. It would, indeed, constitute a satire on progress and evolution if it had at length been found that the only method by which the condition of the poor could be really improved was one that involved the surrender by the working man of any incentive to use freely the highest qualities that men can possess; and by society, the advantages she could otherwise claim as her due as the result of the best services her members could offer to her.

The fact is that the New Unionists, whilst perfectly justified in pressing for the provision of a minimum standard of life for every worker, are attempting the impossible in endeavouring to supply it justly by any system involving the payment of wages. The right of every willing worker in a wealthy country to sufficient sustenance for the maintenance of health is a natural right quite independent of the power to do services wanted by his neighbours. It is a moral right subject to its own peculiar moral laws and limitations. The right to wages, on the contrary, is essentially a right of exchange. It is a right arising from individual capacity to perform services acceptable to others. The economical worth to society is entirely apart from any question of moral intention. The road made by the scamp is every whit as useful as the road made by the pattern saint. If the scamp happens to be the better road-maker than the saint, it is evidently to the interest of society to pay the scamp the wages that will secure his highest efforts.

It is thus not the existence in civilised countries of workers of acknowledged value that calls for legislative care, but the inevitable presence, especially where machine improvements are, as in England, peculiarly rapid and frequent, of a certain number of individuals really unable to command by any free recognition of their worth a sufficiency of the necessities of life. As far as social duty is concerned, the reason of this inability is immaterial. It may be personal deficiency, changing conditions of public taste, or a superabundance of particular forms of skill. It is equally unimportant whether the class is recruited from the ranks of the leisure, the working, or the criminal sections of society. The interest of the community in making the best of each man is paramount in every case, whether it may be by providing him with food, or, as far as they exist, with the means of fitting himself for and of finding new opportunities of usefulness. An obvious corollary of this interest is the duty of taking precautions that the benefits provided are confined to those genuinely unable to help themselves.

Legally, England admits the claims both of the interest and the duty. But the first she performs with a miserly niggardliness that necessarily defeats its own object. The second she provides for, on the contrary, with a superabundance of energy that is equally unwise and futile. She refuses to allow any man to starve to death, but she

deliberately does all in her power to render the help she offers only available when health or self-respect are on the verge of extinction. She nominally treats poverty and crime as distinct ; but she exacts labour tests that are markedly as penal for the exceptional applicant for poor-relief as they are farcical to the hardened casual. She spends enormous sums every year in the support of an elaborate Poor-Law system ; but she rather prides herself on the fact that she only gets the working material least worth helping in her workhouses, and that the money she is driven to spend has not even the appearance of leading to any chances of physical or moral gain.

The effect of such a system cannot be doubtful. Granting a field of labour where a low standard of skill renders competition keen and wages always on the edge of the minimum, it can only constantly add to an already almost unbearable pressure, and we cannot wonder that many among the working classes are found ready blindly to clamour for the legal suppression of the unfettered struggle for work that to them is the most obvious source of the evil !

Nothing can ever rob poverty of its sting. No one supposes that suffering can be banished from the face of the earth. Men would make sorrow in heaven if they were placed there unchanged. But the impossibility of a millennium is no reason for refusing to recognise evils that are plainly the sources of social strife and class hatred, and that, as they are clearly exaggerated by a system artificially created, may clearly be mitigated by artificial interference.

We cannot have a perfect Poor Law, but we may make our workhouses places to which, when the choice lies between the acceptance of work on terms distinctly prejudicial to health and the reception of public assistance, any man of average sense would turn without fear of having to pay for it with moral degradation. A place, in fact, where, whilst such a man would have none of the chances of profit open to the worker outside to tempt him to remain, he would constantly be under the wholesome influence of hopeful training ; where, if the discipline was strict and the tasks exacted were severe, they would be evidently intended, the first as a protection for the worthy against the annoyance and persecution of the worthless, the second as a means of providing definite evidence upon which to discriminate between the unfortunate and the loafer.

The proposal to deliberately maintain the industrial standard of life through the agency of the Poor Law may well seem startling to a public long accustomed to regard the workhouse simply as a convenient means for punishing the crimes of thriftlessness and laziness. In fact as a kind of minor prison for the treatment of misdemeanours that it would be neither possible, nor, if possible, worth while to try under strict legal conditions.

Yet strange as the idea may seem at first sight, it can surely require very little thought to convince us that the assistance of the

helpless, not the punishment of the wrong-doer, is the natural object of all Poor-Law legislation! It must surely be unjust and unwise to object to the principle of treating the workhouse as the proper refuge from the oppression and the misery of sweated work and at the same time to tolerate the expenditure of a sum infinitely vaster than would be needed for the support and control of men still possessed by hope and self-respect in providing precisely the same material comforts without any possibility of any profitable return. Whether we wish it or not, the standard of life that is offered even to the criminal in any public institution is forbidden by the restraint of public opinion to be below what is needful for health. At present the spoils of the workhouse fall to the skilled loafer. All that is suggested here is that the offer should be extended to the sweated worker whose industry keeps him in a position where the comforts of the casual ward may easily seem luxurious compared with those that reward his utmost independent toil.

J. TYRRELL BAYLEE.

## THE STATE AND ITS SUBJECTS.

POLITICAL science in the broadest sense treats of the genesis and nature of the State, its various forms, development, and final end. National history, social ethics, jurisprudence, statistics, and political economy are auxiliary sciences. Under the name πολιτική the Greeks included all political science, but the term "politics" is now used in a more restricted sense. Thus public law is distinguished from politics as a special science. Each considers the State from a different point of view. The former is concerned with the maintenance of present conditions and relations; it is essentially conservative, and aims at the preservation of a *status quo*. Politics, on the other hand, is progressive; it keeps in view some end to which public effort should be directed, and promotes means for its advancement. Public law inquires whether an action conforms to the statute; politics, whether it conforms to the end in view. But these two departments must not be absolutely separated; for the State is an organism, and in all organic beings the influence of the parts is reciprocal. Law is not irrevocably fixed, and it has been well said that the movement of politics has rest as its aim. Law is to politics one of the conditions of its freedom, since politics in its course must respect legal limits, and not invade the natural rights of the individual. Again, it is only through the vitality of politics that law escapes the torpidity of death, and keeps pace with the improvement of the people. Lastly, law and politics depend, as two of its branches, upon what has been called the primary sections of political science—the general theory of the State.

An historical inquiry of sufficient thoroughness might yield us all the rich variety in the eras of mankind; but this vast content of past existence would overwhelm us, were there not a principle in our minds which makes us focus all in one whole, and try to arrive at harmony and unity of system.

Any people may, and all world-historical peoples do, contribute to the concrete idea upon which a general theory of the State must rest. By a concrete idea or "concrete thinking," we mean that union of ideas and facts which gives us the truth in its totality.

We shall approach the general conception of the State by observing the common characteristics of all States. Of these common features Bluntschli mentions seven :

1. A number of men are necessary. A single family or clan is not a State, although it may become the nucleus of one. Aristotle said that the number of citizens was not definite, but must be within a certain limit; and he held that if there were as many as one hundred thousand citizens, in this case there was something other than a State. But most modern States far exceed this limit: the tendency is towards large combinations, and no arbitrary rule can be laid down for the size of the population.

2. Territory is essential to the State; to secure its permanence and strength the people must be closely related and attached to the soil. A nomadic race, though possessing a ruler and fixed laws, cannot be called a State.

3. There must be cohesion in the nation. Different classes may exist, and a number of States may form, as its parts, one grand collective State, as in North America; but unless the internal organisation secures the unity of the whole, and unless the people can act as a unit in their foreign relations, we have no State.

4. The distinction between rulers and subjects may assume various forms, but is itself indispensable. One or some must govern, and the rest obey. This applies even to democracies. In Athens the individuals were subject to the assembly. Where there is no ruling power, but each follows his own will, we have anarchy, and the State has for the time collapsed. The crux of government just lies in securing the natural rights of the individual, while at the same time guarding against the dangers of individualism.

5. Although the work of man, the State possesses certain of the features of a natural organism. It presents the union of soul and body. Will and material elements are combined in the one life. There is a national spirit, which is the spirit of the State; and the constitution with its various organs of administration is its body, the form in which the common life of the people has realised itself. Again, the various offices and functions in the State are as parts of an organic whole. Each is distinct, efficient in its own sphere and marked by a special character; yet each has life only in relation to the whole, each contributes to the welfare of the whole, and at the same time depends upon it. Like an organism also, the State grows from within outwards.

"Nothing can be good for a nation," says Goethe, "except what springs from its own kernel." But, unlike a natural organism, the development of the State is irregular. Powerful individuals, or the force of the multitude, may at times either greatly accelerate or impede the progress of the people.

6. The type of organism presented in the State is higher than that of plants and animals. It is a moral and spiritual organism; it absorbs into itself the thoughts and feelings of its members, expresses these in laws, and gives them concrete form in deeds. Its

subjects and even history invest it with a personality. To its development the wisest, to its freedom the bravest of its sons devote their lives. The love of fatherland is not confined to any single class; the patriot glows with it, but all hearts are at times conscious of its power.

“Breathes there a man with soul so dead,  
Who never to himself hath said —  
‘This is my own, my native land?’”

7. This personality of the State is masculine, while that of the Church is feminine. The latter does not obey her own desires, but seeks to serve God and worship Him according to His commandments. But the State acts freely in its external life, and rules itself like a man. The general conception of the State may be summed up in Bluntschli's words as a “combination or association of men, in the form of government and governed, on a definite territory, united together into a moral, organised, masculine personality.”

From a survey of the actual States which have existed in the course of time, we may arrive at such a general theory of the State; but when we would consider the highest idea or ideal of the State, we must turn from history and, starting from the fact that man is by nature a social creature, we must call before our imagination a yet more perfect civilisation, where this tendency shall be completely realised.

The goal of social development will be attained when every unit of the population becomes a complete, all-round, harmonious personality, and when in the family of nations each unit has the same character. This involves the view that the State must be regarded both as a means and as an end in itself. For not only, as Mill remarks, may the value of any form of government be tested by its management of affairs through the present moral, intellectual, and practical faculties of the subjects, and the improvement which it effects in these faculties; but since it is no national peculiarity which makes man need the State, but rather the common nature of mankind, the ideal basis of the perfect State is not the nation but humanity; its ideal territory has no frontiers, but is the whole earth; its ideal harmony is that of one infinitely organic universal State, in which the various qualities of different peoples shall be mutually complementary constituents of one perfect whole.

We have then, in the first place, to consider the State as a means to the development of social life.

It is common to base great expectations upon State action, but reflection shows that such action rarely supplies the causes which advance the world; in most cases it merely provides the conditions under which progress may be possible. In recent years it has been mainly confined to questions of administration and finance, and to

the removal of antiquated and inconvenient restrictions. Here its work is of the utmost importance; but were Government action really the greatest factor which makes for progress, we should expect that any States which to-day exhibit the same culture and have ideas in common must have had a similar political development. But history contradicts this altogether. Great Britain, France, and Germany are just now participants in the same civilization, and face to face with the same social problems; yet these nations do not spring from the same stock, nor speak the same language, nor have their political institutions been moulded in the same manner. Political action may, undoubtedly, be at a certain moment indispensable to the happiness of a people, but, if we look to social progress in general, and especially to recent changes, we shall perceive that these are mostly due to scientific discoveries, to commercial enterprise, to industrial inventions, to the occupation of Africa, Australia, and the Americas by Europeans, and to the vast modification of popular sentiments which has resulted from such development. But to these great springs of movement the State has seldom contributed more than the external conditions under which the individual has been able to carry on his operations—conditions which consist chiefly in a considerable degree of security and a tolerable freedom. Political movements, then, must be looked upon as symptoms, rather than as causes, of the changes which occur.

While, however, we are more inclined to limit than to exaggerate, as many do, the positive value of State action, we must not overlook its negative use; for when this is wisely directed each generation owes to the State the conditions under which the world may be advanced. The State cannot provide the swiftness and strength which the individual requires, but it can secure that the starting-point shall be clear and open to all, and it does its best to make the course as unobstructed as possible. For which reason some have raised the old cry that we must look, first and mainly, to the State. Each generation, they say, has its destiny practically determined by the social conditions into which it is born; these conditions are principally the work of man himself, and the collective power of the community is his most effective agent; let this instrument, then, be employed at once to form that environment which shall secure the millennium of our dreams. Such is their demand. But the question arises, whether the community which is asked to interfere has the necessary knowledge, and whether in this case it can turn this knowledge to account.

The former of these problems would appear scarcely to have presented itself to some of the political leaders of the eighteenth century. According to their teaching, all that was needful was acquaintance with the law of nature, which could be easily compre-

hended by every one who approached nature with an unprejudiced mind. The French came to the conclusion that human progress was prevented by the helplessness of the people, due to their want of organisation; and Rousseau sought a form of government which should combine the advantages of association with the complete independence of the individual. This required a contract in which each man, being on equal terms with his neighbour, became a member of one social body and at the same time was himself a sovereign. Rousseau held that the community did possess the requisite knowledge. The power, therefore, must reside in a supreme assembly established by a unanimous social contract, not merely by the vote of the majority; for it is only by social contract that the right of the majority to rule the minority appears. This great assembly was to be the organ of what Rousseau called "the general will."

In a properly organised assembly the peculiar wills of the individuals should neutralise each other; and what results will be "the general will," which cannot err. This means that reason prevails over the individual impulses. It is the transition from a savage to a civilised state that makes man moral. Society brings out his latent power of reason, and transforms him into a rational and moral being; so that, besides having the needful knowledge, he is further able to turn it to account. In Rousseau's scheme, however, we are, as Mr. Caird has pointed out, confronted with two views of social life which are opposed to each other. On the one hand, man in the natural state is his own master. It is merely accidental reasons, such as the necessity of the weaker, which induce him to go into society; and when he enters it he is careful it shall not enslave him. But quite contrary to this is the theory of "the general will," according to which the natural man is but an animal, and positively must enter into society if his moral nature is to be advanced at all. For "the general will" is the reason which grows up in man under the influence of social life. But in this way social contract has not only strengthened the position of the individual; it has also educated him. He is, in fact, moulded by society before he can ever assert his independence and react upon it. Nor can he isolate himself again for the sake of freedom without lapsing back into the state of barbarism. Again, in saying that his contract is an "implicit" contract, Rousseau makes an assertion quite fatal to his theory. If the contract is something presupposed in the social life of man, then it is no contract at all; for it depends not on his will but upon his nature. On this view it becomes a law of his being, to which his will is bound to submit. Further, although social contract represents one of the elements which form society, it cannot be regarded as its origin; for the social contract was formed to secure personal rights. But the thought of these will not appear unless society be already to some degree organised.

As Mr. Green points out, the element of permanent value in Rousseau lies in his conception of the State as representing "the general will." But in the social contract there arises an important distinction between "the will of all" and "the general will." "The latter," says Rousseau, "looks only to the common interest, the former looks to private interest, and is nothing but a sum of individual wills; but take away from these same wills the *plus* and *minus* that cancel one another, and there remains, as the sum of the differences, 'the general will.'" We have here a paradox; there is the idea of a will whose sole aim is the common good, but which yet exists as a will only in the minds of the individuals who form the State, all of whom are, for the most part, occupied with their private interests. There is no social brain apart from the brain of the individual; but if we regard society as an organism, we are confronted with the problem, In what relations of the State does there exist anything corresponding to the brain of the individual? Aristotle declares in the *Politics* that all the citizens taken together may have more wisdom than any one. What meaning can we attach to this? How does "the general will" become a reality within individual wills?

First of all, Mr. Bosanquet is right in saying that the general will must not be identified with the verdict of the people by vote upon any single question. Such a decision would, of course, be an expression of "the general will," but would require interpretation to ascertain what particular direction of movement it represented. And Rousseau was compelled to make the ideal legislator a person outside the community, who should interpret "the general will" into a system of laws. Moreover, no ideal system of voting could ever secure the expression of "the general will" in a concrete form, since it does not exist in a form which can be embodied in a vote. It is rather, as Mr. Bosanquet says, "a system in motion, and cannot be expressed in a single proposition."

Nor can it be identified with public opinion. It may include that, and is undoubtedly deeply affected by the discussion of national affairs through the press or platform; but the factors which rule this will do not always appear in reflection and criticism, and certainly they never assume here the vital force which really belongs to them. The general will is much more than a system of reflections; it reveals itself in action quite as much as in debate.

It is more like the *de facto* tendency of the total action of the people than like a vote or set of opinions. But it may be described as a *de facto* tendency of this kind only in so far as active ideas concerning the connection of individuals, or groups of persons, are revealed in this tendency. Since other tendencies do not immediately affect the organisation of life, they do not directly form part of what Mr. Bosanquet calls "the active scheme of society." He

defines "the general will" as "the actual tendency of the whole process in which the necessary organising ideas of all individual minds in the community are factors." If the external life of the community works as a system, so also must the internal, for the one reflects the other. We give the victory in our minds to those ideas which are best able to grapple with the facts of life. Each man who performs a necessary function in the community has this function "mirrored in the shape of his leading active ideas," and to this extent holds a definite position in the communal system. Because his life is a factor in the general life, therefore, so far as his mind reflects the truth of his function, is his will a factor in "the general will." And if he could understand properly his active ideas in all their relations to those of others, then he would have the whole general will reflected in his own consciousness. For the whole system is vitally related to every part. But it is impossible to grasp adequately in our minds the real development in which the community is moving. We ourselves are part of the process; we form both the anvil and the hammer; and the true tendency of the *Zeitgeist* is only revealed by the future. The general will, then, cannot be said to be entirely self-conscious, but is a process for ever emerging from the relatively unconscious into reflective and practical consciousness. Our views of life are continually being modified by the contact of our experience with that of others. In practical organisation the promotion of some immediate end so forces men to mutually adjust their ideas, that before they are aware the whole relations of classes may be altered. Rousseau's "general will" is more the will of all as a number of units than a truly organic will. He was even compelled to discourage discussion and organisation into party groups, in order to give it a fair chance of expressing itself. But in this way he not only rendered any complicated legislation impossible, but obstructed the organic growth of "the general will" itself.

And the fact that this general will is a process, a tendency, a thing which is continually "becoming," is against the popular notion that it should form the actual executive. The function of the people, as Aristotle long ago said, is deliberative and regulative, not executive.

Now, there are two sides to the duties of a good State executive. One of these we have just dealt with. It has been seen that State action may provide the conditions under which society may be further advanced. Civilisation advances as we come more under the power of ideas, and State action must follow the development of "the general will," for we have recognised the value of that part of Rousseau's theory which teaches that the State does represent "the general will."

But what should be the attitude of an executive to the "indivi-

dual will"? This brings us to the other aspect of its functions. History shows us that, with the advance of time, greater respect has been paid to the rights of the individual; but all States still practically govern themselves on the old maxim, *Salus populi supremus lex esto*. This implies that the authority of the State may at times come into conflict with individualism, and the question arises, How far may it exercise a restrictive and supervising function?

The liberty of the subject is often said to be a fundamental principle of English law. Not only is it regarded as an essential element in happiness, but it is a necessary condition of all free development. But ought the State, out of respect to some such principle, to permit its members, or any number of them, to live and work amid needless risks?

In dealing with social matters we must rid our minds of the idea that in this sphere there are such things as abstract rights, or absolute laws or principles. We are concerned here with a lower class of relations altogether, and are not immediately interested, nor have we to do directly with those deeper problems of moral obligation, of ethical science and religious conviction, in which, considered in their own time and place, we are forced to seek a firmer basis. For a positive law differs essentially from a moral obligation. The former deals only with external acts, while the moral rule is concerned both with deeds and motives. Very frequently conflict may arise here. The Nonconformist will refuse to pay his tithes, and the anti-vaccinationist will resist the Act; and where conscience is alleged, we are bound, as private individuals, to respect all scruples. But the practical statesman has no alternative in dealing with these nobler aspects of individualism. In England, indeed, every man may express his views almost, though not quite, without limits. He may endeavour to persuade others that the legislator is in error. If he succeeds, so far good; but if not, he must either conform or suffer the penalty.

The State has a peculiar knack of walking through metaphysical abstractions. The realities of the moment seem to justify this prerogative, for the law has always got to descend from vague terms and ideal principles to the definite facts upon which an enactment is to be based. The practical statesman can never go so far as his philosophical contemporary, but must adjust his theories to the limitations of those for whom he legislates, and to the power of the State to satisfy their wants. Thus, while, in the abstract, education is an unqualified good to a people, the late Frederick III. gave a pertinent advice to his councillors, when he cautioned them against awakening demands to which the economic conditions of Germany were inadequate. Again, there can be no doubt as to the abstract right of parents to govern, to chastise their children, and also to educate them. Here we have a true theory; but the statesman has

further to reckon upon those cases where the brutal nature of the parents renders them improper guardians of their young, and where also parental carelessness might lead to a total neglect of the child's education. In such cases the State goes right in the teeth of the theory by protecting the child from home violence in the one instance and by ordering it to be educated in the other.

But the question becomes more difficult when we pass from the relation of the State to the individual, to its relation to associations, or groups of individuals. Professor Jevons has described the State in this connection "the least of the powers which govern us." He allows there is a little hyperbole in the expression; but there can be no doubt it points to an important fact, for our consideration of "the general will" led us to see how true it is that in law we have just the consecration of public opinion and custom. It is impossible for men to come together in the exchange or workshop without certain rules which they regard as more or less binding. Trade guilds are among the oldest institutions in history; and a Scottish judge still permits an advocate to lead proof of a trade custom or even a local custom where the statute contains no definite provision for the particular case. Hence, in regard to associations, the relation of the State to labour is not a question of the direct restraint of the worker, but rather concerns the attitude which the State shall assume towards the voluntary legislation of the workers themselves.

But in many cases the State does exercise a direct restraint over the worker, both employed and employer. Factory Acts and Police Bills authorise the executive and its officials to supervise almost every kind of industry. No person is more careless than the artisan about the danger which may arise from exposed machinery, yet the State steps in and compels the employer to fence in his fly-wheel. The toil of the worker, again, is restricted in accordance with age and sex; and the very hours during which certain functions may be exercised are definitely specified by the State. Is it not, for example, a fixed idea in the mind of every domestic in my neighbourhood that she may beat her rugs and carpets at any moment of the day, and indeed, all day, as one sometimes thinks she does? But may I not, and shall I not, yet exercise my rights as a citizen of dainty nerves, and insist that this function shall be completed by 8 A.M., in this locality, at any rate?

Not only, however, are persons thus liable to restraint, but the State further supervises the production and the sale of certain commodities. Silver and gold are stamped, not to mention certain brands of cured herring. The publican, the butcher, the dairyman, are all subject to inspection; and, indeed, this practice is extending so much, that we may soon be under supervision every hour of the day. The old maxim *caveat emptor* will be replaced by *caveat venditor*. It is clear, however, that here some definite limit must

be set to State interference. Commodities fall naturally into two classes, according as the buyer is, or is not, the best judge of what he wants. No authority interferes in my purchase of a coat or a picture. The State recognises here the full rights of individual taste. But Government may very properly interfere to prevent abuses in those cases where it is difficult for the buyer to verify the genuineness of the goods, and especially where the health of the community might suffer from carelessness or fraud.

It has been noticed how history reveals the growth of the consciousness in the individual that he has rights against the State. Now, what are these rights? His consciousness has been expanding quickly in the present age, so rapidly, indeed, that instead of the old and pious sentiment, "The Lord will provide," we are more apt now to say, "The State will provide."

For long the rights of the individual as against the State did not include much more than protection of person and property, and freedom in the pursuit of his vocation, so long as that did not encroach upon the rights of others. Freedom of speech and press were afterwards important additions.

In later years, the most significant extension of rights has been that which includes in them State education. There has been great progress here, the influence of which will be felt in another generation. There must be Government education for all, which shall teach the laws of health and the exercises enjoyed by them; also, as Mr. Ruskin demands, "habits of gentleness and justice," and the calling by which a man is to live. This last point, the extension of technical education to all branches of industry, is necessary to prevent that danger in the present system of general education—the danger, already mentioned, of awakening demands which the economic conditions of the State cannot satisfy.

We would go so far as Mr. Ruskin in saying that the unemployed should be taken into these Government schools, and taught some definite means of livelihood. In time, however, this would be unnecessary. It would only apply, perhaps, for a generation, for a stagnation in the labour market, as in any other, may be for the most part accounted for by the law of supply and demand. What aggravates it at present, however, is that so many of the unemployed have no craft which would render them useful in other lands. We are familiar with the saying, "Where I am well, is my country." But, as Goethe observes, "this consolatory saw were better worded, 'Where I am useful, is my country.'" A national industrial education would ensure that each man would be of some use to himself and others, and if his services were not required in one place he would be welcomed elsewhere:

"Bleibe nicht am Boden hängen,  
Frisch gewagt und frisch hinaus!"

Kopf und Arm mit heitern Kräften,  
 Überall sind sie zu Haus;  
 Wo wir uns der Sonne freuen,  
 Sind wir jede Sorge los;  
 Das wir uns in ihr zerstreuen,  
 Darum ist die Welt so gross."

The unsoundness, however, which appears in so much of Mr. Ruskin's political economy, is hardly anywhere so conspicuous as in his proposal regarding Government factories. He suggests that the State should, without thereby interfering with private enterprise, produce in its own factories the chief commodities required by the people; so that any citizen who was prepared to pay the official price might be sure of getting a genuine article. The idea seems plausible at first, not only for the above reason, the chief argument advanced by Mr. Ruskin himself, but also because its realisation would lead to the decrease, if not to the abolition, of the present inspector system, at best only a makeshift. But were the State to stop supervising those factories and shops worked by private persons—thus removing such guarantee as the public now have for the goods being genuine and in sound condition—this would very seriously affect individual enterprise, and might also prove dangerous to the community. For when buyers should have no security for other than State productions, the private trader would lose the custom of the more judicious, and could only retain the patronage of the needy and careless by underselling the State. He would require to pay less for what he sells than the minimum cost at which the State could produce it. It is obvious, therefore, that he could only do business by supplying an inferior article, and being now free from supervision, there would be no limit to this inferiority. In this way the evil which would result from the adoption of Mr. Ruskin's proposal would far outweigh the good. It would only be practicable in the case where all the citizens had the sense to be satisfied with nothing save the best, and were also able to pay the price for it.

Mr. Ruskin is more fortunate in asking that the State should make adequate provision for the old and destitute. Here, indeed, the individual has a right as against the State. The majority of civilised nations acknowledge this more or less in their institutions. Germany has its Armen-Gesetze, and England the poor-rates, &c. But so long as it is accounted a disgrace to accept relief from such funds, we cannot speak of such aid as a right belonging to the individual. We have yet to recognise that he who, with moist brow and horny hand, has tilled the native glebe, year in year out, is no more dishonoured by accepting succour when his strength is done, than the statesman or general, who, after a brief term of office, is pensioned on the people. Of course difficulties are inevitable in the administration of the poor rates. England has known a time when a vast number of her citizens were simply competing for a

maintenance out of the earnings of others. So late as 1885, 5 per cent. of the population were paupers. The improvements inaugurated in recent years have checked this to some extent; but the mistaken sympathy extended by the indiscreetly charitable to able-bodied paupers seriously prevents the perfect working of this system. To-day less than one-ninth of the paupers enter the workhouse. Were the benevolent to adopt the practice of Archbishop Whately, and never give alms in the street, but rather supplement the national grants by their private munificence, the professional beggar would quickly disappear, and our deserving and incapacitated fellow-workers be adequately cared for in the evening of their lives. They can claim this not only as charity from a Christian public, but with greater independence, from the State, as a right.

Regarded, then, as a means, the State exercises progressive, restrictive, and alleviating functions. It provides the conditions from which the next advance is made; it checks a licentious individualism, and it cares for its suffering members.

National States, however, have but a relative importance. In them we cannot find a realisation of the highest idea of the State. The perfect State is humanity organised; it will be the visible body of humanity. It is the universal State which is the ideal of human progress. The common consciousness of mankind is very slow in advancing to a unity of will. Indeed, only now is it awaking to the fact of its organic character. Spiritual maturity is required, but even to-day will and power are not entirely lacking. The European nations are sufficiently aware of their superiority over other peoples, and are only prevented by their mutual jealousies from becoming the guardians of the world's peace and morality. The Greek war is a marked instance of this. That the Concert of Europe should have chastised one or both of its unruly wards, everybody could have understood. But that these should be allowed to fight each other points to a state of international anarchy. Why, it is Bill and Teddie sparring in the Strand, and the policeman laying odds on the winner.

Now, though yet unrealised, a universal authority must be regarded as a possible, if not an inevitable, fact of the future. It is here the State becomes an end in itself, for only by a universal authority will the ideal of the State be attained, will international law become secure, and the particular States realise entire freedom and self-completion.

But it may perhaps be objected to such a universal authority that it will stifle the principle of individual liberty, and hold tyrannic sway over conscience and opinion. But such an authority would not claim complete dominion over any citizen. Its legislative and executive control would be limited to the common interests of the race. It will not attempt what the National State has often failed

to do; for whenever the latter has invaded the natural province of individual freedom, it has proved powerless in the end to enforce its rule, powerless to chain the indomitable spirit of man.

Another objection—one of more apparent weight—suggests itself. Will not such a supreme authority imply a universal monarchy, incompatible with the sovereignty of the separate States? To this it may be replied that absolute power need not be attributed to it. Its proper sphere would be limited to maintaining the peace of the world, protecting its commerce, and all that is covered by the scope of international law. The continued existence of national States would make a definite distinction of spheres of action indispensable. Again, although theoretically, if indeed never in practice, the supreme power might have a monarch at its head, it may equally, and more naturally, be thought of as a great world-republic with a directory or president.

But it might possibly be urged, and especially at the present moment, that although the individual, being weak, must more or less conform to the national State; yet States themselves, being strong, will not yield to a higher power. As soon bell the cat as bell the Kaiser. And, even should the supreme authority be so powerful as to force a State, this would involve the negation of freedom and justice, as these cannot exist where resistance or appeal is impossible.

But the power of the world-concert over the particular States would be much less than that of these over their citizens. In many things they can, more or less, force their subjects; but in no well-governed nation is this authority held to be the negation of liberty and justice. These only become possible by subjection to law, and we advance, we become emancipated from a lower law only by yielding obedience to a higher. Law is the first principle of the universe, alike for plants and for peoples. The particular States, therefore, instead of sacrificing their freedom, will more fully realise the same, as international law becomes more secure. For one people will hesitate to infringe the rights of another, knowing that it must reckon on the active enmity not merely of the latter but of the world. For, above all else, the universal tribunal will be the oracle and guardian of international law. Were the latter secure and perfect, maintained for a time by arms, though not itself based on might, but on a fraternal feeling among the peoples, our ideal State would then be realised.

Meanwhile it is a dream of the future, a thing to be longed for, and strenuously worked for. Great ethical advance is needed, prejudices have to be overcome, and a unity of will developed in the human race.

G. W. MANSFIELD.

## OUR VINCIBLE NAVY.

WHILST the Czar of Russia has distinguished himself by the proposal of an unarmed peace, we find to-day first-class Powers increasing their army and navy, in which Russia is also a participator!

It is necessary for us during the growth of this millennium embryo to look to our ships, or, in other words, "to put our trust in Providence and to keep our powder dry."

In thus preparing for eventualities which must be provided against before the much-desired result of universal arbitration can be achieved, it is of the utmost importance that the greatest attention should be devoted to the expenditure of the many millions of pounds sterling voted by our Parliament annually for our army and navy, but more especially with regard to the last scheme Lord Charles Beresford has introduced for the enormous increase of our navy.

Considerable anxiety must be felt as to the great risks to which their costly ships of war are exposed from the ever-increasing and scientific modes of destruction without adequate provision for protecting and defending them against such attacks.

This alarm has been previously sounded in the pages of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW on the all-important subject of torpedo attack and defence, and the warning utterances then pronounced in condemnation of the worthless defence afforded by the old and useless torpedo-nets was followed by these nets being discarded by the British Admiralty and other prominent Naval Powers. These torpedo-nets, which have hitherto been the only means of protecting our costly battleships from the terrible attacks of torpedoes, were in use up till the early part of this year. Then our Admiralty, realising the worthlessness of the old and long-patronised torpedo-nets as a means of defence, abolished them from the ships composing our Mediterranean squadron, but they made the great mistake of substituting in their place other equally worthless nets, having all the failings of their predecessors, with additional drawbacks to their practical efficiency.

Like the earlier torpedo-net failures, those last adopted will in a short space of time be seen on sale at marine-store dealers', at the price of old iron, in or near Portsmouth, or adorning the gardens of some suburban villa residences close to our public naval arsenals,

where the discarded torpedo-nets will doubtless be found in use to prevent marauding tabbies from interfering with the garden produce of the thrifty residents.

Many interested experts looked forward with great expectation to object lessons in torpedo warfare during the late war between Spain and America, but, happily for the safety of the ships engaged on each side, as they could only boast of the useless and condemned torpedo-nets as a defence, torpedo attack was not seriously resorted to.

The net substitutes before referred to now in use in the ships of the Mediterranean Squadron, whilst they do not in any way remove the danger to which our costly battleships are still exposed, multiply the failings of the older nets in the following conditions. Their weight is greater than the prohibitive heaviness of the older nets ; the newer nets are composed of double the number of meshes contained in the abolished ones, and these new nets thus set up increased resistance or drag in the water, which would take away the small margin of speed credited to ships when at sea with the older nets extended around them. It is an incontrovertible fact that the latest torpedo-nets substituted for use in the Mediterranean Squadron are totally impracticable for use at sea, and are only of very doubtful use in harbour, thus being really nothing better than the same deceptive death trap and misleading fallacy as the older torpedo-net system. The question of loss of speed of ships in action with torpedo-nets spread and suspended in the water was of sufficient importance in the minds of our naval commanders to induce them to unanimously condemn these worthless vulnerable frauds for use at sea, so the only charitable supposition to be arrived at is to presume that the new nets are carried solely for use in harbour, where, unfortunately, the little scope for their utility is a very doubtful equivalent compared with their great cost, weight, and inefficiency.

It is a matter of serious importance that whilst the upper parts of our battleships are protected by thousands of tons of steel plating, costing millions of pounds sterling, the sham of attempting to protect the bottoms of these ships against the attacks of torpedoes by means of a flimsy fringe of netting is a suicidal course of neglect which calls for public condemnation. The writer of this article personally witnessed at Portsmouth, in the month of April of this year, the test evolutionary drill for establishing a record in favour of the latest type of torpedo-net since ordered for the Mediterranean Squadron. In his opinion, the new nets were more cumbersome, bulky, and difficult to handle, and equally as useless in their so-styled protective position as those previously used for so many years, and finally abolished for the same defects as were so markedly displayed by the newer failures. The fact is, the loud and universal condemnation of

the old torpedo-nets made it imperative for our Admiralty to do something, however futile, to soothe the public mind on the all-important question of defence for our ships against torpedo attack, and the result of their efforts up to the present may be seen in the adoption of slightly altered nets to the old ones, which alteration is of such a trivial and unimportant character that, although for a time it may be used to hoodwink the dissatisfied naval officers and the interested public, it will, when actually put to practical test, fail as utterly to defend ships against the torpedo attacks as its predecessors.

Whilst our Admiralty authorities are vainly beating the bush in futile efforts to bolster up in some form or other the utterly worthless torpedo-nets, it is well known and singular to remark that this dangerous condition of things could be entirely and easily removed if proper attention could be brought to bear on the all-important question of torpedo defence apart from the nets. The question of a thorough system of defence against torpedo attack, if fairly and impartially considered, resolves itself into a very narrow issue, as will be seen when it is explained that only two known forms of such defence exist—one being the hitherto proved useless netting, and the other a steel plate torpedo defence invented by Dr. G. Horatio Jones, F.R.S.L. Although the only torpedo-net system has been condemned by all leading naval officers and by many naval constructors of the highest rank, the steel plate torpedo defence referred to has received their highest approval, and whilst the rotten state of Denmark has been uselessly bolstered up by the introduction of another still more useless torpedo-net, the inventor of the steel plate defence has been incessantly engaged in improving the great practical advantages of his already approved means of steel plate torpedo defence.

It is not the intention of the writer, or within the sphere of the pages of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW, to discuss in detail the advantages of the steel plate invulnerable defence and the fatal defects of torpedo-netting, but the object of this article will be realised should it succeed in causing some public attention to be directed to the grave scandal of the present utterly defenceless state of our ships against attacks from torpedoes, and the neglect of responsible authorities to make use of the improved means at their disposal.

## NAPOLEON IN EGYPT.

ON August 1, 1798, Nelson annihilated the French fleet which exactly a month before had landed in Egypt Napoleon and his 30,000 troops. That event doomed the French expedition to certain failure, yet Napoleon remained in Egypt till August 22, 1799. The fourteen months which he spent there were certainly the most romantic period of his romantic career, and are the origin of the hankerings of the French for supremacy or ascendancy in Egypt, yet that period has attracted, even in France, but little attention. Napoleon's worshippers have naturally said little of an expedition which ended in failure and flight, while the critics have reserved their homilies for Moscow, Leipsic, and Waterloo. It is, however, surely interesting to see how he demeaned himself in the Oriental world—his apprenticeship, so to speak, in the art of government—to see what impression the East made upon him, and what attitude he adopted towards it. Leaving, therefore, military writers to discuss his Egyptian and Syrian battles, let us see how he conducted himself, not merely as a more or less successful invader, but as a ruler, a French Pharaoh. The fullest account of the expedition is the *Histoire Scientifique et Militaire de l'Expédition Française*, published in 1830-36, in ten volumes, or rather in eight, for the last two relate to the subsequent history of Egypt. It was chiefly written by Reybaud, who profited not only by printed despatches and memoirs, but by the recollections and papers of members of the expedition, particularly Girard and Geoffroy St. Hilaire. Additional materials have since come to light, notably the *Correspondance de Napoléon*, containing a mass of despatches, letters, and decrees from the French archives and other sources, and two Oriental narratives by eye-witnesses have been translated into French, yet, strange to say, no later French history has been produced. Even the controversy of recent years as to the rival pretensions of European Powers in Egypt has evoked no new account of the campaign on which French claims more or less consciously rest.

The expedition was unquestionably Napoleon's own project. The East had long had an attraction for him. Not that much importance need be attached to his perusal as a young man of books on Turkey, Persia, and India, or to the composition of an essay on the *Veiled Prophet of Khorassan*. Nor is the story well authenticated of his

offering his services to Count Tamara, a Greek, the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, who was planning a Russian fleet in the Mediterranean. But in 1788 he certainly applied to Zaborowski to enter the Russian army. As, however, Zaborowski could promise foreigners only a lower rank than that held by them in their own country, the overture was not followed up. In September 1795, struck off the army list on account of his refusal to serve in Vendée, Napoleon applied to the Public Safety Committee for a mission in Turkey, and such permission was granted, but was not acted upon, for a few days later Barras employed him in putting down the Vendémiaire rising. When in Italy, in 1797, he procured and annotated the books on the East from the Ambrosian libraries; and on August 16, 1797, he wrote from Milan to the Directory: "The time is not distant when we shall perceive that really to destroy England we must seize on Egypt." While, therefore, on returning to France he ostensibly accepted the command of the army which was to invade England, he was really bent on Egypt. He could not hope to enter the Directory, for the limit of age was forty, and he was only twenty-nine, and he felt that for a revolution "the pear was not yet ripe." On going to the Channel ports to inspect the preparations for invading England, he took with him a pile of books on Egypt, and on February 23, 1798, reporting to the Directory that such invasion must be postponed, he advocated "an expedition to the Levant, which would menace England's trade with India." La Reveillière and Rewbell strongly objected, indeed, the former insisting on the invasion of England as less hazardous and more decisive. But they were overruled by their colleagues. The Directory did not expect, perhaps did not even wish, Napoleon to succeed, for, though Monge had vouched for his being an Epaminondas, they were apprehensive of his being a Cæsar—the Cæsar predicted as early as January 1791 by Grimm as the certain closing act of the Revolution. "To sacrifice 30,000 men and risk a fleet in order to read a lesson to an ambitious young man was doubtless," says Reybaud, "neither moral nor politic; but governments, like individuals, have all their failings and weaknesses." "If Egypt fell," caustically remarked the English editor of the intercepted letters, "so much the better; if it did not, so much the better still." Napoleon himself, moreover, according to Barras, urged on the Directory the desirability of sending to a distance bold and enterprising legions, who might be up to mischief.

On May 3, 1798,<sup>1</sup> Napoleon secretly left Paris, taking with him, besides a more general collection, a pile of books on ancient campaigns in Egypt, just as he had taken to Italy the account of Maillebois's campaign there in 1745. The instructions of the Direc-

<sup>1</sup> The very day before the escape from the Temple of Sidney Smith, destined to frustrate him at Acre.

tory, doubtless drawn up by himself, were to seize on Egypt as a set-off to the English seizure of the Cape; to drive the English from their Red Sea factories or other possessions; to cut through the isthmus of Suez; to ameliorate the condition of the fellahs, and to maintain, as far as possible, good relations with the Sultan. Although, however, there was vague talk of Talleyrand being sent to Constantinople to appease the Sultan, there could have been no serious expectation that the latter would sanction the expedition as intended merely to punish his refractory viceroys, Ibrahim Bey and Murad Bey, for their exactions on French merchants. Ostensibly, however, there was no purpose of hostility to the Porte, which at that very time was being offered by the Directory artillerymen, gunsmiths, and naval engineers. In reality, a French conquest of Egypt had been advocated shortly before the Revolution, and Magallon, the consul at Alexandria, had persistently urged it.

Bourrienne tells us that on asking Napoleon, just before starting, how long he would be away, the reply was: "A few months or six years: it all depends on events. If everything succeeds, six years will be enough for getting to India." Whether Napoleon really contemplated an invasion of India is, however, doubtful. He never made any confidants. He probably had no settled plan, though he took care to collect information and to confer with emissaries of Tippoo Sahib, so as to be prepared for any contingency. After the destruction of his fleet his design seems to have been to enforce on England an advantageous peace, or to march on Constantinople, set up a new Sultan, and advance to Vienna, there to dictate terms to Germany. The expedition comprised 13 men-of-war, 9 frigates, 11 corvettes, and 232 transports—certainly the greatest maritime expedition then on record—a veritable Armada, though, according to some accounts, ill equipped and unequal to an encounter with Nelson in the open sea. It carried 36,000 men, the twenty-five generals including Kleber, Desaix, and Dumas, the novelist's father. It also carried a staff of *savants*—8 experts in geometry, 4 in astronomy, 13 in mechanics, 2 in chronometry, 8 in chemistry, 5 in mineralogy, 3 in botany, 5 in zoology, 6 in surgery, 3 in pharmacy, 2 in archæology, 4 in architecture, 4 in drawing, 17 in engineering, and 18 in geography, with 15 compositors. Some of these were men of eminence, but others were mediocre artists or writers, who rendered no service. The destination of the fleet had been kept rigidly secret, but London newspapers had guessed it, one of them adding, however, that India ran no danger, for the English fleet would prevent any reinforcements from being sent. The Abbé de Calonne, Louis XVI.'s ex-Finance Minister, an exile in England, also expressed a belief that Egypt was to be occupied as a route to India, but scouted a Suez Canal as impracticable, not on account of the different level of the two seas, but of the nature of the soil. Ships, however, he suggested,

might be sent in segments from Toulon across Egypt to Suez. Calonne is said, when in office, to have discountenanced trade with the East *via* Egypt, on account of his pecuniary interest in the French East India Company, and consequently to have allowed the treaty of 1785 with Turkey to remain a dead letter.

Sailing from Toulon on May 19, capturing Malta on his way, and leaving there a garrison of 4000 men, Napoleon landed off Alexandria on July 1, and captured it next day, with a loss of forty or fifty men killed and double that number wounded. Warned by the pillage committed at Malta, he had drawn up on board the *Orient*, and issued on landing, a proclamation, in which he said :

"The peoples with whom we are about to live are Mahometans. The first article of their faith is, 'There is no God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet.' Do not contradict them ; act with them as we have acted with the Jews and with the Italians. Show respect for their muftis and imams as you have done for rabbis and bishops. Show the same toleration for the ceremonies prescribed by the Koran and for the mosques as you have done for convents and synagogues, for the religion of Moses and of Jesus Christ. The Roman legions protected all religions. You will find here customs differing from those of Europe. You must get accustomed to them. The peoples among whom we are about to enter treat women differently from us ; but in all countries he who violates them is a monster. Pillage enriches only a handful of men. It dishonours us, it destroys our resources, it makes enemies of peoples whom it is our interest to have as friends."

He likewise issued in Arabic - Ventura, an accomplished Orientalist, acted as translator and interpreter - a proclamation to the natives, in which he said :

"Peoples of Egypt, you will be told that I am come to destroy your religion. Do not believe it. Answer that I am come to restore your rights, to punish usurpers, and that I respect more than the Mamelukes God, his prophet, and the Koran. . . . Cadis, sheikhs, imams, schorbadgis, tell the people that we are friends of the true Mussulmans. Is it not we who have overturned the Pope, who said there must be war against the Mussulmans ? Is it not we who have overturned the Knights of Malta, because those madmen believed that God wished them to make war on Mussulmans ?<sup>1</sup> Have we not been in all ages the friends of the Grand Signor (God grant his desires !) and the enemy of his enemies ?"

Napoleon likewise required the sheikhs of Alexandria to issue a declaration of his intention to respect religions and property.

Advancing on Cairo, Napoleon sent one division by the Nile to Ramanieh, while with the other four he took the shorter route across the desert to Damanhour. The latter march is described by Dr. Larrey as unprecedented in vicissitudes and privations :

"Struck by the rays of a burning sun, marching on foot on a still more burning sand, traversing an immense plain of fearful barrenness with

<sup>1</sup> Napoleon in dictating to Bertrand, at St. Helena, an account of the expedition significantly suppressed these two sentences.

occasional pools of muddy, almost solid water, the most robust soldiers, parched with thirst and overcome with heat, succumbed under the weight of their arms."

Five or six hundred men, according to Niello Sergy, a clerk of the staff, perished from thirst in five or six days. "The soldiers were so exasperated that they indulged in the wildest and most dastardly talk. I heard some exclaim as the staff passed, 'Behold the executioners of the French!' I saw soldiers shoot themselves in the presence of the Commander-in-Chief, saying to him, 'Behold thy work!'" Niello offered 24*l.* for a glass of water. "The soldiers were on the point of refusing to march." Their equipment, indeed, was most unfit for a hot climate, for the French had as yet had no experience of campaigns in hot countries. Thick cloth uniforms, high collars encumbering the neck and head, haversacks loaded with five days' rations of biscuits, broad belts obstructing respiration, a cartridge-box on one side, and a sabre dangling about the legs on the other, heavy black felt hats, giving little protection from the sun, the hair, moreover, being then worn long<sup>1</sup>—their outfit was most unsuitable, besides which weeks at sea had made them out of trim for marching. They had expected fertile plains, with abundant food and drink procurable on the way, and many, to lighten their haversacks, had thrown away their biscuit. The officers were equally disenchanted. They had counted on the marvels of the *Arabian Nights*. The *savants* alone were delighted, and the ill-humour of the soldiers vented itself on them. As they marched with the baggage borne by donkeys, the soldiers nicknamed the *savants* donkeys, and attributed the expedition to their foolish curiosity. The *mirage* was an additional cause of discouragement. The disappointment had commenced even at Alexandria, with its narrow, winding, and gloomy streets, its ugly and dirty women, its beggars and dogs. The privations of the five days' march to Rahmanieh intensified it. The intercepted letters of officers, published by the English Government in order to silence opposition newspapers which depicted the Egyptian expedition as a great success, are a burden of lamentation. Here are a few typical extracts:

"The disgust of the army is universal. Seventeen days without bread, wine, or brandy, and five without water, in a burning plain, with the enemy continually at our heels. . . . Discontent was marked on every countenance. . . . Several blew out their brains; others drowned themselves in the Nile."

"We are in a country thoroughly disagreeable to all. Had the army known before starting from France what was before them, none of us would have embarked, but would have preferred death a million times over to our present woful condition."

"My courage is sustained by the hope of a speedy return."

<sup>1</sup> It was noticed on Napoleon's return to France that his long locks had disappeared. So also, doubtless, with his troops.

Incredible as it seems, a soldier confessed to Colonel Chalbrand that on the third day's march he had resolved to kill a comrade and drink his blood; but seeing or fancying himself watched, he had no opportunity.

Reaching Damanhour on July 7, the soldiers found only mud huts, mostly deserted, and unground wheat; but they met with water and shady trees. On the 10th they arrived at Ramanieh, and were delighted at being able to bathe in the Nile and regale on water-melons. There the flotilla came up with them, and for the rest of the march supplied them with food. Grumbling did not cease, but a touch of gaiety mingled with it, and years afterwards old soldiers would hum a snatch of a song composed at that period:

“L'eau du Nil n'est pas champagne;  
Pourquoi vouloir faire campagne  
Dans un pays sans cabarets?”

The Frenchman, as Cowper says, “laughs the sense of misery away.” In the same spirit an officer who in spite of the privation of wine was gaining flesh regretted but one thing—“My poor hair! The extreme heat makes it fall off. I attribute this also, in great measure, to the want of powder and pomade.”

I pass over the skirmish with the Mamelukes at Chebreis and the so-called battle of the Pyramids,<sup>1</sup> except to remark that Napoleon not merely said, “Soldats, songez que du haut de ces pyramides quarante siècles vous contemplent,” but added, according to Chalbrand, “et vont applaudir à votre victoire.”

Even after the occupation of Cairo, Napoleon had to delude his army with promises that it would speedily be relieved, “An adroit falsehood,” says Niello, “which gave us time to get acclimatised.” Some generals agreed to ask in a body for leave to return, so that Napoleon, inviting them to dinner, had to warn them that insubordination would be equally punished in a drummer and a general. Officers shammed illness, so that Napoleon declared that any unworthy to remain in the expedition might leave, but that he would not tolerate malingering. There were not forty men out of 40,000, according to Tallien, who were not homesick. After a time, however, the soldiers felt themselves more at home. Cairo, which in 1600 years had never before seen European soldiers, underwent a metamorphosis—*cafés* in the French style, with billiard-tables, were introduced; bakeries, distilleries, breweries, shoe and hat factories, saddleries and cabinet-making, made their appearance. A public garden, with music and games of all kinds, was opened, and amateur theatricals were got up. It was more difficult to arrange balls, although a few wives and mistresses in male attire had clandestinely accompanied the expedition. On one of these, the young wife of

<sup>1</sup> The Pyramids were simply in sight of Embabel, the scene of the battle.

Lieutenant Fourés, originally a seamstress, Napoleon cast an eye, and he despatched the unsuspecting husband on a mission to Paris; but the English captured him and sent him back, whereupon, enlightened by the jibes of his comrades, he divorced his frail spouse. Napoleon is said to have promised her marriage if she bore him a son,<sup>1</sup> for he had heard of Josephine's inconstancy, and in a letter to his brother Joseph, discreetly suppressed in the volume of intercepted letters, had commented on her misconduct. "Our warriors in Egypt," he afterwards remarked to Rœal, "were like those at the Siege of Troy, and their wives showed the same kind of fidelity."

Napoleon carried out his promise of respecting private property, though he confiscated the possessions of the Mamelukes, and imposed heavy contributions on the rich. At Alexandria three soldiers, who had plucked dates from a garden, had their coats turned inside out and were drummed through the ranks. In other ways he also enforced strict discipline. French servants who threatened to leave their masters or demanded higher wages were amenable to five years' imprisonment. A surgeon, who from fear of plague refused to tend some wounded soldiers, was dressed in women's clothes and paraded on a donkey through Alexandria, with a label on his back, "Unworthy of French citizenship: he is afraid of death"; the man was then to be shipped to France. Bread, moreover, was to be of the same quality for all, hospitals excepted, and Napoleon himself had shared in the privations of the march. The same commendation cannot be accorded to his professions of leanings to Mahometanism, at which most of the soldiers laughed in their sleeves, while the few who were good Catholics, like Desaix, felt indignant. He even claimed to be the Mahdi predicted in Moslem tradition. In a proclamation issued after the rising at Cairo, he said:

"Make known to the people that ever since the world began it was written, that after having destroyed the enemies of Islam I should come from the extreme West to fulfil the mission devolving on me. Make the people see that in the Holy Book of the Koran in more than twenty passages what is now happening was predicted, and what will happen is also explained. . . . I could call you to account for your inmost thoughts, for I know all, even what you have never revealed to anybody; but the day will come when all will see plainly that I am guided by supreme orders, and that all human efforts can do nothing against me."

General Dupuy, destined to be killed in the Cairo rising, wrote to a friend at Toulouse: "We deceive the Egyptians by our simulated attachment to their religion, in which Bonaparte and we no more believe than in that of the defunct Pius"—meaning Pope Pius VI., who had apparently been reported as dead, though he survived till the following year. Chateaubriand, writing on this in

<sup>1</sup> Returning to France, Napoleon married her to Ranchout, whom he appointed consul at Santander.

a very different tone says: "We cannot but weep when the giant lowers himself to playing the buffoon!"

Nakoula, secretary and envoy of the Emir of the Druses, represents many natives as looking on Napoleon as an astrologer or as the Mahdi, the only obstacle to their faith in his pretensions being his retention of European costume, for had he donned a *feredje* (mantle) all would have followed him. Fear of the ridicule of his soldiers may have deterred him from this. But Nakoula, as a Syrian Christian, is not a judge of Moslem feeling, and Abdelrahman-el-Djabarti, a sheikh who was a member of the Cairo divan, tells us that the sheikhs were stupefied at Napoleon's audacious pretensions. Sultan Kebir ("The Strong"), as he was called, did not, however, go the length of General Menou in embracing Mahometanism. Forty-eight years of age, formerly a member of the French National Assembly, Menou, from mere policy, according to Marmont, turned Mahometan and married a woman neither young nor handsome. But another and more probable version is that he was fascinated by the black eyes of Rechidie or Zubeida, daughter of the Rosetta bath-proprietor, who with another damsel secretly waited on him to beg him to require Moslem husbands to allow their wives to frequent the baths and cemeteries as before the arrival of the infidels. After months of hesitation, Menou, as the only means of marrying her, turned Mahometan, and took the name of Abdallah—a remote ancestor of his, Comte de Bonneval, had likewise changed his religion and become a Turkish Pasha. Madame Menou in course of time gave birth to a son. On Rosetta being ultimately captured by the English she fled to Cairo, where her husband had become commander-in-chief. Menou, ever subservient to Napoleon, retained his good graces, and after capitulating in Egypt became governor of Venice, where he died in 1810.

Not only were the Mussulman festivals observed with the usual, or even more than the usual, pomp, but the French Republican *fêtes* were likewise celebrated, as also the anniversary of the battle of Rivoli. Balloons were twice sent up, the multitude imagining them to be designed for destroying an enemy's town. French and Arab horses ran races, the former winning. There were, moreover, pedestrian races, illuminations, and fireworks. Napoleon gave a grand dinner to the sheikhs, and on being invited to dinner by one of them he dispensed, like his host, with forks.

All witnesses testify to the fortitude with which Napoleon received the intelligence of the destruction of his fleet. "Destiny in this case, as in many others," he wrote to the Directory, "resolved on proving that if it allows us ascendancy on the mainland, it has allotted the empire of the sea to our rivals." "We must either die or emerge great, like the ancients," he said to those around him. His fortitude, however, would have been more

admirable if he had not cast the blame on Admiral Brueys, who was not alive to defend himself. It is clear from his own letters that Napoleon gave no instructions, as he alleged, for the departure of the fleet for Corfu, if it could not enter the harbour of Alexandria. He simply ordered the dispatch of a few vessels to Corfu to fetch wine, brandy, and fuel for the army. If he still thought of returning before the winter to France, where he had asked his brother Joseph to find a country-house near Paris or in Burgundy, he knew that he could now do so only by slipping past the English cruisers. However this may be, he set himself to governing Egypt. Some of his measures were premature or mistaken. He introduced the French system of registering titles to land and taxing changes of ownership, in lieu of the feudal tenure then subsisting. This was one of the causes of the Cairo rising, which cost him the lives of 400 men. He required all natives to wear the tri-coloured cockade, but they resisted this, as contrary to their religion. He had to content himself with requiring the sheikhs to wear it when waiting upon him, but they put it on and took it off at the door of his palace. He created post-offices in the various towns, natives being invited to avail themselves of these. He put a stop to intramural interments. He enforced the cleansing of the streets; but the regulation that every householder should hang a lamp outside at night proved so vexatious that lamps suspended at certain distances in the middle of the streets at the expense of those well-to-do were substituted. The dog nuisance was repressed by poisoning. The multitude of letters and orders written by Napoleon testify to his wonderful mastery of details and strict supervision of his subordinates.

The Institute of Egypt must not be passed over. Composed of the *savants* of the expedition, Napoleon himself figuring in it as a mathematician, it had four sections, like its Paris prototype—mathematics, physics, political economy, literature and art. Monge was president, Napoleon vice-president. It met twice a week, and busied itself with the manufacture of saltpetre, the erection of wind-mills, hydraulic machines for supplying cisterns, bread-making, substitutes for wine, dyes, ophthalmia, the fauna, flora, and antiquities of the country. The ornamental was mingled with the useful. Perseval de Grandmaison recited translations of Tasso and Camoens, and Marcel turned passages of the Koran into French verse. Napoleon was a regular attendant, and read a paper on the Cairo rate of mortality. At one sitting Monge explained the *mirage*. Two commissions were sent out to Upper Egypt to report on its monuments, and these were attended with considerable risk, for even an escort, though indispensable, did not always ensure safety. The library was open to all comers. So also were Berthollet's chemical experiments, which the natives, however, took for alchemy. A printing

office was under the same roof, and the garden behind was converted into a botanic garden, an observatory being also erected in it. Napoleon, by the way, who occupied Ibrahim's palace, had the spacious garden, an Oriental thicket, cut up into avenues and adorned with fountains. Two newspapers in French were published by Desgenettes, one scientific, the other political, but the file of the latter is disappointing. European news naturally fills a large part of it, and the Egyptian information is meagre. It was carried on from August 1798 to June 1801.

Napoleon, of course, visited the Pyramids and Suez. On reaching the foot of the first pyramid, he set his *savants* to run a race in scrambling to the top, while he remained behind, laughing boisterously and spurring them on. Monge, though by no means the youngest, for he was fifty-two, won the race. It is not easy to imagine the "great unamusable," as Talleyrand styled him, indulging in merriment, but Napoleon was then under thirty, and had not yet felt the cares of empire. His alleged long conversation inside the great Pyramid with three muftis was, of course, a pure invention. He was not able till December 24 to start for Suez. Going on horseback, but a carriage with six horses following him, he arrived on the 26th, forded the Red Sea at low tide on the 28th, and visited the springs of Moses. Returning in the evening, the tide had risen, and he had to wind round the head of the sea. The guide lost his way, and was entangled in swamps, the water being up to his girdle. "That guide," remarked the Paris *Moniteur*, "must be a descendant of the man who conducted Pharaoh." Leaving Suez next day, Napoleon found vestiges of the old canal, and he ordered levels to be taken of the isthmus, to ascertain whether the work could be restored.

The French soldiers, though still missing their wine, got used to stewed buffalo, and bread became plentiful. They eagerly took to baths, chibouks, and coffee. Donkey-riding became a passion with them. They had races on donkeys, laughing and singing lustily, and a sheikh wrote an Arab distich to this effect: "The French are losing their money in our Egypt by donkeys and *cafés*; they are going to Syria, where they will lose their lives." Djabarti describes them as paying handsomely for everything, and as drinking merely enough to make them merry. Intoxication, indeed, was punished. He notes with surprise that all could read and write. "The majority of this nation," he adds, "have a liking for frolic and pleasure." "The French, being fond of women, pay them all sorts of attentions, listen to their counsels, and grant all that they ask even if struck or insulted by them." Many Mussulman women walked in the streets or went in boats with the French, dancing, singing, and drinking with them. "Many Frenchmen have married

Mussulmans, and some even pretended to become Mussulmans; but this cost them nothing, as they have no religion."<sup>1</sup> Commenting, also, on their construction of a sundial to indicate the hour of prayer, Djabarti adds, "Yet the French never pray." We must remember that at that time France had no State religion, Catholicism being simply tolerated. Djabarti's chief complaint, however, is of the presumption of the Copts, Greeks, Syrians, and Jews, who, profiting by the presence of the Frank, threw off their distinctive garb, and began eating, drinking, and smoking during Ramadan, whereas Moslem usage forbade any Christian to be then seen by a believer engaged in such acts. A Mussulman passing a Christian's shop saw him smoking inside. A scuffle ensued; the French authorities arrested both the combatants, but ended by flogging the Christian. They also required the Christians to resume their traditional costumes.

Although dinners were exchanged between the French and the sheikhs, and although the divan of sixty Mussulman notables was outwardly submissive, signing all the proclamations required of them, the invaders were evidently detested. As in Algeria and Tunis to this day, the rule of the infidel was disliked. There was no disturbance, indeed, in Cairo after the prompt but not merciless repression of the rising, and even during Napoleon's absence in Syria the city remained perfectly quiet; but just as all stragglers from the army had been slaughtered, so it was never safe for a Frenchman to venture alone outside the towns. The taxes and forced loans which, in the necessary absence of remittances from France, they levied, must, moreover, have caused discontent. The English blockade, too, had put a stop to trade, reducing opulent merchants to the sale of fish, cooked meat, and coffee, and small traders to the letting of donkeys on hire. The Divan was therefore sullen, if not refractory, especially when the fiction of French friendship for the Sultan had collapsed, and when the rebuff at Acre became known. Napoleon, indeed, made a triumphal entry into Cairo, and sent captured flags to the mosques. At the gate a sheikh presented him with a splendid black pony, the groom, Roustan, becoming later on "the Emperor's Mameluke," a sentinel at the Tuileries. That pony Napoleon immediately mounted, and marching at the head of his troops he entered the city. Another sheikh presented him with two fine dromedaries. Prisoners were paraded about the streets, and for three days tight-rope dancing and other amusements were provided. Napoleon also required the Divan to issue a glowing account of his Syrian victories. Not a stone, it said, was left of Acre:

"We know that it is his (Bonaparte's) intention to build a mosque which will be unrivalled in the world, and to embrace the Mussulman religion. . . . He reveres the prophet, and daily reads the Koran."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Army chaplaincies, abolished at the Revolution, were not revived till 1816.

<sup>2</sup> Reybaud states that on the voyage back to France he was absorbed in reading

He gave fresh life to the Institute, which had slumbered in his absence, appointed a commission to report elaborately on the plague, and decreed an ordnance survey of Egypt, which was not completed till the eve of the French evacuation. He provided new uniforms for his soldiers, better adapted to the climate, but as blue materials were scarce some had to be decked, to their extreme disgust, in yellow. Ophthalmia had caused them much suffering; and insects were of course troublesome. "For five days," wrote Tallien from Rosetta to his too celebrated wife, "I have not slept a wink; flies, bugs, ants, gnats (mosquitoes), all sorts of insects, devour us, and twenty times a day I long for our charming cottage." Dysentery and plague were more serious evils. The Arabs could not but notice the steadily diminishing numbers of the invaders, disease being more deadly than the sword. It was necessary to forbid them from speaking ill of the French in the streets and cafés, and several were fined for this offence. Korain, the Governor of Alexandria, detected in correspondence with the fugitive beys, was shot.

On the appearance of the hostile fleet off Aboukir, Napoleon, in a proclamation to the Mussulmans, said:

"There are in that fleet Russians who hate all believers in one God, because according to their false doctrine there are three; but they will soon see that it is not the number of Gods which gives strength, and that there is but one, the father of victory, mild and merciful, always fighting for the good and confounding the schemes of the wicked, and who in his wisdom decreed that I should come to Egypt to renovate it and supersede a devastating system by one of order and justice. He thereby gives a token of his omnipotence, for what had never been done by believers in three Gods has been done by us who believe that one alone governs nature and the universe."

Recent events give much piquancy to this passage. These pro-Mussulman manifestoes, though duly received by the French Government, for they are in the War Office archives, were not published at the time in France, and it is rather surprising to find them in the *Correspondance de Napoléon*, to which discreet suppression was not unknown.

After the victory of Aboukir Napoleon again paraded his prisoners in his train at Cairo, and to all appearance was intent on establishing his rule in Egypt; but, though he made no confidants, he had probably, ever since his rebuff at Acre, meditated escape to France. True, he had defeated the Turks at Aboukir, but he knew that the Porte, in concert with England, would renew the attempt, and that the English fleet deprived him of the possibility of reinforcements, even if the Directory could have spared troops from Europe. Nor were the Bedouins subjugated, despite the campaign of Desaix in Upper Egypt, for a fanatic, claiming, like Napoleon himself, to be

both the Bible and the Koran. At Nazareth he had attended a Te Deum in a Catholic monastery for his Syrian victories.

the Mahdi, surprised and slaughtered the little garrison at Damanhour. The toils were closing round the army. Capitulation was only a question of time. Sir Sidney Smith, in negotiating an exchange of prisoners at Alexandria, sent Napoleon not only intercepted letters from France, but English and German newspapers, full of reports of French reverses in Italy and Switzerland. Smith's secretary, Keith, dining with Napoleon, asked him whether he was not tired of a barbarous country. "Are not you bored at sea?" replied Napoleon; "it is true you have the amusement of fishing." Smith, anxious to get the French out of Egypt, without considering that they might be equally troublesome elsewhere, offered to transport them to France. Napoleon temporised, pretending that he must visit Upper Egypt before discussing the matter. But, in reality, he went back to Cairo for six days only to prepare for flight and to leave things as straight as was possible. He represented to the Divan that he was about to take the command of the remnant of the fleet, and would be back in three months. His plan had to be kept a profound secret, for the army, as Reybaud acknowledges, would otherwise have detained him by force. On August 17, 1799, Admiral Gantheaume sent word that the coast was clear, for two English vessels had had to leave for a friendly port, one for drinking-water, the other for repairs.

Hastening to Alexandria, Napoleon embarked on the 22nd with 500 men and two frigates. He left an empty treasury, with 4,000,000 francs arrears due to the army, and 6,000,000 of other liabilities. There seems a mockery in that passage of his long letter of instructions to Kleber, in which he promises to send over from France a company of actors, for which he said he had repeatedly applied. "This is very important for the army, and for effecting a change in the manners of the country."

He certainly made the best choice of a successor. Kleber had not known him before starting for Egypt, and had disapproved the expedition, as also the prolonged siege of Acre. There had been misunderstandings, and in September 1798 Kleber asked leave to return to France, but Napoleon sent him a soothing letter. Napoleon had asked him to meet him at Damietta—"I have to confer with you on important matters." On arriving there, as Kleber wrote to Menou, "the bird had flown," and, indeed, had not been to Damietta at all. His indignation may be imagined, and had he lived to return to France there must have been bitter recriminations between him and Napoleon; but he patriotically accepted the command. He did not, however, get on so well with the natives. He kept up more state, and, instead of laughing and talking, was grave and taciturn, not possessing Napoleon's insatiable curiosity and thirst for information. The latter dictated at St. Helena a long but inconclusive answer to Kleber's despatch to the Directory on the conditions

under which he had to undertake his charge. The soldiers were in consternation, regarding their general's flight as proof of the hopelessness of their position. The sheikhs, as Djabarti tells us, admired Napoleon's cleverness in concealing his design, but were amazed at his risking capture by the English fleet. But, with the luck at sea which again attended him in 1815, he landed safely at Fréjus, and had a triumphal journey to Paris. He posed as the victor of Aboukir, not as the vanquished at Acre, or as the fugitive from duty. Talleyrand, indeed, states that, but for the success at Aboukir, he would not have ventured to return. Barras alleges that, even as it was, Napoleon was uneasy on the voyage home as to his reception, and we know from his fellow-voyagers that he had none of the liveliness of the outward voyage, though he occasionally played cards, and very rarely chess, in which he was daring but unskilful, and disliked being beaten.

The plea that he came to retrieve French reverses in Europe was untenable, for the tide of victory had already turned. He clearly ought to have been cashiered, but he had rightly calculated on the weakness and unpopularity of the Directory, which had to affect to welcome his return. Within a month he installed himself in its place, and, as he had adroitly concealed his own responsibility for the expedition, the Directory had been accused of deliberately sacrificing a French army, while Talleyrand and Delacroix shifted the blame on each other.

A soldier who arrived from Egypt shortly after Napoleon called on him. "I reproached him," he says, "with having deserted us. I told him how stupefied all of us were at missing him, and how one said, 'He has gone here,' and another, 'He has gone there.' He laughed when I related all this to him." This is an anecdote given in the friendly *Moniteur*, and may therefore be credited. Napoleon laughed at leaving his army in the lurch; all Napoleon is there. Yet Thiers, while acknowledging that some denounced his flight as cruel and cowardly, describes it as "an irresistible impulse of patriotism and ambition."

The contrast between Napoleon and Louis IX. is so evident that the former, at St. Helena, tried to gloss it over by sneers at the saintly monarch who chose to share the captivity of his army. "In 1250," he says, "Egypt was less in a position to defend itself and more devoid of defenders than in 1798, but St. Louis did not know how to profit by this. He spent eight months in praying, when he should have passed them in marching, fighting, and establishing himself in the country." The slur is very ungenerous. We must not infer from Napoleon's desertion of his army, first in Egypt and again in Russia, that the age of heroism was past. The boy Casabianca, in the battle of the Nile, refused to quit the ship on which lay his wounded father, and both were blown up with it.

Napoleon did not even make any serious attempt to rescue his deserted army, to the command of which, on the assassination of Kleber, the incompetent Menou succeeded. On the evacuation in 1801 scarcely 6000 men, half of them in hospital, had survived battle and disease. On November 12, 1800, the Cairo Divan, in a long address to the "illustrious and generous Emir whom goodness and virtue adorn," had professed ardent longing for his promised return. Yet he never forgot Egypt. On the voyage to St. Helena he began dictating an account of the expedition, and he also talked of his Egyptian experiences "in barrack-room style," as Madame Montholon says, till, noticing her presence, he stopped and apologised.<sup>1</sup>

As to French rule in Egypt, Djabarti, in his calm chronicle, usually without comment, records numerous executions of notables for conspiracy, confiscations, and torture of slaves to discover their masters' concealed arms or treasure; yet he testifies to the equity of French justice, and speaking of the Turkish soldiers who succeeded the French, he says: "They plundered and killed all whom they met, so that everybody, especially the fellahs, regretted the French."<sup>2</sup> Nakoula likewise states that the French, owing to their sociability, were less disliked than other Europeans. "The army," says General Reynier, "leaves in Egypt great recollections and regrets—these impressions are a germ which the future and events will develop." When Louis Philippe, in 1833, asked for the Luxor column to ornament the Place de la Concorde, and when later on he went to the verge of war with Europe in support of Mehemet Ali, he doubtless regarded himself as resuming Napoleon's policy.

Philosophers dispute the influence of individuals or accidents on the course of history. If, indeed, we take away any other man of the end of the eighteenth century, we can judge that things would not have been materially different. A Pitt, a Metternich, an Alexander was guided by events; had they never lived, other statesmen would have been impelled by circumstances to act very much as they did. But take away Napoleon, or imagine him detained in Egypt till the capitulation, or captured on his voyage back, and what would history have been? Some other general, a Bernadotte or a Moreau, would perhaps have reigned over France, but he would have possessed neither the inordinate ambition nor the marvellous powers of a Napoleon.

J. G. ALGER.

<sup>1</sup> *Carnet Historique*, June 15, 1898.

<sup>2</sup> "The English," said an anonymous French pamphlet in 1805, "have restored barbarism and ignorance in Egypt," and it must be confessed that the reproach is not without point, though political exigencies may be pleaded.

## THE HISTORY OF THE FORMS AND MIGRATIONS OF THE SIGNS OF THE CROSS AND THE SU-ASTIKA.

### PART VII.—THE MOTHER SUN-BIRD OF EUROPEAN MYTHOLOGY AND THE SUN-RITUAL OF THE NEOLITHIC AGE.

WE see from the foregoing account of the ritual of the Tri-Ambikā sacrifice and from the perambulations of the priests against the course of the sun that the original circuit of the flying bird was one round the Pole, beginning with its northern flight at the winter solstice, and that it was made contrary to the course of the sun. Therefore

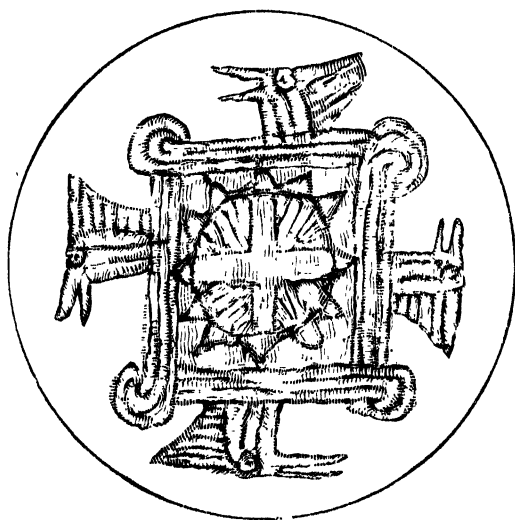


FIG. 263.

the left-hand Sū-astika, which marks this course, was the original sign, and this deduction is confirmed by the three bird Su-astikas, Nos. 263, 264, 265, pp. 906 and 907, in Mr. Wilson's *Treaties on the Su-astika*. These three Su-astikas were found in ancient Indian graves in Mississippi and Tennessee. In all three the head of the bird is not that of the turkey placed on the shafts of the Palenque cross,

but a long-beaked bird resembling a woodpecker. This is apparently a descendant of the mother-bird of the inland forest races, who

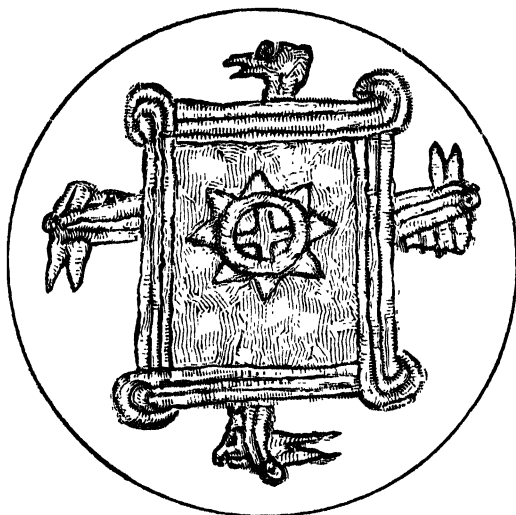


FIG. 264.

originally carved their villages out of the forests, and who did not watch the storm-bird, the crow, as the maritime races did. The bird which, as Leland tells us,<sup>1</sup> is still sacred to the Etruscans and

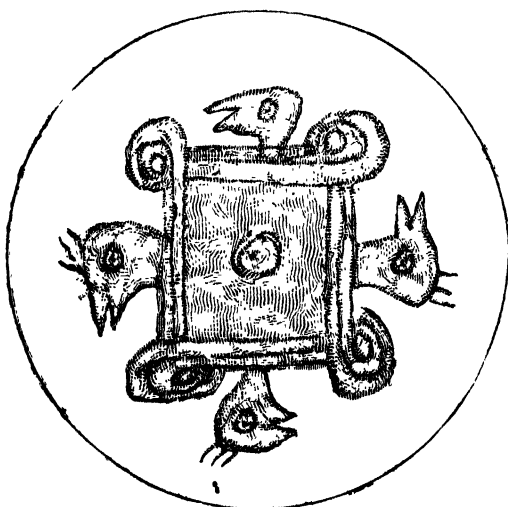


FIG. 265.

Algonquin Indians, was the red-headed woodpecker. This is a bird who marks the changes in the year's seasons by building its nest and

<sup>1</sup> Leland, *Etruscan Roman Remains*, pp. 163, 272.

bringing up its young, and also tapping the trees through every season of the year to feed on the insects who live in the shelter of the bark. It is in Europe the parent bird of the dwarf spirits with the red cap, who were supposed to guard treasures, and to appear in Irish mythology as the Leprechaun, and they are thus the sacred birds of the woodland running races. This bird *Picus* was, in Roman mythology, the grandfather of *Latinus*, the son of the house- and gnomon-pole *Lat*, and therefore belongs to the very early days of time measurement before Northern countries had been interpenetrated with Southern astronomy, and when the changes of the seasons were marked by changes indicated by animals, such as those given by the building of birds' nests and their migrations, the changing of the horns of the deer, and the exodus and return of the river-eels. It appears that the woodpecker was probably adopted as the mother sun-bird by the first Basque cultivators, the sons of the forest (*baso*), the *Volsung* race of the *Niblunga-Saga*, who carved their villages out of the forests of Asia Minor and Europe as their Indian forefathers had done in those of India. These people had not brought with them the Indian sun-bird the jungle fowl, who only appeared in Europe with the sun-physician *Asclepios* in the days of the year-voyage of the *Argo*, and they found his European substitute in the woodpecker. Hence all the Turanian gods of the sons of the red-headed woodpecker became red-headed, and this characteristic is still retained by the stick or growing-tree pillar god of the Gonds, *Bhim-sen*, who always has a red head, and his Vedic counterpart is *Rudra*, the red-god; and they both brought their red heads from Europe, where they were the birds of the dawning and setting sun, to India. In all these three *Su-astikas* the beak of the bird is turned from right to left to mark the northern track of the solstitial sun, rising in the south-east and directing its course to the north. These American Indian representations of the woodpecker *Sū-astika* of the forest races also show that the cross from which it was made, the cross with upturned arms formed by the birds' beaks, to mark the northern course of the sun, was the equilateral upright Greek cross. This was the sacred symbol of the early ploughing races, who used it as the sign dividing the square field of God, the agricultural year of the equinoxes and solstices, into four equal shares or seasons. That this year was one derived from the revolving year of the growing and turning tree is proved by the Greek cross in the centre of Fig. 263, and this is shown to be a symbol of the year of the revolutions of the sun by the interspaces between its arms, which are filled with sun's rays, and by the twelve points marking the twelve months of the sun's circle, within which the Greek cross stands, thus showing that the square field of the augurs' flying bird was originally a sun circle. In Fig. 264, the circle in which the Greek cross is placed is surrounded by the eight points of the eight-rayed star.

That this original left-hand Sū-astika of the flying sun-bird slain and revived at the winter solstice was one of the year of two seasons, in which the second season was marked by the right-hand male Su-astika, in which the bird went southwards, is proved by the still earlier division of the year of the very conservative Hindus not only into the ritualistic seasons marked by the solstice, but into the two seasons of the Pleiades year beginning in November and May. This primæval division is still commemorated in the name of the mid-year month Bai-sakh or Vi-sakha (April-May)—that is, the month of two (vi) branches (sakha) into which the year of the growing tree then divides. This was the year ruled by the ape-god of Cepheus, who turns the stars round the Pole-star, which is the bird on the top of the branching tree, and by the black crow-star Canopus or Argo. This rule of the ape-god still continued during the age when the Pole-star was in Cygnus, the constellation of Ambikā, for, as we have seen, Arjuna and Krishna the sun-antelope, successors of the flying bird, marched under the banner of the ape-star, the husband of Tārā the Pole-star.

Thus, the conception of the eight-rayed star was the work of two successive schools of astronomy: the first that of the age of the Pole-star ape and the flying sun-bird of the solstitial sun, which looked on the heavens as revolving like the outer skin of the universe boat; and the second the later school of the Northern worshippers of the sun and of the Polar fire-drill, the parent of the household and national fire, who thought that the heavens were stationary, and that their apparent motion was caused by the revolutions of the central fire-drill on the navel of the earth, the top of the mother-mountain, which was turned by the Pole-star god. It was these races which made the stationary woodpecker who pecks the outside bark of the world's tree throughout the whole year their mother-bird, instead of the storm-cloud mother Shar, the bird called by the Akkadians Ingaltudda, the Zu (khu) bird, who was the successor of Mul-lil, the lord of the flying dust (lii), the stormy west wind of the ape-god, and who fled to the mountain-bird as the successful rebel against his rule. This was the bird of the south-west wind which brought up the monsoon rains, the crow-bird Canopus, who was first the ape-god ruling the winds, and who became the black Bindo bird of the *Song of Lingal*, the Arabian Rukh, the bird of the breath (ruakh) of God. It is this bird, coming originally from the south-west, which appears as the sign of the solstitial sun on all the ancient star-symbols, beginning with the Egyptian five-rayed star

of Horus. ✕ In this it is the symbol both of the five-days week and the sign of the growing plant with its two roots, whence the two cotyledon leaves and the central plumule or sprout emerge. This sun-cross appears also in the six-rayed star of the Hittites and

Cypriotes, ✕ which depicts the flying bird as going round the central Pole.

This transverse cross of the flying bird subsequently became Pegasus, the flying star-horse of the sun, which, as we have seen, joined the flying bird in the rescue of Bhujyu. This flying sun-horse is the British white horse Epona, and Sigard's grey horse Gräm, thus returning in this myth to its original form of the cloud-mother.

It is this legend of the solstitial flying white horse of the sun which was once the sun-bird, which is, as I have proved, recorded in stone in the great sun temple at Stonehenge. This temple is, like the orthodox stone altar of the Hindus which succeeded the original earth altar in the form of a woman, built on the plan of the flying bird.<sup>1</sup> Its tail is the north-east gnomon-stone, the Friar's Heel, over which the sun rises at the summer solstice, and its body, neck, and beak survive in the sacrificial stone marking the transverse line of the sun-shadow from the north-east to the south-west, ending in the circular temple of thirty stones, the bird's head, and the thirty days of the lunar-solar month of the year of 360 days. Within this circle stands the pure altar of the sun-god, on which no blood was ever shed, and this is backed by the two semicircles of stone indicating the shoes of the sun-horse. Outside the sun-circle stands the south-west gnomon-stone. Besides these north-east and south-west stones, there were two other stones marking the north-west and the south-east, the setting point of the sun of the summer and the rising point of the winter solstice, of which only one still remains.<sup>2</sup>

The ancient stone circle on which the later astronomical temple of Stonehenge was founded appears in the Neolithic stone circles in Belgium which have been so thoroughly examined by M. Harroy. The most perfect of these are those at Solwaster, on the high table-land near Francorchamps, about seven miles from Spa. These circles are, like that at Stonehenge, connected with a sacrificial stone altar or "dolmen," but this, instead of being in the direct line of the rays of the rising sun between the gnomon-stone and the temple circle, as at Stonehenge, is some distance from them.

The Solwaster dolmen is an oblong stone, with its longer axis pointing due north and south, and on it is marked the image of the ancient plough common on the dolmens of Bretagne. This shows that the theology of the sun of the eight-rayed star was in Europe, as I have proved it to be in India, the work of the ploughing races; and these again inherited the first germs of their persistent sun-worship from the Palæolithic races, who made, like the modern Lapps, the

<sup>1</sup> Eggeling's *Sat. Brüh.* S. B. E. vol. xli. p. 419, Plan of the Fire-altar.

<sup>2</sup> Hewitt, *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, vol. ii. essay viii. pp. 138-146, 165-177.

reindeer-sun their god. It was the sledges drawn by these reindeer which became the plough drawn by the sun-bullocks, the Indian sexless ox-god Rāma.

In the cromlech circles connected with the sun-god as the eight-rayed star of day going round the Pole, like his brethren the stars of night, the god to whom living victims were offered on the dolmen outside the sun-circle, the central stone is the Hir-men-sol, or Great Stone of the Sun, and the sun especially adored in this ritual is the rising sun of the east, and not the setting sun of the west, which begins the equinoctial year of the Jews. At a distance of thirty metres round this is the circle of stones arranged in the form of an astronomical circle of 360 degrees, a stone being placed to mark each ten degrees of the circle, while the ends of those degree lines denoting the *rising points of the equinoctial and solstitial suns* are marked by larger stones than the other ray points. Thus the north-east and south-west arc of this circle forms, as M. Harroy says, a great stone sextant.<sup>1</sup>

This final phase of the solstitial year, the year of the flying white horse of the sun, beginning with the summer solstice, was, as I have shown, the second form of the Su-astika, called the male Su-astika. It represented the year of the Northern ploughing races, whose creator was the Pole-star father god of the North, the turner of the fire-drill of heaven, and not the Southern Pole-star mother-goddess, the wife of the ape-god. This is the Su-astika which is one of the principal marks in the foot of the Buddha, the sun physician, coming to life as the sun-god ruling the year at the summer solstice. It was he who started on his white sun-horse called Kanthaka, the thorny one, on his first journey as the independent sun-god, on the full-moon day of Asarh—that is, at the first full moon after the summer solstice. This was the year's circuit which was to end in his exchanging the begging bowl given him as the physician sun-god by the archangel Ghatikāra for the golden bowl formed of the blue heaven of day and the jet-black heaven of night, of which I have already spoken. As the sun-god of the eight-rayed star, whose rays point to all points of the compass, he was the god who marks his presence on the earth by the shadows cast by the central gnomon-tree of the earth, moved round by the Pole-star god, and thus receiving the shadows of the stationary sun. This gnomon-tree, or Buddhist Lāt, was that which, like the shaft of the Palenque cross, was, as the holy gnomon of the sacrificial area, surmounted with the image of the flying year-bird. This is the Garuda, or bull-bird of light, which is placed on the top of the circle of sacrificial posts surrounding the the Great Sandōpayā Pagoda at Prome, in Burmah. Also this bird, in the form of the sacred Vulture bird-star Vega

<sup>1</sup> M. Harroy, *Cromlechs et Dolmens de Belgique, &c.; Le Dolmen et Cromlechs de Solwaester*, pp. 8-35, 732.

worshipped by the Arabian Sabœans as El Nasr the vulture, appears on the top of the phallic stone pillars in the temple of Zambabwe, built by the ancient Sabœan gold-miners in Mashonaland. It was the Hir-men-sol, or sun-tree, represented in permanent sun enclosures or cromlechs as the central stone gnomon, and it originally was the tree in the village grove. Thence it passed through the evolutionary stages described in the wooden Drona, or Jar, the mother Kadru, the gardens of Adonis, the birthplace of the young sun-god, and the tree-trunk image of the sun-mother Lato.

But in the course of the development of the idea of the birth of the sun-god from the tree, there branched off a divergent line of myth, the work of the artisan races who, like those of Egypt and Greece, claimed to be descendants of the creating potter. This father-god was the Egyptian god Chnum, represented as turning the potter's wheel, and the Greek hero god Peleus, father of Achilles, the sun-god whose mother was Thetis, a Phœnician goddess whose name is derived from the Semite Thith (clay). Thus the sun-god, the successor of Patroclus, whom I have shown to be the physician sun-god,<sup>1</sup> was the god descended through both his parents from the potter's clay (pelos), which became the sacred earthenware jar which replaced the original hollowed tree-trunk. The osier basket of the first-fruits of the sons of the rivers, containing the barley-seed whence the young sun-god was to be born, was the intervening link between the tree-trunk and the earthen jar, and all these holy receptacles were linked as those which contained the divine sap of life in the form of water and seed.

That the correct interpretation of the meaning of the Buddhist begging bowl is that it is the clay casket of the god of time, the Great Potter, containing the food which is to sustain its possessor for twenty-four hours, is clear from the name Ghati-kāra, the maker of Ghatīs, the sixty divisions of twenty-four minutes each into which the Hindu day is divided, a reckoning made first by the southern Dravidians. He is called Mahā-Brahma, the great strong (brh) god, the great potter, the Indian counterpart of the Greek Ixion and the Egyptian Chnum, the god bound to the Polar wheel of time as the perpetually creating potter, who made men not as the sons of the tree, according to Southern belief, but as the image of God raised from the seed sown in the potter's earth moulded by the ever-revolving wheel. The work-place of the father potter was on the mother-mountain, and it was thence he turned the earth on its axis and received on its eight sides the shadow-casting rays of the eight-rayed star. These eight rays were called in the Akkadian astronomy the eight anuna-ge, or spirits of earth, the earth-shadows. It was on quitting the workshop of the creating potter, round which the

<sup>1</sup> Hewitt's *Cave Deposits in the Ardennes*, WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July 1897, pp. 606, 607.

stationary sun seemed to revolve, and beginning his year's journey through the heavens on the zodiacal star-track of the Ten Kings of Babylon, that the sun-god mounted on the flying horse. This last was the revived form of the original sun-bird, who used, before the days of the creating potter, to fly round the heavens from solstice to solstice without the aid of the star-track provided for its successor.

This analysis makes it perfectly clear that the original conception of the Su-astika arose out of that which made the bird born of the Pole-star, the sun-bird of the solstitial sun, the annual circler of the heavens and the measurer of the year. And we can thus trace the steps which led to the name of Sū-astika, or the eight (astika) stages of the bird (Su), being given to the female or left-hand symbol of the sun-god, the sun-maiden wedded to Pūshān the storm-god first, and afterwards to the male moon, and can follow the evolution of sun-worship to the adoration of the male or right-hand Su-astika, the symbol of the sun-horse. This Su-astika is that marking the year beginning at the summer solstice, when the Roman augurs turned southwards in their religious ceremonies, instead of retaining the original position facing northward of the sons of the woodpecker bird who began his year's journey by going northward at the winter solstice. This north position is that retained by the Sabæan priesthood, who face the Pole-star, which they worship as the World of Light, the divinity self-created. The change to the south is also marked by the Roman assignment of the left as the lucky quarter, the side of the eastern sun to the augurs facing south.

In chronological history the age of the Sū-astika of the flying bird marks the whole period between about 17,000 B.C., when the Pole-star was in Cygnus, and that of the first conception of the zodiacal year, which apparently was formed after the Pole-star had left Lyra, about 8000 B.C., and had passed into Hercules.

Actual evidence of the diffusion of this sign, which was first apparently made sacred in India, is given by the earlier left-hand or female Sū-astika depicted on the leaden image of the female goddess found by Dr. Schliemann in a recess in the wall of the Trojan city,<sup>1</sup> which was first thought to be the wall of the third city from the bottom of the six cities of Troy, but has since been ascertained to be the wall of the second or lower city, which was, like the traditional Troy of Homer, burnt. In this no iron was found, except two large unshapen lumps, and almost all the weapons were of stone, only a few bronze arms being found.

The image is that of a female goddess with a fish's tail, showing it to be an image of the Akkadian goddess Nāna, the fish-mother, the later Derceto, a form of the original Semite name Tirhathā, the cleft

<sup>1</sup> Schuchhardt's *Schliemann's Excavations*, Fig. 60, pp. 55, 67. Wilson's *Su-astika*, p. 829.

or river-pool. She was the Makara or Dolphin of Indian and Greek mythology, which in the flood drew the boat of Manu, the measuring god, to the mother-mountain Idā. Her name is shown by the Tamil and Vedic form, Eda, the sheep sacred to Varuna, to have originally been that given to the mother of the ram-sun, who became, what she is represented as being in the *Brāhmanas*, the cow sun-mother.<sup>1</sup> The Indian origin of this image is clearly and unmistakably proved by the triangle covering the vulva in which the Sū-astika is depicted. This marks it as a distinct reproduction of the Indian earth altar made in the form of a woman, in which the centre round the navel is guarded by the three Paridhis, or twig triangle, which I have so often spoken of. The altar fire is placed in the centre of this sign of the year of three seasons, beginning with the setting of the evening sun, the western stick placed first by the arranging priest, just as in the Dakota fire of the year of St. George's Cross the western stick was first laid by the Tshishn, or peace priest of the buffalo section of the tribe. On the Indian altar, inside the triangle, the transverse cross of the solstitial sun, without the turning lines of the Sū-astika, was traced by the sacrificing priest in ghee (clarified butter), who consecrated the line from the north-west to the south-east to the god Prajāpati, who, as the Mriga or circling bird-god, was slain by the arrow of Rudra and of Krishānu, and who was therefore the original flying sun-bird of the North. The line from the south-west to the north-east was that consecrated to Indra, the rain-god of the south-west monsoon, the original storm-bird, the black crow, but whose new name was derived from that of the eel-god Aind, or Ind of the North, who became the fish-mother goddess, daughter of the wet goddess Sak or Shar.<sup>1</sup>

In the Trojan figure of the altar-goddess, reproducing that of the Indian altar, the triangle is placed below the navel, and the Sū-astika takes the place of the transverse bird cross on the Hindu altar. The triangle in this figure exactly reproduces that made of pottery which were worn by the aboriginal women of Brazil, and the resemblance between that and the Trojan figure is made much more exact by the occurrence of two Sū-astikas in one of the triangles represented in Mr. Wilson's *Treatise on the Sū-astika*.<sup>2</sup>

This figure of the mother-goddess with the triangle and the fish's tail has been found in Moconia, sculptured on a piece of serpentine in the land of Lydia, the country of the Tursene, the Mediterranean sons of the Indian Turvasu.<sup>3</sup> Beside her stands the Babylonian Bel, the fire-god, thus showing that she is not only a goddess of the fire cult, but that she is also a goddess of the Euphratean delta, whence, as I have shown, the Indian Tur-vasu

<sup>1</sup> *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, vol. i. essay iii. pp. 167, 168. Eggeling, *Sat. Brāh.* I. 3, 4, 5; I. 4, 4, 2-7. *S. B. E.* vol. xii. pp. 91, note 1; 125, note 1; 128, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson, *The Sū-astika*, Plate xviii. p. 904.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Fig. 125, p. 829.

merchants directed their commerce overland to Asia Minor, and by sea to Egypt. Similar marble figures have also been found at Athens and in the most ancient graves of the Cyclades, containing only stone weapons, and innumerable similar terra-cotta figures have been found in tombs in cities of Mesopotamia as well as in Cyprus.

The leaden figure found in Troy is therefore one which most certainly represents an Akkadian goddess, and with almost equal probability an Indian one. For, in addition to the evidence furnished by the identity of the triangle with that on the mother-goddess of the Indian fire-altar, there is that furnished by the metal of which it is made. The only lead mines near the shores of the Indian Ocean whence the Phœnician merchants could have brought this figure are the Indian silver mines of Mount Abu. These yield much more lead than silver, the proportion of the yield of the ore being about—according to the reports of the Indian Geological Survey—twenty ounces of silver to a ton of lead. This leaves little or no doubt that this figure, which was found as part of the great treasure of gold and silver ornaments hidden in the fortification walls of the burnt city of Troy, was brought from India, together with the gold, silver, and ivory ornaments, vases, and weapons which composed the rest of the treasure. Among these is a gold two-lipped cup shaped like a boat, with the lips at each end. It is shaped just like the description of the Ashvins' Soma cup, which is said to be a head with lips, the only difference being that in this cup the lips are only two, and the Ashvina graha in India had three; but this is, perhaps, a variant form of the cup made especially for the ritual of the Ashvins' year of ten lunar months measured by the moon-boat, while the orthodox form used at the national Soma sacrifice was the three-lipped cup dedicated to the year-god of the year of three seasons.<sup>1</sup> That this conclusion is correct is rendered probable by the rule that the Ashvin cup should be the tenth in the number of Soma cups drawn to represent the thirteen months of the year, and also by the existence in Greek ritual of an exactly similar double cup to that found in Troy, called the ἀμφικύπελλος; this being probably brought, together with other importations of Indian Turano-Dravidian ritual and custom, by the Dorian sons of the Twins who introduced the Dorian and Dravidian custom of common meals; a custom diffused not only through Southern Greece and Italy, but also existing in Carthage and the Phœnician settlements in Spain. This adds to the evidence of the Indian origin of the treasure given by the leaden figure of the goddess which, though that of an Akkadian goddess, is certainly not made of lead found in Mesopotamia. Also the whole treasure proves conclusively that extensive commerce between India and the coasts of the Mediterranean existed during the Neolithic Age in Asia Minor,

<sup>1</sup> Schuchhardt's *Schliemann's Excavations*, Fig. 47, p. 63. Eggeling's *Sat. Bräh.* IV. 1, 5, 9, 16, 29, pp. 272, note 4; 276-278.

and that the female Sū-astika or sign of the bird-mother goddess of the mixed Finn and matriarchal tribes, the Pole-star goddess Tārū of Finn and Dravidian mythology, was a recognised type of the sun-god circling the Pole and beginning his annual northward course at the winter solstice. The evidence I have brought forward in this treatise also proves that the cross in its various forms and the Su-astika all originated in the worship of the fire-god, the god symbolised in the Tau cross. This cult began with the worship of the heavenly fire-drill of the South turned by the star Canopus and the constellation Argo, and ended with the worship of the Pole-star god of the North bound like Ixion and the Great Potter to the revolving wheel of the constellation Draco, the dragon or alligator encircling the Pole as its many-coloured star necklace—the Indian Chitrangada son of Satyavati and Shantanu. The first four-armed cross was the Latin cross, shown to have been originally a turning cross by its Dakota name of the Sus-beca or dragon-fly. This is the flying insect which by its sudden appearance in large numbers in the still summer evening marks the turning of the revolving day into night. It is also, as I have shown, the cross of the growing plant, the Buddhist Vardhamana, or becoming cross<sup>1</sup> formed of the three leaves on the top of its shaft. Its lengthened shaft inserted into the earth, thought to be only the upper crust of the tortoise-shell separating it from the mother-ocean on which it rests, seems to mark it as a fire-drill turned by the Southern star-god Canopus, who ruled the Indian Ocean and the winds that brought up the south-western monsoon. That the sign of the Su-astika was one of the national symbols of a race of seafaring mariners is proved by its distribution. In the map prepared by Mr. Wilson, showing the countries where Su-astikas have been found, they are marked as used in all countries of Europe and Asia bordering on the Atlantic and Mediterranean, from Norway in the north-west to the coasts of Asia Minor. The sign of the Su-astika ceases in Arabia and Egypt, for the Su-astikas found in the latter country were only found in Greek settlements. It never took root in these countries, because there the religious development was based on the obelisk, the sign of the revolving pole of the Potter-god of Asia Minor surmounted by the cloud-bird Shar of Armenia. She was the first mother-bird of the theology of the Northern fire-worshippers, who, like the American Indians—whose supreme god is the storm-bird who brings the rain—obtained their fire not from the attrition of two pieces of wood, but from iron pyrites and flints. They were the sons of the cave in the mother-mountain, the goddess Cybele, whose name in Phrygian means a cave, and whose image as the mother of fire was a meteoric stone in her temple on Mount Dindymon at Pessinus in Phrygia. She was the mother-goddess of the Turanian races, including the Gonds of India

<sup>1</sup> Hewitt, *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, essay viii. vol. ii. p. 318.

who brought thither the tradition of their cave birth, for, as we have seen in the story of the *Sony of Lingul*, the millet-growing Gonds were born from a cave at the sources of the Jumna.

When these earlier worshippers of the mother storm-bird and the fire-making stone, who had been the cave dwellers of the Palaeolithic Age, met the Southern farmers in Asia Minor, the wooden fire-drill and socket were substituted for the fire-stone as the father and mother of fire. The mother-bird remained as the bird perched on the fire-drill, the bird dwelling in the Pole-star and slain by the revolving fire-drill as the arrow shaft of the heat-creating year of three seasons. It was she who was deposed by the father potter, and it was the belief in this one creating god, the Pole-star god of the Sabæan trading races, which was the ruling faith of the merchant kings of Mesopotamia and Arabia, who like the modern Sabæans called themselves Mandaites or sons of the Word of God.

These artisan traders were worshippers of the earthly fire and of the heavenly source of light, the Pole-star; but, like their chief religious instructors, the Indian farmers, they repudiated all belief in the divinity of the sun, which had been their dreaded enemy ever since the days when they first carved their primitive villages out of the Indian forests.

Sun-worship was first introduced by the sun-worshippers of the reindeer, which conveyed them in their sledges over the ice and snow of the glacial period of the Palaeolithic Age, and furnished their principal nutriment. It originated, as I have shown, in the conception of the gnomon-tree, which measured day time by the sun, and the night and year by the lunar crescents; and it changed the Tau cross of the fire-worshippers into the Latin and Celtic cross of the turning pole, which also depicted the growing plant. This developed into the tridents marking the three seasons of the year, while the side forks, called the Gond tiger-wives of Pharsi-Pen, perhaps represented the two cotyledon leaf nurses of the plumule, and certainly developed into the two wives given in ancient mythologies to the first father-gods, such as Lamech, the Akkadian Lam-gu; the Gond Lingal, of which Nagur, the plough, is a dialectic form; Abram, Azi-dahāka, Thraētaona, Indra, &c.

It was this cross, in its form of the perch of the mother-bird, which was the parent of the Egyptian and Assyrian ankh, representing the impregnation of life in the egg by the revolving fire-drill. But the form in which this cross was brought to India by the Takkas was the trident, which showed its derivation from the original Latin cross by developing into the Greek and St. Andrew's crosses, representing the revolutions of the equinoctial and solstitial sun.

It was from these two crosses that the Su-astika, the bird crosses of the eight-rayed star, were formed in India, and from thence it was

taken to China and America in the east, and to the Mediterranean islands and the Western Atlantic coasts of Europe. In America it is chiefly found in Mexico and in the States bordering on the American rivers which flow into the Gulf of Florida. To all these places it was conveyed by the Indian Dravido-Turanian races, who were the sons of the fish-god who was originally the eel, the father-god of the sons of the rivers, and who became the Dolphin, the fish-mother goddess of the south— the fish-god who brought the American Indians to America according to the universal tradition of all the aborigines of the country.

J. F. HEWITT.

## REMINISCENCES OF THE GREAT SEPOY REVOLT.

THE remarkable outburst of fanaticism caused by a wild panic fear of being cunningly entrapped into Christianity by the compulsory use of the greased cartridges filled a hundred thousand Sepoys with the profoundest hatred of their foreign rulers, and in consequence produced a widespread conspiracy for a simultaneous rise all over India on May 31, 1857, for an indiscriminate massacre of Europeans, which was providentially frustrated by the premature outbreaks at Meerut and Delhi that served to put us on our guard. In May and June mutinies and appalling massacres were of constant occurrence, culminating in the Cawnpore catastrophe. I had a remarkably providential escape from being involved in that awful massacre. It happened in this way. On my arrival at Cawnpore a splendid opportunity seemed then to invite me to better my prospects as a married man, inasmuch as several of the native regiments there were in want of interpreters; and as I had passed in such high examinations as for high proficiency in Hindee, the interpreter's examination in Persian, &c., and the thousand-rupee prize examination in two languages, I very naturally thought that I therefore ought certainly to get what I had such a good claim to if I only asked for it. I consequently made personal applications to the commanding officers of those regiments in want of interpreters. But, strange as it appeared, my efforts to procure a nice addition to my lieutenant's pay were unsuccessful, and Major-General Wheeler, commanding at Cawnpore, little thinking of what he was saving me from, was the cause of this remarkable failure, by saying, when he heard of my application, "No; this officer is required to take recruits to his regiment." I was much vexed at the time at my ill success in not getting what seemed so needful to me. But how thankful I felt to the Almighty a few months afterwards, when I perceived how He had mercifully saved me, with my wife and child, from being involved in the terrible Cawnpore massacre! I had been unwittingly seeking my own destruction; but God turned a great disappointment to a great deliverance! Truly God's ways are the best, and He is the wisest who with childlike simplicity recognises this fact at all times and under all circumstances.

Agreeable to the General's requirements, I took recruits up to my regiment stationed at Agra. The two Sepoy regiments here, who had planned a scheme for a surprise massacre on Sunday, May 31, were circumvented by a remarkable interposition of Divine Providence, and on their being disarmed, I had the satisfaction, with a party of soldiers, of safely conveying their arms into Agra Fort. My first battle in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny was the sanguinary one at Shahgunj on Sunday, July 5, the day after the mutiny of the Kotah Contingent at Agra. If we had honoured the Lord's Day by postponing the attack till Monday, I believe that the disaster about to be related would not have occurred.

The enemy consisted of the 72nd Regiment Native Infantry, the 7th Regiment Gwalior Contingent, the Kotah Contingent, two troops of the 1st Light Cavalry, four troops of the Mehidpore Horse, and one troop of horse artillery. Their guns were placed half on one flank, and half upon the other, and were screened by rising ground and trees. Their infantry were posted inside the village as well as behind it, and their cavalry were massed in rear of both flanks. The miniature little army, led out to the attack by Brigadier Polwhele, was composed of about five hundred men of my regiment, with Captain D'Oyley's troop of artillery, and nearly sixty mounted militia, amounting altogether to about seven hundred men, who were in good spirits and eager for the combat.

The mutineers outnumbered us by quite seven to one. Having had some experience of war in the Sutlej campaign, I was put in command of a company. We commenced operations by pounding away at the mud-walled village with our six and nine pounders, which only raised a harmless dust—indeed, the only gun that did the enemy any damage was our howitzer, that sent shells inside their position. This bungling and waste of precious time gave the enemy the victory. Polwhele's attempt to silence the enemy's artillery failed, and the mutineer gunners, having got our range, exploded two of our ammunition-waggons, blowing up our poor artillerymen, and dismounted one of the guns. Captain D'Oyley, mortally wounded by a grape-shot, exclaimed, "I am done for. Put a stone upon my grave, and write that I died fighting my guns." Two columns of my regiment (3rd Europeans) were then thrown forward, one commanded by Major G. P. Thomas, and the other, which included my company, was commanded by Colonel Fraser, of the Engineers.

The village was carried after an obstinate defence; but we suffered a very severe loss from the enemy's guns and the fire of marksmen from the housetops, as well as from the obstinate resistance made inside the village. Much harm was done by a rifle company of the 72nd Regiment Native Infantry. I saw poor Major Thomas lying mortally wounded in one of the lanes, who died afterwards in

hospital. The enemy, driven out of the village, took up a covered position outside. This was indeed a critical moment, and I believe that if we had improved our success by a determined charge upon the mutineers they would have given way, and we should have gained the victory. For it is said that their artillery were limbered up for flight, and Sepoys don't relish crossing bayonets with the British soldier. Of course, the risk would have been weighty, since the failure of such an onward move would have involved the loss of all our guns, and of every unmounted man besides. Anyhow, a retreat, whether wise or unwise, was ordered in consequence of the lack of artillery ammunition. But I must not forget here to mention that a gallant charge was made by our sixty mounted militia, composed of members of the Civil Service, officers of mutinied and disarmed native regiments, clerks, and some equestrians of a wandering circus from France. This mere handful of men had the boldness to charge the mutineer cavalry. Of course they were far too few to make any impression, except this—that Englishmen, when once their blood is up, are too plucky to count the numbers of their foe! They returned with the loss of their head man of the circus, Monsieur Jordan, who was killed, and six others were mortally wounded in the hand-to-hand combat.

The enemy, as might have been expected, pertinaciously harassed our retreat, which was conducted in good order towards the fort, instead of to cantonments whence we had started. Their artillery galloped ahead and pitched into us repeatedly, which was extremely annoying. Their cavalry raised a ringing cheer, indicating their purpose of charging right down upon us. The thought that then took possession of me was that it would be all up with us if they did so, because I knew that our men could not have formed square to resist cavalry. Happily the stalwart mutineer troopers had not the courage to close with us, being checked by a volley which we delivered with the old muskets then in use, which made many a horse riderless, and deterred the rest from coming to close quarters. But, notwithstanding this repulse, the rebel cavalry rode after us to within a mile of the fort; and they once more charged and were repelled as before.

Finally, at the close of the day, the beaten army reached the fort in safety. Heartrending was the scene as we entered the gate, where wives were anxiously waiting to ask for their husbands, many of whom they met carried in doolies, dead or mortally wounded. I felt myself quite exhausted, having had nothing to eat or drink since breakfast, and this after marching so many miles under a broiling sun. Our loss was very severe, my regiment having lost a hundred men in killed and wounded, and the total loss of the whole force under that heading amounted to about a hundred and fifty. Besides Major Thomas, of my regiment, already mentioned as being mortally

wounded, two other officers of the 3rd Europeans, Lieutenants Pond and Fellows, were also wounded. Several other officers of the force were wounded, some mortally. Great was the dismay of our people inside the fort when the terrible reality of our defeat became known to them; their hearts, indeed, failed them.

The same evening our houses in cantonments and the civil lines were set on fire by the budmashes, when a vast conflagration, raging over a space of five or six miles, presented a most melancholy spectacle to the inmates of Agra Fort. There was also a great uproar in the city, and a horrible massacre, outside the fort, of Mr. Hubbard, Professor of Literature, Agra College, Major Jacobs, and thirty other men, women, and children (principally Eurasians), who had declined to avail themselves of the fort's protection, relying doubtless on the expectation of our defeating the mutineers. One of those inhumanly murdered, Major Jacobs, defended himself with desperate valour till at last he fell overpowered by numbers.

The day after the battle of Shahgunj a party of volunteers went out, who, having buried the dead, brought back our dismounted gun that had been left behind in our defeat. Disorder, however, was rampant outside the fort for a day or two, and the King of Delhi was proclaimed in the city. Plundering went on unchecked for the time. I have reason to remember this, since I lost all my tents, as well as other necessary articles of clothing, which was a serious loss to me in the low state of my finances. At first few servants made their appearance, and we had to draw our own water from the well inside the fort, and for some days we were dependent on the commissariat for our butcher's meat, which was unprocurable in the ordinary way. The fort was divided into what was called blocks, alphabetically arranged, with the abodes therein duly numbered, by which means every one's address became as it were registered. The Agra civilians occupied quarters in the palace gardens, which were about the best in the fort. Many of the officers lived in tents pitched on a large green. Brigadier Polwhele and Colonel Fraser of the Engineers lived in a tiled barrack, situated on an elevation. There were also some other houses, inhabited by officers and their families, in one of which Lady Outram resided. Extensive apartments were assigned to a lot of priests, monks, and nuns, with their schoolgirls, and a bishop or archbishop at their head. The Protestant chaplain had comfortable quarters, and Mr. French and the other missionaries dwelt in the palace gardens. The soldiers, of course, lived in their barracks. I and my wife and child had to share a horrid close storeroom with poor Mrs. Hawkins and her three children. Our dwelling was without any kind of aperture to let in a breath of air, except, of course, the entrance folding-door, which had to be closed at night every time it rained, which was frequently the case, in order that I might get some

shelter from the pattering rain by placing my bed close up to the closely-shut door, as, of course, common decency forbade the impropriety of my sleeping inside, and even then half of my bed used regularly to get wet, so that it was a great wonder and a remarkable mercy that I escaped getting rheumatic fever. It was worse still for the ladies and children inside, as they must have been half stifled with the intense heat. Mrs. Hawkins, the widow of Major Hawkins, was particularly to be pitied, as she was weighed down with a terrible grief; she had been confined on the day preceding the mutiny at Gwalior, and had seen her husband and her two children killed by the Sepoys. But, howsoever undesirable my quarters were, there were, no doubt, many others lower down in the social scale who might have regarded them as an elysium in comparison to theirs, as every available spot was crammed with thatched sheds and suchlike inelegant shelters.

Our wounded in hospital were devotedly ministered to by our Protestant ladies. I went amongst the poor men to try to cheer them with my sympathy, and I well remember one case that particularly arrested my attention and excited my admiration; it was that of one of our poor artillerymen, who had been blown up by the explosion of a tumbril on July 5, and who now exhibited a marvellous example of manly fortitude whilst suffering much agony. A few days after we had been driven by the mutineers into Agra Fort we had an outbreak of cholera. Captain Burlton was taken ill on Sunday, July 12, and though the doctors did all they could to save him, yet all their efforts were unavailing, and the disease proved fatal. About a week afterwards Captain Prendergast, 44th N.I., was stricken with the dreadful malady, and after terrible suffering during the day the poor fellow died in the night. Such awfully sudden deaths are most powerful sermons, forcing the careless to acknowledge the wisdom of being prepared for the momentous and final settlement of their eternal existence.

I must not also forget to notice that we had in the fort two newspaper-printing establishments, belonging to the *Delhi Gazette* and its rival paper the *Mofussilite*. From these periodicals I derived my information of those stirring events of the outside world which I at once recorded in my diary. Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor, organised an intelligence department, of which Mr. William Muir had the chief direction;<sup>1</sup> and one source of entertainment was the arrival of special messengers from Delhi and other places with news. They were paid as much as forty or fifty pounds for taking a message, for it was at the imminent risk of their lives. But what won't a native do for money? They used to conceal their

<sup>1</sup> Now (1896) Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., LL.D. He was Lieut.-Governor North-West Provinces, 1868-74, and member of the Council of the Governor-General of India, and he afterwards became a member of the Secretary of State's Council for India, a post held by him till 1885.

despatches in their hair, shoes, hookahs, &c. Mr. Colvin used to despatch letters written in Hebrew, Greek, and cipher to Colonel Creathed and the Government at Calcutta, vainly imploring aid against the expected attack of the Gwalior Contingent. And here I may observe that the native Christians, hitherto so unjustly depreciated by most Anglo-Indians, now rose in public esteem, as being reliable and one with us. The fourth day of our residence in the fort witnessed a successive arrival of messengers with gloomy tidings, the third courier bringing in the heartrending news of the Cawnpore Ghaut massacre.

Our position at Agra was quite isolated, being closed in on every side, and it really seemed exceedingly doubtful whether we could possibly hold on with a country all round seething with revolt till English troops could march 800 miles from Calcutta to our aid! For it must be considered that not only had more than 100,000 of well-disciplined native soldiers to be conquered, but we had also to contend with a widespread civil insurrection in revolted provinces containing a population of about fifty millions, with the Punjaub ready to unfurl the banner of revolt to regain their independence, whilst Rajpootana, Holkar, and the Nizam were watching on tiptoe the progress of events. Moreover, the loyalty of the great Mahratta Chief Scindia was very questionable, despite the current belief at Agra of the invaluable nature of his services, as there is good reason to believe the praise bestowed on the Gwalior Muharaja to have been quite undeserved.

Now if Scindia had placed himself in June at the head of the Durbar troops and the mutinied Gwalior Contingent, and had marched against Agra (the seat of the Government of the North-West Provinces), then that important city would, humanly speaking, have fallen, and the siege of Delhi have been raised. And it is hard to see under such circumstances how the Delhi field force could have escaped annihilation. The terrible result of all this would have been our loss of India, the re-conquering whereof would have been an almost, if not quite, impossible achievement, even if we could have sent 80,000 of our best soldiers from England. From these dire reverses, that might have happened, we were providentially saved by the salutary influence exercised on the Muharaja by his wise Prime Minister, Dinkur Rao, to whom were entirely due the valuable services nominally rendered to us by the Gwalior Muharaja.

We recovered our spirits in August and were ready to retrieve the disaster of Sussia. Colonel Cotton was now commanding<sup>1</sup> at Agra in room of Brigadier Polwhele, who had been removed from the command. The despatch of the Supreme Government for his removal

<sup>1</sup> He had been on staff employ all his life, and knew nothing of regimental matters, and was of so hot and impetuous a temper that he earned the sobriquet of "Gun Cotton."

was addressed to Mr. Colvin, who, it is stated, sent for the General, and received him in the presence of other officers, when he abruptly handed him the despatch, which the General took with a smile, little anticipating its humiliating contents. Having read it he turned very pale and appeared as if about to faint; but recovering himself, he with much dignity rose, returned the letter to the Lieutenant-Governor, bowed, and left the room. A force under the command<sup>1</sup> of Major Montgomerie was now sent to Alygurh against Ghousa Khan, who had proclaimed himself Soobadar of the King of Delhi. This miniature army consisted of three companies of my regiment, a hundred and fifty strong, with four officers, two 9-pounders, and a 24-pounder howitzer, manned by about thirty European artillerymen, and thirty militia. We left Agra late on the evening of August 20. I commanded a party of my regiment composing the advance-guard, mounted on elephants. The only appliance for keeping our seat was by holding on to the rope bound round the huge quadruped. The instructions which I received were short and simple. I was, in case of coming in contact with the enemy, to dismount my men and form them up to resist any attack that might be made till the main body should come up. The night, which passed without any encounter, was the most miserable one that I have ever spent, for soon after starting I was attacked with ophthalmia. I kept my seat on the elephant as long as I could, but at last I felt it so very difficult to hold on by the rope with the pain I was in, that I dismounted and marched on foot at the head of the advance-party on elephants.

And oh! the agony I endured every time I strained my eyes in the darkness to keep clear of the elephants! The wretched long night, however, passed at last, and next day it was proposed to send me back to Agra, but against this I earnestly protested, fearing that I should be murdered on the way. So with one eye like a ball of fire, I was allowed to stay and get on as best I might. Having been joined by a troop of sixty or seventy native horsemen raised by Thakoor Govind Singh, we attacked the enemy in the vicinity of Alygurh on August 24. I commanded a company in this action, though my eyes were painful and I could not see very well. Ghousa Khan's army was said to be about four thousand men, but without any exaggeration the rebels may be reckoned as outnumbering us by ten to one.

They were composed of undisciplined, armed insurgents, and a detachment of the 3rd Cavalry that had mutinied at Meerut. The battle raged furiously for some time. I shall now just record what met my limited vision, which was a body of fifty or sixty Ghazees sweeping right down on my company. On they dashed, sword in hand, inflamed by religious fanaticism and rendered insensible to fear by having freely partaken of the soothing bhang. On they rushed

<sup>1</sup> Thornhill's *Indian Mutiny*, p. 235.

just like so many mad dogs. I had only about thirty men with me to the front, and one of these rashly ran out a considerable distance in advance, apparently desirous of distinguishing himself by driving them back by his single-handed prowess; but the poor fellow paid dearly for his undisciplined act of valour, for he was cut to pieces in a few moments by the sharp swords of the Ghazees, and this seemed to strike my men with horror.

We now formed up near a gun, which fired with much precision and exhilarating effect, so that in conjunction with our musketry fire, the rebels were driven back. I believe the two other companies of my regiment maintained a successful fight with the enemy; but suffering from ophthalmia as I was, I could not see what they did.

Our loss was thirty killed and wounded. Mr. Tandy, one of the managers of the Agra Bank, and Ensign Marsh, 16th N.I., were killed.

The last man hit on our side was a gunner, who was shot in the stomach at the close of the engagement. I am afraid the poor man suffered much before he expired, since I could not help hearing his distressing groans of agony through a good part of the night. The enemy, it is stated, left 300 men dead on the field, and their total loss in killed and wounded was computed to amount to 1200, which was more than four times the number of the victorious force, that consisted of only 280 fighting men! Still, if the truth may be told without giving offence, this adventurous action, though to a certain extent successful on account of the great damage inflicted upon the foe, yet must, in another aspect, be regarded as an indecisive one, because we retreated the same day towards Agra.

I was sent on in advance with the sick and wounded. I must now mention an important event that happened—namely, the death of our poor dispirited, worn-out Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. John Colvin, who, after the defeat of our troops on July 5, sank into a desponding condition. Dreading our compulsory retirement into the fort, he had exclaimed: "The wrath of God is upon us if we retire into the fort." He was very patient and resigned, weary of the world, and willing to quit it, which he did at last on September 9, and was buried in the Armoury Square. Our dying chief was ministered to by the Rev. Valpy French,<sup>1</sup> a brave man whose heroic interference on behalf of the native Christians procured their admission into the fort. From this good man we gather that Mr. Colvin died relying for his salvation on Christ's atonement.

Yes, the Atonement, though controverted by many professing Christians of the present day, is yet a vital, essential, and central tenet of Christianity, which is indispensable to the attainment of our

<sup>1</sup> He became Bishop of Lahore in 1877. And after ten years' work Dr. French resigned his high position, and, resuming work afterwards as a simple missionary, he died in 1891 at Muscat, in Arabia.

salvation. For there can be no right and saving belief in Christ as our Saviour, except we believe in His complete expiation of man's sin upon the Cross by the sacrifice of Himself in order to satisfy the claims of Divine justice against the transgressor!

“ Yes, the Redeemer left His Throne,  
His radiant Throne on high,  
Surprising mercy! love unknown,  
To suffer, bleed, and die.  
He took the dying traitor's place,  
And suffered in his stead ;  
For man, O miracle of grace !  
For man the Saviour bled.”

But to proceed with my story. The grand news, the longed-for consummation of our anxious longings, that filled us with the most intense delight and overflowing satisfaction, was the intelligence that reached us at Agra on or about September 20, 1857, of the capture by storm of that imperial city by Brigadier-General Wilson, in command of the Delhi Field Force. This produced in us at Agra the liveliest emotions of joy and hopeful expectation. The rebels had staked their best hopes of success on Delhi, and had lost. Our improved condition was shown by the local money market transactions, as the money-changers now resumed their wonted practice of giving sixteen instead of eighteen annas for the rupee, which they had previously given under the conviction that the British Government would be overthrown, and would result in the deterioration of the copper currency. This was cheering, as it was encouraging to perceive that sharp Hindoo business men evinced practically their belief in the stability of our rule, and that in the only way that admitted of no doubt in their sincerity! Our hearts were soon afterwards further cheered by hearing of the first relief of Lucknow (September 25, 1857) by Havelock and Outram. But to return once more to Agra. Revelling in our new sense of security, some were light-hearted enough to think of wiving, and about the end of September Captain Poud of my regiment, who had recently obtained his promotion, led the sister of another officer to the hymeneal altar. The ceremony, which was quite a gay affair, being attended by officers in full dress and ladies gaily attired, was performed in Agra Fort. But as it was impossible for the bride and bridegroom to spend their honeymoon at beautiful Simla or charming Missoorie, the wedding-trip had to be indefinitely postponed!

On October 6 we heard that a large force was approaching Agra, consisting of some ten thousand rebels with thirteen guns, who were marching in our direction from Dholepore. They consisted of the Mhow mutineers (*i.e.*, the 23rd Regiment N.I. and 1st Light Cavalry), the Indore rebels, and a considerable force of fugitive Sepoys from Delhi, under Prince Ferozshah, and they now determined

to attack us, expecting only to have to cope with the 3rd Europeans, a troop of artillery, and the Agra militia. They were disappointed, however, by the unexpected presence of Colonel Greathed's column, who, having overtaken and defeated a body of fugitive mutineers at Bolundshuhur, and having cut up a large body of rebels at Alygurh, came now to our relief on the morning of October 10 by long forced marches, the men having walked forty-two miles in thirty hours. This was in consequence of an express sent to him by Colonel Fraser, the Chief Commissioner, urging him to come to our help. For Mr. Muir, by Colonel Fraser's direction, on the 8th instant had sent out an express to Colonel Greathed urging him to "the speediest movement to Agra in his power." The writer acquainted Greathed that the enemy that day were encamped some eighteen miles off, and that they had unanimously declared their intention of attacking the fort.

Next day, October 9, a despatch from Colonel Fraser went off by the mail-cart, with a letter from Mr. Muir, urging upon Greathed the necessity of coming on rapidly, and informing him that the mutineers had given out that they wished to fire their first shots at the fort on Sunday (October 11) "for luck's sake," the Sunday being, I suppose, considered lucky since it was on a Sunday that the Neemuch mutineers defeated us at Shahgunj. Another letter, 9 P.M. of the same day, was sent off by Mr. Muir in the hope of catching up the mail-cart, which informed Colonel Greathed that our reconnoitring party had been driven in by the enemy, which the writer said all looked as if they meant to come on, and concluded his despatch with the words, "Come on quickly."<sup>1</sup>

The succouring force was encamped on the Agra parade ground. Weary and exhausted after their exertions, Greathed's men were for the most part lying on the ground thoroughly worn out with fatigue, and enjoying a rest in total unconsciousness of the presence of the enemy, who were at this very time quite close to them, though screened from their view by the high standing crops. The military authorities were responsible for the critical surprise that ensued. Thinking the danger to be past, they supinely neglected in their fancied security to make an early reconnaissance in the morning of the 10th. In this their conduct was highly reprehensible, considering what happened on the previous day, and the need there existed for safeguarding the Agra Field Battery which lay outside the fort. Colonel Greathed was, though in a less degree, culpable in neglecting to throw out pickets after he had been previously informed by the head of the Intelligence Department of the apprehended arrival of the enemy at Agra on this day (October 10). But, from all that I have been able to learn, I regard it as certain that Greathed, who complained of being misled by

<sup>1</sup> See *Letters*, Intelligence Department, quoted by kind permission of Sir W. Muir.

false intelligence, was really lulled into a state of delusive security by the receipt of information on the morning of the 10th that the enemy had fallen back. Mr. Raikes states that "On the morning of the 10th the magistrate and other officials assured Colonel Greathed that the enemy had fallen back."<sup>1</sup> Unless he had received such an assurance it is utterly incredible that such an efficient officer as Colonel Greathed should have neglected the commonest precautions against a numerous foe, who, as he had been informed the day before, were then threatening Agra! In fact, he must have been informed, on what he regarded as good authority, that the enemy had beaten a retreat, as a contrary supposition is antagonistic to common sense, unless we suppose that officer to have been positively incompetent—which he certainly was not. But I must now revert to the decisive action that ensued. Presently the sound of heavy guns was heard and information came in of the attack on the British camp. A little before the cannons' opening roar four men disguised as musicians and beating tom-toms approached the advance guard of the 9th Lancers. Whereupon Sergeant Crews, the non-commissioned officer in charge, went up to them and ordered them away, when one of the scoundrels drew a concealed tulwar, and struck poor Crews a blow that killed him. Sergeant Hartigan, who happened to be standing by, immediately rushed up and slew the treacherous rascal with his own weapon, which the sergeant wrenched out of the ruffian's hand. Hartigan also wounded a second rebel of this forlorn hope; but he received a severe sword-cut on the head in accomplishing this act of bravery. The other two insidious tricksters were soon disposed of by the guard, which had turned out. Very soon afterwards, a little before 11 A.M., round-shot came pouring into camp. The British were completely taken by surprise; but it was only momentary. Nothing tries good troops so much as an unexpected attack like this, which was enough to have caused a panic. But our brave soldiers, though taken unawares and off their guard, soon showed the good stuff they were made of.

That admirable regiment the 9th Lancers were soon in the saddle, and one squadron of that regiment gallantly charged the rebel cavalry, who were cutting down our gunners, and drove them back in disorder. But this success was achieved at the cost of the loss of the officer commanding the squadron, Captain French, who was killed, and Lieutenant Jones, his subaltern, who was dangerously wounded. The rest of the troops having formed up now went at them heartily, and the enemy then in their turn, too, experienced a very unpleasant surprise at finding themselves so fiercely attacked and roughly handled by such a strong force of Europeans and Sikhs with so many guns. Pearson's battery gave them a severe shock,

<sup>1</sup> Raikes' *Notes*, p. 73.

which was improved by a well-timed charge of Watson<sup>1</sup> and Probyn,<sup>2</sup> and a second charge of that crack regiment, H.M. 9th Lancers, with two squadrons of Hodson's horse. This was more than the enemy could stand: therefore, all further efforts at resistance being out of the question, the only thing that was left them to do was to run. The unwelcome sight of the Lancers especially inspired the Delhi mutineers with a very natural dread of that gallant regiment that had so greatly distinguished itself at Delhi. So now the rebels were heard crying out: "Fly, brothers: there are the Lancers from Delhi."

It then soon became a *saute qui peut* affair with the enemy, who retreated in haste and disorder along the Gwalior road. After Greathed had conducted the pursuit for three miles, then Colonel Cotton came up with my regiment, the 3rd Europeans, and assumed the command of Colonel Greathed's column as senior officer. The infantry pursued the foe for two miles farther, and the cavalry and artillery continued the chase as far as the Kalee Nuddee, a rivulet about ten miles from Agra. But though the pursuit was so hot and long, yet the bulk of the rebels escaped; for the strenuous effort to save life was in this, as in other instances, greater than the eagerness to destroy it, which in this case was abated by the weariness of the pursuers. The enemy lost, however, all their guns, thirteen in number, their standing camp, and at least 500 men in killed alone. When the battle was over four mutineers were tried, and blown away from the cannon's mouth. This was a very sickening sight. But it was a case of war to the knife between us and the fiendish murderers of our poor women and children. It was a time of intense excitement, and I felt no compassion for them, because I considered that they only got what they deserved, and it was necessary to strike terror into the hearts of these fiendish wretches. One of these mutineers, when it was his turn to be fastened to the gun, exclaimed, "In one moment I shall be in Paradise." Surely the cool assurance of this fanatical miscreant about to be smashed to atoms conveys a rebuke to those sincere Christians who dread death, considering that they are bound to believe it will be all right with them in the eternal world if they are only trusting in the Lord Jesus Christ for the salvation of their souls!

At the trial of these Sepoys, one of them being asked why they killed our women and children replied, "When you kill a snake you kill its young." The inculcation of this principle is to be found in the fourth story of the Persian poet Saadi's *Gulistan* where the wholesale destruction of the wicked is commended on the grounds

<sup>1</sup> Now (1897) General Sir John Watson, K.C.B. and V.C.

<sup>2</sup> Now (1897) General Sir D. M. Probyn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., and V.C. Comptroller and Treasurer Prince of Wales's Household.

that it is not the act of a wise man to kill a snake and spare its offspring ; and remarks Saadi, after warning his readers to have nothing to do with the wicked :

“ Akibut goorug zādūh goorug shuwud,  
Gurchih bā ādmee buzoorug shuwud.”

(Eventually a wolf's cub will be a wolf,  
Although it has been reared with a man.)

And lastly in the same chapter occurs this couplet :

“ Nekoe bā budān kurdun chunanust  
Kih bud kurdān bujāe nek murdun.”

(To do good to the bad is the same  
As doing evil to the good.)

The teaching of this Mahomedan moralist is completely pulverised by the teaching and example of our adorable Redeemer, who so loved the wicked that He died to make a complete atonement for their sins and so save them from their merited punishment !

Greathed's loss in the battle at Agra was sixty-seven killed and wounded. The latter were carried into the Motee Musjid (Pearl Mosque), a Mahomedan temple inside the fort. Within this marble building rough wooden bedsteads were quickly arranged, and the mattresses, pillows, and quilts made by kind ladies were made use of. Mrs. Raikes and many other ladies tended the poor sufferers by night and day.

“ O Woman ! in our hours of ease,  
Uncertain, coy, and hard to please,  
And variable as the shade  
By the light quivering aspen made :  
When pain and anguish wring the brow  
A ministering angel thou ! ”

Lieutenant Jones of H.M. 9th Lancers was hacked all over, and had twenty-one wounds, many of them singly being enough to have killed him.

He bore his sufferings without complaining, though they were intense. Jones subsequently recovered, though with the loss of an eye. The soldiers felt deeply all this kindness, and in the second week of December, having become convalescent, they gave a grand fôte to their lady nurses in the beautiful gardens of the Taj. It was a very gay scene. There were floral decorations, and the table was spread with all the dainties that could be procured for the entertainment. Almost every one looked happy and cheerful, and the ladies went from one soldier to another saying kind words and congratulating them on their recovery. This display of sympathy went to the hearts of the rough veterans, who thanked their compassionate benefactresses, that had waited on them in their sickness. The column halted at Agra three days following the battle. Colonel

Greathed expressed his intention of sending in a formal complaint to the supreme Government regarding the false intelligence that had nearly led to the destruction of his army; but it was intimated to him that if he did so he himself would be called upon to explain why he had neglected to throw out pickets and adopt the other usual precautions. So after much recrimination it was prudently allowed to drop.

I must hasten now to bring this narrative to a timely close, lest it should exceed the dimensions of a magazine article. Let it suffice that in 1858 I was attached to a column acting in co-operation with Sir H. Rose, the consummate commander of the Central Indian Force. I did not, however, see much fighting, but I suffered much from the intense heat, which was  $120^{\circ}$  in our mess-tent, getting something short of a sunstroke. On one occasion my commanding officer being apprehensive of a night attack did me the honour of entrusting me with the responsible duty of ascertaining whether the enemy had any such designs. This I satisfactorily performed, after experiencing much difficulty whilst groping about on all-fours in the rugged ravines of the river. And I had a very narrow escape one day of being shot in my bed. It was at early dawn, just as I awoke, when a ball from one of the enemy's rifles went whizzing close over my head, embedding itself in the earth a few yards from me. I afterwards served, during the cold weather campaign of 1858-9, under that gallant officer, Brigadier Showers, engaged in hunting down Tantia, one of the ablest rebel leaders, who was roaming about with a following of several thousand followers. Once I, with a few soldiers on an elephant, got separated from the force, and having quite lost our way we were in a decidedly perilous predicament, being in danger any moment of falling into the midst of Tantia Topee's desperadoes, who would assuredly have made short work with us if this had happened. My anxiety, however, was removed in due time by God's mercy in bringing me safely back to Showers' column. During this short campaign I was really half-starved for want of time and opportunity for getting and eating food, and the constant marching night and day was most harassing, and the strain was so great that at last I was on the point of completely giving way, but I did not, and at last we overtook the enemy and polished off a lot of them.

I scarcely think we shall ever again have another great Sepoy revolt, though great care is needed to be watchful and check any symptoms of discontent and unrest amongst our Indian soldiers, and I consider it unwise to employ them in fighting our battles in Africa, on account of its tendency to lessen our prestige by fostering the notion of our inability to do without them, and so making them think that the balance of power is in their hands. Then, remembering the cause of the great Sepoy revolt, we must be very careful not to wound their caste and religious prejudices by any kind of Govern-

ment interference. Moreover, I do believe that the most serious danger that threatens our rule in India arises, not from Russia, but from the reckless over-taxation of the country on account of unwise trans-Indian wars (wherein our unrepresented Indian subjects have neither interest nor concern), unfair home charges, and other items that ought in all common honesty to be defrayed from the home Exchequer. This peril assumes very serious proportions when we consider how our poverty-stricken Indian subjects, desolated periodically with most awful famines (like, for instance, that of 1896-7), have to pay the interest of an enormous national debt which is now six times the amount of what it was forty-five years ago under the economical *régime* of the Honourable East India Company. The Hindoos and Mussulmans will, as fatalists, submit to a great deal, but, if goaded to desperation by famines like the last, and by taxation felt to be intolerable, will, I apprehend, make a great effort by a general insurrection to shake off our yoke—a national movement that in all human probability would prove successful, especially if they could get the native army to side with them by representing that their religion was in some secret way being interfered with, that our *ikbāl* was on the wane, and by offering them increased rank and pay. Thus through our unwise policy we might have to bewail the loss of the brightest jewel in the British Crown.

S. DEWÉ WHITE (Colonel),  
Late Bengal Staff Corps.

## INDEPENDENT SECTION.

[Under the above title a limited portion of THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW is occasionally set apart for the reception of able Articles, which, though harmonising with the general spirit and aims of the Review, may contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object of the Editors in introducing this department is to facilitate the expression of opinion by writers of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editors and from each other.]

### "THE TRUE SCIENCE OF LIVING."

#### THE NEW GOSPEL OF HEALTH.

"What is the rich man's millions to him as he sits down to his table with a stomach that will not hold a teaspoonful of food without a protest of agony?"

—EDWARD HOOKER DEWEY, M.D.

I AM going to preach a *New Gospel of Health*, which, if hearkened to, and the science it proclaims be accepted and put into practice, will save many from the tortures of ill health, will cure diseases hitherto the masters of the physician and the surgeon, and will prevent disease from taking root where it threatens to usurp and enforce its sway.

I do not lay claim to being the discoverer of this manifestly true science. I am but the humble disciple of one who has searched for it, practised it, and tested it for twenty years, and who has proved that it will bear the keenest criticism and the most rigid investigation.

Health is man's noblest birthright, his most precious possession, for what is life without it? Yet how many possess it? and of those who do, how few there are who seek to preserve it; while, where this is sought to be done, how few know how to do so!

The world teems with physicians, all seeking with but poor success to patch up the ever-ailing human body. Health-resorts abound, new cures of every shade are continually cropping up, new theories launched forth as to the why and the wherefore of this or that disease, new remedies for their palliation or cure. Predigested foods flood the market, vivisection carries on its cruel researches, yet, nevertheless, disease and suffering stalk rampant through the world,

much of it uncured and incurable. Before it the physician bows his head in silence, for he knows not how to exorcise the fiend, even where the cause of its existence is known, which, in many instances, is a closed book, and over which darkness reigns.

The true science of living proclaims a new gospel of health—a gospel which contains a teaching so simple and so natural, that the wonder is it has been so persistently ignored.

There are so many diseases over which physicians consult with clouded minds and hesitancy, for of their cause and origin they know nothing, and therefore, as a result, can prescribe no certain cure. Before the mysteries of gout, rheumatism, rheumatoid arthritis, consumption, paralysis, dropsy, and apoplexy—ay, and of insanity and alcoholism—they stand helpless and dismayed, prescribing at the most palliatives which cannot cure, because they do not strike at the root of these diseases. Drugs are no remedy! The new gospel of health is neither helpless nor dismayed. It proclaims aloud the cause not only of *these* diseases, but of all others to which the human form is prone. Here is its doctrine:

“Every disease that afflicts mankind is a constitutional possibility developed into disease by more or less habitual eating in excess of the supply of gastric juice!”

In those few simple words lie cradled a giant truth—a truth so mighty, that were it but recognised and the only natural remedy applied, illness and disease would bow themselves out, where now they reign triumphant and unconquerable; for behind this truth is the undeniable fact that man overtaxes his digestive powers, which incites disease; and the physician, in seeking to rehabilitate the wasted human form, wasted by the continual overtaking referred to, adds to the havoc going on by prescribing nourishing wines and foods which but add to the irritation of the tortured stomach, which cries aloud in its agony for rest, REST.

The new gospel of health declares that to avoid disease we must not overtax the digestive powers, and that, where disease has laid its grip upon man, it can alone be cured and destroyed by giving *absolute and complete rest* to that portion of the human body, the overtaking, irritation, and ill-usage whereof has produced, nurtured, and encouraged the progress of disease.

If we are well, let us keep so. How? *By eating only when we are hungry, and then only sufficiently to satisfy that hunger.* Two meals a day are ample for any man, the first no sooner than three or four hours after rising, the second at least three or four hours before retiring to bed. The first meal should be *the meal* of the day, the second one a light one, which shall have been perfectly digested before retiring to rest; and, if we thus cultivate hunger by the virtue of abstemiousness, we shall be rewarded by the perfect pleasure of a true appetite which will call only for wholesome and

nourishing foods, disdaining the messes buried in sauces which our *chefs* classify under high-sounding and bewildering names. For it is a fact that, after a night's rest, hunger is not a corollary thereto. "Sleep is not a hunger-causing process." The cup and food brought to the bedside is *de trop*. It is not called there by true, natural hunger, but by a morbid craving or habit, which should be suppressed, and not encouraged. So, too, the early morning breakfast, which is an absolutely unnecessary meal, the result of habit rather than hunger, partaken of before required, and therefore a tax on vital power.

Let those who smile incredulously at this doctrine give it the chance of a fair trial. Let those who suffer from dyspepsia go without their breakfast, and I promise them that from the very first they will enjoy a forenoon of mental cheer and energy of body, such a sense of physical ease, as they have not experienced since the early days of childhood. They will go to their luncheon with an appetite able to enjoy the food which hunger may demand, and, if they cease eating the moment hunger is satisfied, they will rise from that repast comforted and themselves satisfied. Let them, however, never make the mistake of eating without hunger, for, so surely as they do, the result will make itself felt in discomfort and *malaise*. Hunger is the only gong that should announce the feeding hour. Wait for it, if you have to wait for it a week, a month, or even more

If it is wrong for the well to feed without hunger, how criminal then must it be to feed the sick, and yet this is exactly the *régime* followed by the great army of physicians!

They stand by the bedsides of human wrecks, wrecks wasted by diseases which have their origin in the habitual eating in excess of the supply of gastric juice. These physicians see before them emaciated forms, rendered so by the overtaking of the digestive powers, and what is their prescription? Why, "*Nourishment!*"—in other words, a continuation of the overtaking process which has brought about the emaciated forms before them. The new gospel of health sets its veto on this fatal custom. It declares emphatically that the sick cannot digest food; that undigested food is useless as nourishment; that the process of digestion, which is a tax on the vital power of the well, must be a terrible strain on the sick, and that it is criminal to feed the sick.

If we break a bone, what does the surgeon do? He mends it by putting it into place, but further he cannot go. He has to leave the rest to nature. He is powerless to make the broken-boned patient use that bone until nature has done its work. He prescribes a period of rest until that work is accomplished. Then the broken limb is sound once more.

Is this the way adopted by the physician to heal the sick, or to

cure disease, or to arrest acute attacks or chronic conditions of illness? Not a bit of it. Why? Because the great army of doctors have not grasped the almighty fact that illness and disease are the direct outcome of an overtaxed stomach, a failing or lost digestive power. There is no remedy for such a condition of things but rest. As the broken bone has to rest before it can mend, so must the stomach rest before it can acquire strength sufficient to deal with a meal, however light.

Every means which ingenuity can suggest is employed to induce the sick to develop an appetite and eat. Predigested foods are thrust into the stomachs of these unfortunate mortals. "Take nourishment" is the parrot cry, oblivious to the fact that where there is no digestion there is no nourishment, nay, nothing but a tax on vital power. Every meal taken under such conditions helps to weaken and still further reduce the emaciated body of the patient, who is being starved to death by slow degrees. Cannot physicians see that what their patient needs is rest, Rest?

Take typhoid fever, take diphtheria, take rheumatic fever, take chronic biliousness and headaches, take gout, acute and chronic, take obesity, take alcoholism, take paralysis, insanity, consumption, rheumatoid arthritis, and apoplexy. These and other diseases all arise from one cause, and therefore can only be cured by one remedy—rest. Some cases need slight treatment, others take longer to cure, but all, if so treated, *will be cured*, provided death is not inevitable and the remedy is applied in time. And even where it comes too late, and death is inevitable, assuredly will that death be easier and more peaceful if the overtaking of an unbidden feeding is not going on in the inside.

How many men have gone down to their graves who might have been saved! The late Emperor of Russia, Mr. Spurgeon, Lord Randolph Churchill and many others I could name required but a rested stomach—rested in time—to restore them to health, whereas to the last days of their life they each were persistently, pertinaciously nourished!

The new gospel of health proclaims from the housetops that it is criminally wrong to feed the sick; that it takes at least three months to starve to death—in many cases longer—and that "vital power can be supported without food, mental and physical strength increased with the decline of symptoms, which invariably occurs when the stomach is allowed rest; that, as a result of fasting, no unusual wasting of the body occurs, not nearly so much as when the severely sick are asked to digest food which it is physically impossible for them to do."

For the severely sick *cannot digest food*. Cheer of mind, muscular activity in the open air, these and other factors are supremely necessary for the digestion. In disease or injury these conditions are

reversed, and therefore rest is the one, the sole, the only remedy for creating an appetite which shall be dictated by nature and created by real, not morbid, hunger, and which shall make digestion possible. For between these two hungers lies a chasm, vast and deep. The distinction between them is unmistakable. "Morbid hunger is the morning hunger; it is the hunger that is never satisfied with eating, that exists often between meals. Morbid hunger is disease."

On the other hand, real or natural hunger is "hunger in repose." It is a hunger that can wait longer easily if necessary—it is not attended with that nervous haste and impatience that incites the bolting of food. It is never in a hurry, and hence it permits mastication and the highest flow of gastric juice, of the saliva, as the delicious experience of eating, dictated by true want, goes on.

We who preach the new gospel of health are not afraid to challenge physicians and all the world to put it to the test. We are not afraid to court experiment, because we know that where the remedy is fairly and rigidly employed, *it will never fail*. But to succeed it must be fairly and rigidly enforced. Half-measures will not avail. I fearlessly bid physicians apply it in *all cases* where death is not inevitable, and I tell them it will cure diseases which have hitherto baffled their ingenuity and their comprehension. Before it the awful, creeping, agonising, wasting, deforming disease known as rheumatoid arthritis will go down if taken in time, though we cannot expect it to unlock ankylosed joints. It will, however, banish the disease and leave the patient in a proper condition to have these broken down and straightened once more. And as it will cure this disease, so will it cure all other diseases if taken in time, for all disease arises from the same cause, and can therefore be checked, prevented, or cured by the same remedy applied in a suitable manner to suit the severity of the case.

Health is the result of good blood. Good blood is the result of good digestion. Behind every illness and disease is heredity and the taxing from food decomposition of unknown time and gravity. The most perfect defence against disease is the rich blood of vigorous, perfect digestion.

One of the most fatal mistakes that is made is the enforced feeding of the sick with milk, a substance that is most difficult to digest, turning, as it does, to green cheese in the inside! Yet cupful after cupful is forced down the luckless patient's throat, and the stomach is asked to digest and assimilate this mass of curds and green cheese. Oh! fatal error.

Milk is not a typical food. Who that is truly hungry would ask for milk to satisfy that feeling? Yet the sick are fed upon it week after week. It is fit only as a food for the calf for the first few months of its life, when he has little sense of taste and no teeth.

Typical food is that which true hunger calls for, the food that is most relished and most desired when digestion rendered strong by natural hunger is able to take it and assimilate it. For food always revives one when eaten at the call of real hunger. It is a physiological fact which cannot be gainsaid, whereas when you eat without a sense of hunger, because you think you ought to in order to keep up your strength, you always find it a task. There is no relish, and you arise from that meal wishing you had not taken it, weighed down with a feeling of oppression. The new gospel of health proclaims, therefore, that feeding the diseased is a disease-prolonging agency, and it declares that to cure disease we must fast, we must in fact rest the stomach into power, whether it be a long or a short fast, or stomach rest, and this can only be determined by the severity of the case.

It is safe, however, to fast until natural hunger comes, and natural hunger will not come until the stomach has rested itself into power. Fasting will not kill under such conditions. Death is hastened rather by the paralysing effect of disease or injury on vital power, which becomes so overpowered "that the brain is disabled from withdrawing its supplies from the several tissues by some unknowable process of cell destruction or paralysis." Depend upon it nature if we trust her will never fail to cure, unless death has become inevitable through hereditary or constitutional conditions, and acquired conditions avoidable or otherwise; and where cure is possible, fasting, be it for hours, days, weeks, or months, will not bring about death; on the contrary, it will hold it at arm's length and prevent its sickle from reaping down a victim of disease, whereas feeding under such conditions invites death and never prevents the melting away of the tissues, because in proportion to the intensity of the disease so is the digestive power diminished.

We begin this overtaking of the stomach from our birth. Some babies are able to withstand it, and they are called the good ones. Others raise the wail of anguish and irritability produced thereby, and they are called the bad ones! Every cry of pain is put down to a cry for food, and the bottle is brought forward as the remedy for every wail produced by the discomfort of an overtaxed stomach. And so it goes on through childhood with its needlessly numerous meals, and between meal feedings until excessive eating fosters in the young the craving for drink. Let Lady Henry Somerset, and the vast army of the Women's Christian Temperance Union recognise this potent fact that to abolish the drunkard you must first of all abolish the hideous custom of over-eating which thereby invites the parched-up stomach to find relief in drink. Over-eating is responsible for many a drunkard's grave.

Dosing, medicine, drugs, will not cure conditions that are kept up by irritation; the true cure for disease, for alcoholism, which is

a disease, is eating in reason, and where necessary fasting. Once the digestive tract is empty and the stomach is at rest, cure will begin, and when at last that glorious natural hunger comes your stomach will have found a new life.

In a short article such as this must necessarily be, I can only treat of this subject in a limited manner. Let those who would study it fully read what I conceive to be not the book of the day, the week, the month, or the year, but the book of the century. It is by the author of *The True Science of Living; the New Gospel of Health*, of whom I am but a humble disciple. It is by no amateur in the world of therapeutics, but by a doctor, and one who has tested and proved the truth of his simple but noble teaching after years of testing and experience. The book should be in the hands of every physician the world over, and in every library throughout the land. Those who have not read *The True Science of Living* by Edward Hooker Dewey, M.D., have something left to live for in its perusal. Not long since I sent over half of London to try and get a copy for a friend, but failed to do so. I thereupon wrote to Dr. Dewey, and he replied saying the book was in the hands of his publishers. These publishers, Messrs. Charles C. Haskell & Son, Norwich, Conn., U.S.A., then wrote to me saying that their London agents were Messrs. Gay & Bird, 22 Bedford Street, Strand, W.C., whose address I here pass on to those who may wish to peruse the golden words of this book of the century.

To the sick I address myself, and I say—if you wish to be cured of your diseases, then fast. Fast until your stomachs have rested into power. If you have no will-power to resist the craving of morbid hunger, then commit yourselves to the care of one who will force you to arrest your progress of suicide. "There is no other way given unto man whereby that stomach can regain its power except through the vacation that must be voluntarily or legally enforced."

The long-abused stomach may require a few days, or one, two, or three-score of days to reach its normal power, but when it does it will be found that the development is general, and that with it all other weak or diseased structures will improve and become healthy once more. Away with the science of microbes, bacilli, organisms, and high-sounding names, who are accused of being the authors and originators of disease! Poor microbes, &c., let them dwell in peace. Turn you physicians to the true fount of all illness, the violation of nature's laws, and apply the only cure possible, which will give your patients the rich warm blood that comes from the vigorous digestion of food by stomachs that have thus regained their lost powers.

Now, I ask you, you who stand with bowed heads before diseases, over which your drugs and your medicines, your diets and pre-digested foods have no control, to give a fair trial to *Nature* by

obeying the teaching of the new gospel of health. I promise you that where death is not inevitable your trial will be crowned with success. I do not wish to argue, I merely ask you to try, and I know full well what the result will be. I know that it will not be failure. And to you surgeons who are going to perform a severe operation, I say, "See to it, that before you administer your gas, or your ether, or your chloroform, and before you commence your operations, that your patients' stomachs are free from the overtaxings of nourishment, that they are empty and at rest, and thus save them from the inflammatory conditions which are bound to arise after a severe operation, when the enfeebled digestion is asked to dispose of a meal while the body is ailing and suffering and in pain." Obey only the divine laws of nature, and the sick will be raised up, and the mystery of disease and its cure will no longer oppress your minds.

FLORENCE DIXIE.

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

### PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

It is always stimulating to meet with a work by an original thinker, and as such we give a cordial welcome to a new book by M. Guyau,<sup>1</sup> who is already well known as the author of the *Irreligion of the Future*, a title we may say that has not unnaturally given rise to some misconceptions. M. Guyau's attachment to morality is so ardent that it may almost be described as religious, if we accept Mr. Matthew Arnold's definition of religion, as morality touched with emotion. For though M. Guyau would set morality upon a secure scientific basis, as a psychologist he gives due regard to the influence of emotion, and is evidently himself affected by it.

It is undeniable that the old religious sanctions, the notions of future rewards and punishments, are losing their power over conduct, and we are not much affected, as men used to be, by fears of hell and hopes of heaven. The categorical imperative of Kant appears to most people a doubtful metaphysical entity, especially in the light of the evolution theory. With the loss of the influence of this obligation and that sanction we stand in need of a reasonable basis of morality. For that morality is good and desirable no one doubts; but what we want to know is why it is good and desirable. Sanctions do not make morality good in itself; they have rather the effect of detracting from its inherent goodness; and a positive command explains nothing.

M. Guyau has set himself to solve the problem which thus arises, and his answer to it is to be found in these illuminating pages. Life in its highest intensity is necessarily moral—or, if you like, we give the name of morality to the manifestation of life in its highest intensity. Briefly that is M. Guyau's answer. The necessity laid upon us is to live, and to live at the best we must be moral. This is obligation, but it is an obligation imposed by an interior force, and not by an exterior will. It is there: how it comes there we cannot say, and M. Guyau does not attempt to explain. He regards it as an original force, and not a quality which has been evolved by social experience.

<sup>1</sup> *A Sketch of Morality independent of Obligation or Sanction.* By M. Guyau. Translated from the French by Gertrude Kapteyn. London: Watts & Co. 1898.

It does not appear to us that there is very much difference in effect between M. Guyau and a transcendentalist like Emerson. For his "life" is as mysterious an element as Emerson's, "over-soul." But his method is more scientific than Emerson's, and where Emerson would take a principle for granted, M. Guyau seeks a scientific basis for it. That we do not misrepresent him we think may be seen from his account of the origin of obligation.

"Moral obligation, which has its root in the very function of life, therefore happens to come in principle before thinking consciousness, and springs from the obscure and unconscious depths of our being—or, if one prefers to put it so, from the sphere of spontaneous and synthetical consciousness. The sentiment of natural obligation may, in a great measure, be brought back to this formula: I ascertain in myself, by means of reflective consciousness, certain powers and modifications, which, however, do not spring therefrom, but which spring from unconscious and subconscious depths in myself, and which urge me in a certain fixed direction. Thus, across the luminous sphere of consciousness are flashing rays of heat from that obscure fire which constitutes the inner life."

This brief notice conveys but a feeble impression of the intellectual power of the writer or the value of his book, which is packed full of suggestive thoughts. It should be read. It is clearly translated by Gertrude Kapteyn, who enters fully into the spirit of the writer.

Earl Selborne's *Letters to his Son*<sup>1</sup> treat in a simple and straightforward manner of the elementary principles of the subject. The evidences of religion drawn from nature, conscience, the Bible, and the Church are passed in review, but we are not impressed by the way in which the writer attempts to meet the results of Biblical criticism.

Mr. Herbert Baynes classifies the *Ideals of the East*<sup>2</sup> as ethical, metaphysical, theosophical, and religious, and presents us with examples of each class. As the book contains only one hundred pages, and gives us sketches of all the great religions and philosophical systems of India, China, Persia, and Syria, we need scarcely say that the author does not deal very profoundly with his subject; but he treats these different systems in a scholarly and sympathetic manner and shows how much there is that is admirable in all of them.

The story of the *Origin\* of the Company of Jesus*,<sup>3</sup> better known as the Jesuits, as told by Herman Müller, borders on the romantic

<sup>1</sup> *Letters to his Son on Religion*. By Roundell first Earl of Selborne. London: Macmillan & Co. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *Ideals of the East*. By Herbert Baynes, M.R.A.S. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co. 1898.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Origines de la Compagnie de Jésus, Ignace et Lainez*. By Herman Müller. Paris: Fischbacher. 1898.

and is intensely interesting. In his determination to be impartial M. Müller abstains from expressing any hasty judgment upon the founders of this remarkable society, but he nevertheless exposes ruthlessly the inventions and intrigues by which they eventually attained for the society its unique position, rather as a political than a religious force. In investigating the early history of the originators of the society the chief difficulty was the partiality of all those who had treated of it before him. Most of them belonged to one or other of two classes—for one class the Society of Jesus is composed exclusively of hypocrites and fanatics, capable of every crime, and justifying every accusation; for the other, on the contrary, the Jesuits are all and each saints beyond all praise.

M. Müller starts with the more reasonable presumption that on the whole they are neither better nor worse than other men, and so is able to conduct his inquiries without prejudice. The reader can form his own judgment.

Two facts M. Müller considers he establishes: the first is that Ignatius Loyola borrowed the most distinguishing features of his system from religious orders existing amongst Musulmans, and the second is that the society owes more to its second General, Jacques Lainez, than to Ignatius. The first point is curious and probably little known, but M. Müller substantiates his position by such a body of evidence as practically to prove his case. Nearly all that is peculiar in the *Exercices* and which Ignatius did not borrow from Cisneros are exactly of the kind which characterise Musulman asceticism. In the main the evidence is rather circumstantial than direct, but it is weighty. The evidence of the dominating influence of Lainez in the development and establishment of the society is positive and much of it incontrovertible.

To those who take any interest in the subject the book is indispensable; and it may be read for entertainment and enlightenment by those who hitherto have paid but little attention to it.

Histories of the Church of England are almost as plentiful as blackberries in September, though it must be difficult for a writer on the subject to find anything new to say. The one before us<sup>1</sup> is much like some others we have seen. It is brief, succinct, generally accurate as to ordinary facts, but suggestive of controversy on larger matters. The general line taken by Mr. Asplen is that the history of the Church of England has been continuous, that it was never Roman, therefore could never have been Protestant, but always simply English—with variations. General disapproval of Romanists and Dissenters is implied and occasionally expressed. We ought to say that the thousand years of history closes with the death of Elizabeth.

<sup>1</sup> *A Thousand Years of English Church History.* By L. O. Asplen, M.A. London: George Bell & Sons. 1898.

We have also received the volumes *St. Luke* and *St. John* of the new and uniform editions of the Church Commentary, by the Rev. M. F. Sadler. The Commentary is so well known as to call for no fresh criticism. The edition is handy, elegant, and cheap.

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE sixth volume of *Our Empire at Home and Abroad*<sup>1</sup> contains a very detailed account of the Australasian colonies. Mr. Sanderson's industry must be commended, though we think that the historical element in his work might have been relieved by a few lighter touches here and there. The illustrations are very good, and the work is, all things considered, very creditably brought out by Messrs. Blackie.

Whatever may be said of John Knox, it must be admitted that he was both a great patriot and a great preacher. We believe, however, that he is responsible for much of the gloomy fanaticism which in Scotland is too often mistaken for religion. Carlyle has done justice to the strong points in Knox's character, and now Mr. C. J. Guthrie, Q.C., has written a biography of the Scottish Reformer<sup>2</sup> which is perhaps a little too eulogistic. The book, in spite of its partisanship, is a monument of patient and painstaking research.

Within the compass of some 340 pages, Mr. C. S. Fearenside has presented us with a carefully prepared record of the reign of Elizabeth.<sup>3</sup> The character of Mary Stuart is dealt with rather unsympathetically, but justice is done to the great governing talent of Elizabeth. The account of the religious history of the period is admirable and, on the whole, impartial. The contents of the work are a reprint of the second volume of the *Intermediate Text-book of English History*.

## BELLES LETTRES.

WE have read with delight Dr. Alexander Whyte's *Appreciation of Sir Thomas Browne*.<sup>4</sup> It would be impossible to bestow too much

<sup>1</sup> *Our Empire at Home and Abroad*. By Edgar Sanderson, M.A. Vol. vi. London: Blackie & Son.

<sup>2</sup> *John Knox and his House*. By Charles John Guthrie, Q.C. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier.

<sup>3</sup> *The Reign of Elizabeth*. By C. S. Fearenside, M.A. Oxon. London: W. B. Clive.

<sup>4</sup> *Sir Thomas Browne: An Appreciation*. By Alexander Whyte, D.D. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier.

praise on the beautiful and inimitable style of the author of the *Religio Medici*. Sir Thomas Browne is the most perfect writer of English prose, and his sentences are precious gems from the literary point of view. We recommend this admirable appreciation to all readers.

*Old Decan Days*<sup>1</sup> is a pleasantly written collection of Indian fairy-tales. Some of them are very quaint, not to say grotesque. Miss Mary Frere has displayed great taste and skill in collecting these legends. There is an admirable Introduction by the late Sir Bartle Frere. One of the strange peculiarities of the stories in the volume is the importance of the parts played in them by the lower animals.

A most attractive picture of rural life in America will be found in *At You-all's House*,<sup>2</sup> by James Newton Baskett. The author describes his interesting narrative as "a Missouri Nature Story." The touching incident at the close of the tale illustrating a dog's devotion to his master is one of the most pathetic things in literature.

*The Forest Lovers*<sup>3</sup> is a romance in the true sense. Mr. Hewlett, like Cervantes, has the incommunicable gift of romantic story-telling. We never tire of the adventures of Prosper le Gai, and could almost wish that, like Tennyson's brook, they would "go on for ever." At the same time, the work will not stand the ordeal of minute criticism, and the best way to deal with such a writer as Mr. Hewlett is to read and enjoy without criticising him.

*The Blue Flag*<sup>4</sup> is a capital story of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion. Mr. Hillary writes in a simple, convincing style, which recalls the manner of the late Robert Louis Stevenson.

*The Concert Director*<sup>5</sup> may be described as a musical novel. It has some cleverness, but the general effect is disappointing. This is sure to be the fate of most musical novels. Where Mr. George Moore partly failed, how could Miss Blissett succeed?

*Sorely Tried*,<sup>6</sup> by Cosmo Clark, is really a very trying book to readers who have anything like an extensive acquaintance with fiction. The plot of the story appears to have been borrowed from a suggestion in *Jane Eyre*; but, of course, comparisons are "odorous," as Dogberry says.

Mr. Bernard Capes has proved that he possesses many of the qualities which go to the making of a successful writer of fiction.

<sup>1</sup> *Old Decan Days*; or, *Hindoo Fairy Legends current in Southern India*. Collected from Oral Tradition. By Mary Frere. With an Introduction and Notes by the late Right Hon. Sir Bartle Frere.

<sup>2</sup> *At You-all's House*. A Missouri Nature Story. By James Newton Baskett. New York: The Macmillan Company.

<sup>3</sup> *The Forest Lovers*. A Romance. By Maurice Hewlett. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd.

<sup>4</sup> *The Blue Flag*. A Tale of the Rebellion. By Max Hillary. London: Ward, Lock & Co., Ltd.

<sup>5</sup> *The Concert Director*. By Nellie K. Blissett. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

<sup>6</sup> *Sorely Tried*. By Cosmo Clark. London: Digby, Long & Co.

In *The Mysterious Singer*<sup>1</sup> he deals with a rather novel theme—the love of an old maid for a *chevalier d'industrie*. The story wears an air of improbability, but it interests us, even though we feel that the author is more or less trifling with our common sense. *The Mysterious Singer* is exceedingly amusing. It has in it an echo of Thackeray, but it lacks his masculinity and lifelikeness.

*Exiled for Lèse Majesté*<sup>2</sup> is a story of Russian life by a gentleman who appears to be an American. The author is discursive, learned, and evidently anxious to display his erudition. But as a novel the book is not exactly a success. If Mr. Whittaker had studied Turgenev closely, he would have avoided many of the mistakes into which he has fallen.

### POETRY.

MR. WILLIAM KNOX JOHNSON is a true poet, though his range is limited. He likes to trifle with the supernatural, and it seems to us that his Muse in this experiment gets the worst of it. His lines, "At the Grave of Mangan," have a sad beauty, which recall the most mournful verses of that ill-fated Irish poet. Mr. Johnson has touched on many chords in his volume, *Terra Terrararum*,<sup>3</sup> and he has certainly given us of his best, though he might have left many lines unwritten.

We would like to say a word of praise about the volume of poems by Oliver Orchard,<sup>4</sup> but we cannot, without going against our conscience. None of the verses in the book are poetry, and we might describe them as half-inarticulate efforts to talk in rhyme. We feel that the writer is a "good fellow," though not born a poet, and we would like to meet and shake hands with him.

<sup>1</sup> *The Mysterious Singer*. By Bernard Capes. Bristol. J. W. Arrowsmith.

<sup>2</sup> *Exiled for Lèse Majesté*. By James I. Whittaker. Cincinnati: Curtis and Jennings.

<sup>3</sup> *Terra Terrararum*, Love's Jest-book, and Other Verses. By William Knox Johnson. London: Kegan Paul, Trencher & Co.

<sup>4</sup> *Poems*. By Oliver Orchard. London: Wilson and Macmillan.

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the average man is interested in a great variety of subjects, his natural wish to keep abreast of his neighbours leads him into many different paths of thought. He does not need to know all about any one branch of knowledge, but he must at least know where to turn for information of all sorts. And to collect a comprehensive library of reference is a tedious, as well as an expensive, undertaking. History and biography, literature and art, science and philosophy, divide themselves into so many different branches, that in order to be sure to find what he wants he must have, in the ordinary way, not less than a thousand different books, and must take time to choose them, as well as be able to pay for them.

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afford to buy it. The ninth edition, completed in 1889, consists of no less than 22,000 pages, or thirty million printed words, and 10,000 illustrations, the mere size of the work was enough to make it expensive. And it was written by the great men of our day. The contributors were successful writers and distinguished specialists, for whose writings there was a great demand. Such men as Lord Kelvin and Mr. Swinburne could not be hired as back-writers are hired, and the author of each of the more important contributions received as much as if his article had been separately published in the form of a book.

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## A GREAT OPPORTUNITY.

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SIR W. CROOKES

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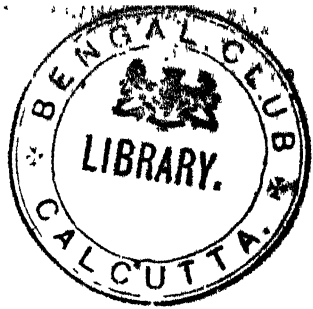
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THE  
WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

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VOL. CL. No. 5.—NOVEMBER 1898.

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THE TYRANNY OF THE PARTY WHIP.

THE ill-concealed fear of the Unionist Press lest the "Fashoda" incident should serve to afford yet another illustration of Lord Salisbury's fatal policy of "graceful concession," is in striking contrast to the almost child-like faith reposed in the Foreign Minister by his supporters in Parliament.

On June 10 last, the House of Commons declared, in effect, by a majority of 126, that nothing in his past conduct of foreign affairs disintituled Lord Salisbury to the continued confidence of his fellow-countrymen; yet this is the Statesman who at the present moment is only too evidently the object of suspicion and distrust on the part of those newspapers which in an ordinary way may be looked upon as supporters of a Unionist Ministry. There is, *or there appears to be*, a marked divergence of opinion between the Press and the Politicians of the Unionist party, the probable cause of which seems, in our opinion, to call for more than passing attention. It is not our intention to argue the case for or against Lord Salisbury. He may be a Heaven-sent Foreign Minister, or he may not; the acquisition of Wei-hai-Wei may have been a premeditated master-stroke, or it may merely have been a panic-stricken blunder; Siam, Tunis, Madagascar may be names to conjure with, or they may not; but be the true answer to these questions what it may, the fact remains that Lord Salisbury's foreign policy, though condemned as a whole by Unionist opinion outside the House of Commons, was endorsed within the House by a majority of 126.

Here there is a marked divergence of opinion, which, however, we believe to be more apparent than real, holding as we do that there would be neither difference of opinion nor conflict of judgment were it not for what may fairly be termed "the Tyranny of the

Party Whip." A glance at the division list shows that Members did not vote willingly on the occasion we have referred to, no more than 382 of this number taking the trouble to pass through the division lobbies. True, the Government secured a majority of 126 ; but it seems to us now, as it seemed to us at the time, that the true significance of the figures lies not in the largeness of the majority, but in the smallness of the number who voted.

The whole foreign policy of a Government, of a more or less discredited Government, under discussion, yet no more than 382 Members out of 670 come down to record their votes ! It is a portent ! But of what ? Of nothing less, in our opinion, than the break-up and decay of our representative system of government. The whole affair would be laughable if it were not so pitiable. Hit at by their candid friends in the press, and denounced by even more candid critics in every constituency in England, the Ministry nevertheless contrived to receive a majority of 126 !

Representation ? Well, the votes of three-fifths of the Members of the House of Commons may represent the feelings of the constituencies as a whole ; but we should scarcely have thought it.

And what of the other two-fifths ?

"Too lazy to come down and vote against the Government's big battalions" will account for half of the absentees ; but what of the other half ? "Willing to wound, yet afraid to strike," may account for the absence of something like 150 Unionist Members, but can scarcely justify it. Such an absence, at such a time, constitutes a breach of trust and a betrayal on the part of those who are sent to Parliament to represent their constituents, and not to abdicate their functions by remaining away.

There is no use mincing matters any longer : The supremacy of Parliament is in danger ! We may as well face the truth and admit that, for years past, the best energies of Governments and of Government Whips have been devoted to sapping the independence of Parliament by alternately cowing and cajolling those whom they look upon as Supporters of the Government rather than as Representatives of the people.

That is the explanation of the wholesale abstention of Unionist Members from the division on the Foreign Office vote on June 10, and of the antagonism in which they find themselves to educated Unionist opinion outside the House of Commons.

There is an organised system of terrorism of which the Government Whips are the prime agents. Men who outside of Parliament would resent as an impertinence any attempt to interfere with their liberty of action, meekly accept the dictation of the Party Whip ; and if what is left of their consciences will not allow them, perhaps, to vote as directed, they will at his bidding compromise with that troublesome possession by remaining away.

What is the explanation?

It seems to us to exist in the total misapprehension by the average Member of Parliament: 1st. Of his own position in relation to the Ministry, and 2nd, of the Ministry's position in relation to him. He does not appear to realise that though he and the units such as he are indispensable to Ministers, it does not follow, that the individuals composing the Government are in any way indispensable to the Party. Once the unofficial Member of Parliament has properly realised *that*, the reign of terror of the Party Whip is over.

The Whips have for years successfully obscured the issue: "Turn out the Government," they say, "and you thereby declare that *the Party* has lost the confidence of the country, which must accordingly be consulted at once." That the Party and the Ministry are one and indivisible, and that censure of the latter by the former involves the downfall of both, is the creed of the Party Whip; and it would seem that he has actually got his voting machines to believe it. "Dissolution" is the threat that brings the recalcitrant follower to heel, but it may be supposed it would lose something of its potency could the average Member of Parliament but be brought to see that the question of Dissolution is, after all, not one that lies with the Ministry, but, although nominally with the Sovereign—in reality with the House of Commons itself.

A vote of want of confidence is carried and the Government accordingly resigns or advises dissolution; it has the power and the right to resign without asking permission from anybody, but it cannot dissolve; it can only *advise* dissolution. It is questionable if even to tender that advice be not an infringement of the rights of the House of Commons. The Ministry are not representatives of the electorate as a whole, they are but representatives of the people's representatives who, in turning them out of office, do not express any opinion as to the country's attitude in regard to the Party as a whole, but simply in regard to some fifteen or twenty gentlemen who no longer appear to them to be the best possible leaders that the Party can supply. Voted out of office by Parliament, it follows that the members of the Government are devoid of the necessary authority that alone could entitle them to advise the Sovereign to dissolve Parliament.

That this is so can easily enough be shown by stating a hypothetical case.

The foreign policy of a Minister has rendered him personally unpopular, though a majority of the House of Commons continue to believe in the general policy of the Government; a reduction in the Foreign Office vote is carried, and Ministers thereupon announce a Ministerial—mark the word "Ministerial," not "Party"—crisis; they consider the alternatives of Resignation and Dissolution, and

decide on advising the Sovereign to adopt the latter course; a majority of the House of Commons, however, holding that the foreign policy alone of the Government has been objectionable and that the country remains in favour of the general policy of the Party, vote an address to the Queen praying her not to dissolve Parliament, but to entrust the formation of a new Ministry to a leading member of the Party in possession of a majority: will anyone contend for a moment that the Queen as a constitutional Sovereign could, or would, disregard the expressed wish of the representatives of the people and, instead, act on the advice of a small and discredited minority of the Party merely because they had at one time been favoured with the confidence of the majority? The very idea is absurd! Ministers who have lost the confidence of the representatives of the people must, under our Constitution, also be presumed to have forfeited the confidence of the Sovereign!

However, at the present time, Members of Parliament seem unable to grasp the possibilities of the situation. The manner in which they allow themselves to be dragooned, badgered, and even threatened by the Whips is a scandal which, if representative institutions are not to suffer, ought at once to be put an end to.

For consider how it places a conscientious Member of Parliament: he feels, it may be, that there is some one Minister who is not doing his duty and who ought to be got rid of; he proposes to speak and to vote in that sense, and is promptly informed that to do so is to go against his Party. In the result, and notwithstanding that he knows that were they to give effect to their convictions a majority of his own Party would vote with him, the Member in question, if he be a weak man, gives way, and thus either misrepresents or fails to represent his constituents; if he be a strong man he votes as his conscience dictates and thereby incurs, however unjustly, the odium of having played the traitor to his Party!

It is our contention that this state of things ought to come to an end, and that the time has arrived when Members of Parliament should begin to realise that in every Party there exists the material for forming more Cabinets than one; for it can scarcely be denied that of glib politicians there are enough and to spare, who are quite capable of readily acquiring the small amount of statesmanship which is nowadays sufficient to qualify for admission into the Cabinet.

It seems to us that the sooner the average Member of Parliament realises, and shows that he is aware of, his own power, the sooner will Cabinet Ministers climb down from the autocratic and irresponsible position which year by year they have more firmly taken up.

That the country would be the gainer by such a change cannot, we think, admit of a doubt.

Under the present system of compelling the Party to stand or

fall with the Government, a positive injury is done to the country; and that the Government, in turn, is bound to stand or fall with any one of its members is both unfair and injurious to the Party in power.

We will endeavour to give a brief illustration of what we mean.

First, as to the injury done to the country, let us assume that a Minister acts foolishly in the conduct of his department, but is nevertheless bolstered up and maintained in his position by the aid of colleagues and Whips, with the consequence that although the general policy—let us say, notably, the Irish policy—of the Government is infinitely preferred by the country to that of the Opposition, yet such is the indignation felt at the whitewashing of the Minister whose actions had brought discredit on the nation, that as a protest the constituencies are bound to vote, and will vote, on the very first opportunity, in favour of Opposition rather than of Government candidates. In this way the country is, in a manner, compelled to do violence to its own feelings, and to suffer through being obliged to call in politicians for whose general policy it has no admiration, and to dismiss another set of politicians whose policy it infinitely prefers, but whose indefensible defence of a discredited colleague it cannot stand.

Then there is the injury done to the Party. The vast majority of the Party in power may accurately gauge and agree with the feelings of the country, but they are placed in this dilemma: if they give effect to their convictions a Dissolution will be sprung on them, with the inevitable result that, not the whole policy of the Government, *but only one shockingly mismanaged part of the whole*, will be made the issue by the Opposition. In these circumstances but two courses would be open to those Ministerialists who had voted against the Government—viz., either to retire from political life or to stand for Parliament once more, and, by coming forward as Government candidates, actually be made to appear to the electors as supporters, and not opponents, of the discredited Minister, and this in despite of their having spoken and voted against him in Parliament.

No wonder that Members of Parliament are afraid to vote according to the dictates of conscience!

The tyranny of the Party Whip concerns the country even more than it does Members of Parliament, inasmuch as it stifles fair and free criticism of a Government by its own supporters (whose criticism alone is of real value), and cuts at the very root of true and honest representation.

That this has of late been peculiarly the case, is notorious. We do not speak without knowledge when we assert that up to within a brief period, indeed, of the Foreign Office vote being taken, there were enough openly declared Unionist malcontents in the House of Commons to have brought down the Government majority to vanish—

ing point on any division that might have been taken on Lord Salisbury's Chinese policy.

And yet, thanks to the unscrupulous tyranny of the Party Whip, that policy was approved by no less a majority than 126.

The lessons of the past are the guides of the future: Lord Salisbury may—though there is happily some indication that he will not—mismanage the “Fashoda” affair as he has in the past mismanaged almost every question of Foreign policy ever since he ceased to be able to draw inspiration from the keen, clear mind of the late Earl of Beaconsfield; he may mismanage and muddle the “Fashoda” affair as he pleases, and he may be, in consequence, lectured by the press and reviled on the platform; but, not the less surely, will the Party Whip come to the rescue and, unless members show that they are at last aware of their own power, will secure for him the approval of, not perhaps a majority of the House of Commons, but, at all events, the approval of a majority of those who are allowed to vote.

And this we call “representation of the people!”

JAMES DOUGLAS HOLMS.

## OUR SOLDIERS IN THE EAST.

THE following appears in the course of the discussion on the Army Estimates, which took place in the House of Commons, and certain comments by some military members are worthy of comment and public notice :

"A discussion on the efficiency of the army followed," when the following, among other opinions, were expressed :

General Russell : "The inadequacy of the army is a national danger."

General Sir F. Fitzwygram : "The army can be improved if money be spent in the right direction."

Sir Charles Dilke : "There are forty-four batteries which are not fit for war—in fact, *do not exist except on paper.*"

Sir H. Havelock Allen : "A large part of the enormous expenditure on the army has been thrown away on account of bad organisation."

There can be no reasonable doubt that the comments of these right hon. and hon. gentlemen are fully representing the state of affairs that exist to-day in the mode of military administration.

Just for argument sake, we will divide the comments into two heads—viz., "A" and "B." The first, the third, and fourth comprising "A," and the second comprising "B," and proceed to deal with them.

With reference to "A," there can be no doubt, to look the fact sternly in the face as Englishmen (or, I might say, to be fairly understood, as Britons), that the deplorable state of inefficiency that exists to-day in the army, more especially of that portion in the East, is entirely owing to the system of short service so warmly defended by the Under Secretary of State for War in the House of Commons when the above comments were put before him.

That the army to-day is to a great extent unable to meet any special call cannot for a moment be denied.

This is not, however, of so much consequence at home as it is abroad.

In India at the present time it would be difficult to find any single station where half the number of troops forming its establishment could be counted on in an emergency ; and I might, per-

haps, give an illustration of what came under my personal observation during my military experience.

On being drafted to India, the draft that I accompanied was posted to Quetta, north-western frontier of Afghanistan.

The establishment of British troops consisted of three British regiments, one mounted battery, three garrison companies of artillery—of course barring the “wanting to complete.” We had other native regiments which, however, do not bear upon the case at present.

My first visit to the military hospital surprised me—the large amount of sickness, for the years 1893–4 were years of exceptional sickness.

Out of the British establishment of troops, 500 men were under treatment in hospital, whereas, on an average, from 150 to 200 attended every morning for treatment.

Our garrison consisted mostly of boys.

It should be remembered that there are two intervals of service to complete before a man can enter into contract for pension—viz., to complete twelve years.

First, from one to seven years with the colours. Second, from seven to twelve years with the Army Reserve. Should a man elect to extend his service with the colours, instead of being transferred to the reserve, he can do so.

This is not, however, done as a rule by men serving in India, for the £21 to which they become entitled to on their completing seven years' service is an inducement for them to go home and secure the money, which in many cases is spent, and the men re-enlist again, so actually reducing the large figures which are shown on paper as constituting the reserve, whose numbers could not be put on parade.

No doubt, if it were ascertained, it would, to a great extent, be found that contracted cases of sickness, arising from want of self-control and self-government, which belong to youth, took place, and exist more in the first interval of divided service—viz., from one to seven years—than actually occurred during the latter part of a soldiers' service.

The age at enlistment in most cases is under twenty years of age. Taking good round numbers at seventeen or eighteen years of age who, on being enlisted, are sent to depôts previous to joining their regiments or companies.

As men are not sent out to India before twenty years of age, it must be seen that, in a great majority of cases, a man has from two to two and a half years' service when he is sent out with his draft, which would, however, mean about four or five years to serve in India, a very large extent of which time is spent in nursing, hospital, and on plain stations, up the Hills.

At Quetta there was an occasion to send a "warlike" expedition to Kelhat, and 200 men were "selected" from each infantry (British) regiment as escort for the mountain artillery, which formed part of the expedition. One hundred and thirty nine of these boys were taken into Kelhat on camels, though they were not physically equal to the march.

How would the expedition have got on in the face of the enemy? What a sorry escort for artillery to depend upon!

What a fine job for the remainder of the men to nurse them, and look after them, and look after their rifles, which would have to be done before an enemy. So that a young soldier sent out to India, with four or five years to serve under existing rules when thoroughly fitted for the climate (as is the case in time) and endowed with sense which experience has taught him, is sent home, attracted by the £21.

The short service among infantry and garrison artillery makes those branches inefficient and expensive.

What more finer or efficient body of men in India than the mountain batteries, who are enlisted for twelve years, seasoned and tried men. Could they be so under the short service system?

Deaths, sickness, invaliding, and time-expired men very soon lower the establishment of men who have to be replaced, re-trained, and re-nursed at an extravagant cost which would not be necessary under the long service system.

I just want to quote a few figures which I believe give an accurate idea of how money is wasted to no purpose.

Under the old system the seasoned old soldier did not require so much of the "Rest Barracks," on the line of march, nor did the old soldiers in transit cost any large sum in railway expenses, as they were able to march the greater part of the distance to the port of embarkation; but supposing they cost say 10s. per day per man, averaging five days we have  $10 \times 5 \times 5000 = £12,500$  against  $10 \times 5 \times 20,000 = £50,000$  being the charge of transit dues for young soldiers to port of embarkation.

So it exists that the approximate expense connected with transport charges for the old soldiers was £12,500 inland transport and £85,000 sea transports. While the young soldiers cost £275,000 for sea transports; £42,000 for inland transports to the hills; £28,000 per annum for barracks in the hills; £40,000 for inland transport connected with sea; £21,000 extra cost of food in the hills.

"The average garrison of India was 50,000 old soldiers, the equivalent of which deducting sick, invalids, and men in the hills was reckoned (70,000) young soldiers, the present garrison.

"The average relief was about 5000 backwards and forwards. The old soldier was not invalided to the hills except in unusual circumstances, nor was he sent there on first arrival in India. The

cost of passage is given as £17 and that in all cases was not paid." I should think not.

Each trooping season places 19,000 men on the high seas at a cost of £275,000, which under the long service would be only half, with the all important fact that we should have a more efficient army at a smaller outlay. The amount so wasted could go to our volunteers at home. We shall want them some day.

With such a change there would be a good seasoned group of men such as exists in the mountain batteries to-day, the only efficient branch in India, with whom no general would for a moment hesitate to take the field, and they would be long enough in the country to learn the ill consequences of excess and not be coming home to distribute widespread destruction, to which plague or cholera would be more preferable than lasting.

Time and experience alone will correct this, only what is to be done must be done at once to check this great evil when a man knows its consequences, and sees eight or nine years before him to serve instead of three or four. It is most important that a change should be made and the efficiency of our frontier stations more considered.

Pipe clay element, red tape and economy are largely exercised in the wrong direction. Quetta was far from being an efficient garrison, a station where ice could be seen in the morning, and 100° at 12 noon.

The mens' bungalows in the cold season, the only time when one can, as a rule, enjoy a good night, when coal and coal-dust is not limited, were in a disgraceful condition. I have counted as many as nine and ten tin basins catching the falling water coming through the roof pattering into the tin basins, and men rising in the night shifting their cots and dodging the water from the melting snow on the roof, applying adjectives of a sanguinary nature to cots, roof, and military authorities, to which they were justly entitled.

We had, of course, native troops there. On one occasion, at an act of what appeared to be discontent among them, it was necessary to exhibit a display of force by the presence of a parade of British troops, and an admonition to them as to their conduct.

The Commander-in-Chief commented somewhat severely on the merits of the native troops, with whom he trusted he would never have to lead against a European force. His lordship was evidently discounting his own merits, for, with trifling exceptions, the greater part of the honour and distinction he has so justly won, which the country has so fully recognised, was deservedly won in engagements against black troops.

The Commander-in-Chief will probably never lead troops to engage an enemy on the Indian frontier. If he does, he would be the first to call for different material.

There is no British general to-day of any note fitted for the work who would undertake the task.

Could Lord Roberts have gone to Kandahar with what he would select to-day from India?

Small expeditions, patched up, answer very well for local purposes; but time is advancing, and Russia stands on the borders of our frontier in Central Asia.

Our advances during the Queen's reign have been equal, reaching probably their limit in the Punjab, Peshwar, and the North-western frontiers of Afghanistan. Herat, the western Afghanistan frontier fortress, is almost in sight, and it is most likely that foes may meet at no distant date, should not the Anglo-Franco-Russian Alliance take place, which would undoubtedly ease us to a very great extent in the control of our Eastern possessions. With an efficient frontier garrison, and a thorough control of the speedy way they could be reinforced, and, above all, the efficiency of the men, there is nothing to fear so far.

This is a question for the House of Commons and the country to seriously consider.

That mistakes have been made with regard to military administration in India is universally acknowledged, well that it happened in one way, if it was forced to come, for it presents itself for remedy—and remedy before it is too late.

Legislative remedies are widely suggested, long discussions took place both in the House of Lords and Commons, and should any further legislation come forth its fate will be the forgotten shelf and failure, as all have been in the past.

The last Government had a difference over an inadequate supply of ammunition, which, I believe, resulted in its defeat. But what if it had been discovered that small as the supply was the number of men for its use did not exist.

The present Government have patched up the tinkered old army-pot, and doubtless it will "stand easy" for some time.

We have, goodness knows, had enough of legislating which has ruined many of our young men and the best part of our army, to say nothing of other damage.

The late Government lent its ear to outside agitators predominating the groundless impulses of Exeter Hall. The influence brought to bear which formed the Opium Commission did no good, threatened with other questions and rights of the natives to cause discontent among them, and after long inquiry ended in a failure and a dispute as to who should pay £40,000 its cost, the Indian Government, but ending in coming out of the pocket of the British taxpayer.

Then the lasting harm of the repeal of certain Acts, prompted by the "sisterhood." If any one was fortunate enough to witness the sad results of the indulgence, and want of self-control, in the cases of

the men invalided home, they would behold such a picture they would not forget for many a day.

Young men I saw at Bombay brought on board helpless, broken to pieces, and hideously disfigured in the prime of their youth, going home, some happily to die, and what numbers to spread it through many an innocent one in many a home.

Such is the animal nature of the bulk of the men the country is paying for defence.

So much for "A" and "B," first, third, and fourth.

I may suggest a few remedies: first, the abolition of the short service, and make it compulsory for twelve years on all men being sent to India. Every enlisted soldier to take his turn for service in India.

Other arrangements regarding the issue of deferred pay, which at present is an inducement for men to come home, spend their money, and flood the labour market.

Abolish army chaplains and do away with church-parade on Sundays; put the spiritual care of the troops in the hands of the local clergy, a charge of course being made against the public to be determined.

This would appear to deserve some consideration, for the remedy for improvement lays in the moral teaching and surroundings which a civilian element would raise to a higher standard, which does much good among Wesleyans, Roman Catholics, and Salvation Army.

There is too much of the officers' mess about the present army chaplains. I have been eighteen years in the army, attended Church of England pretty regular in some garrisons where 5000 troops were laying, and never saw five men at a Communion-table; the Church of England parade of course interferes with that.

The soldier ought to have the Sunday to himself; what a field for mission work among the local clergy, what a praiseworthy enterprise of competition among each district. Better than going to China or Japan. Home work.

One is very loath to suggest any way which will deprive the soldier of anything in the way of pay, for he is sufficiently robbed enough now, both by Government and the military authorities.

But it would appear necessary that under certain conditions for contracted disease interfering with uninterrupted performance of his duties, throwing them on his comrades (especially guards), that pay should be forfeited to the State.

Not, perhaps, for the first offence, but under certain conditions giving medical officers that power to recommend, and, if necessary, to insist on a stoppage. Medical officers, as a rule, are not the martinets that some commanding officers are.

Medical officers are the only gentlemen who could deal with this

question if they had the power. Concealment of disease could be made a serious crime, and it is important that it should be so.

I have known cases of innocent men in India losing their sight through the filth and carelessness of their lusty comrades.

Temperance societies are not much good, and ought to be discouraged within military circles. I used to visit the army temperance rooms in India, and cannot say that they impressed me very much. It is probably convenient for the military authorities, as it lessens crime while not improving the moral character of the soldier.

I have heard worse talk in those rooms than I have heard in the canteen, where one would expect to ; but it is not allowed in the canteen. There are 30,000 total abstainers in the army and 3000 moderate drinkers.

A distinguished general once said, if he had the choice of one of the two batches for active service, 3000 who could control themselves would be more reliable than 30,000 who could not.

Moral reform is the great engine to employ to make our army what is expected, and with that machine it could be done.

The welfare and progress of those around us was intended by Divine will to be accomplished by work alone, and not by the dictates of associations who urge governments to use legislative power to save them trouble and bring their tin-pot associations before the public.

The outside clergy of all denominations are excellent in their endeavours and efforts to improve men and drive their vicious habits out of their minds.

I knew lots of men in India with whom I associated—of course not popular, but respected among their comrades—who were far above anything vicious, pupils of the Wesleyans, Roman Catholics, and Salvation Army. I would trust them for anything and anywhere, men I should feel at home to go into action with.

Were the influences of these denominations exercised among the Church of England our army would be different to-day with other improvements.

Finally, give the Government of India more control, without our Ministers listening to outside promptings of the high sentiments of the Exeter Hall stamp, humouring them for a bit of a vote which has cost the country money (the native taxpayer) and practically ruined the army.

I have no interest beyond a humble desire to put out suggestions which I cannot help thinking are needed for the benefit, comfort, and welfare of men among whom I have lived for the greater and best part of my life, to say nothing of the interest that every Englishman ought to take in the welfare, safety, and good of his native land.

Many may on different grounds differ with me, but I challenge any right honourable or honourable gentleman to prove that any legislative Act has been crowned with success.

I am indifferent to the frowns and growls of any breathing man who comments on truth on which my utterances are based.

I have mentioned robbery in connection with Government and the military authorities.

I mean both, although Government is only the tool of the latter, yet responsible, no matter who its advisers.

A vast improvement is also required in the way our troops are sent out to India.

Much comment and complaint have been made on the manner in which troops are packed off to India, and no doubt the transport service was considered to be an improvement.

I am not going into the details of life on a troopship, for it has already been gone into, and the remedy of the transports of the P. and O. Company replacing the old trooper was no doubt considered a good one by the authorities.

I went out to India in a troopship which was bad as bad could be, filth and filthy accommodation, to say nothing of its limits; and I came home in a hired transport which was worse.

The Board of Trade would not allow cattle to be sent to India in the way human beings are packed—soldiers going to a land, not a bed of roses, to defend the interests of our Empire; of an Empire that remits something like £17,000,000 a year home, but which does not give its troops the accommodation of pigs and dogs.

I have seen a man snatch a bone from a dog brought out of the saloon.

The dog has his box of clean straw, the sheep his pen, the cow ordinary accommodation, but the soldiers, many of them, do not know where to rest, a very great many not getting a good night's rest all the voyage.

I have been my rounds at night and seen them in every available space, while down below, almost breathing in each other's faces, packed like sardines—the officers' smoking-room, that would accommodate thirty men, empty!

Oh, England, you have much to answer for.

A Christian, wealthy country, where so much philanthropy is pounded by tub-orators.

The country would soon alter it if it knew.

If mothers, sisters, fathers, and brothers knew, and fellow countrymen knew, how their flesh and blood were served, serving and defending their country.

Does Government think the hired transport scheme an improvement as regards the comfort of the men? If they do, they are under a wrong impression, for such is not the case.

It has been pointed out that £17 is paid for the passage of the soldier to India.

If that is the case, some one makes a handsome profit and the P. and O. Company should pay a good dividend. I should say that a handsome profit is made out of the nation.

A scale is posted up in the troops' quarters detailing the daily ration, not omitting the substitutes, the change of which would confuse a Philadelphia lawyer.

For instance, we were allowed on certain days in the week currants, raisins, and flour, made up, as a rule, in a manner that would choke an ordinary horse. However, it was anticipated, but generally got substituted for something else.

I could not understand this. But one day I saw about 64 lb. of currant-cake being smuggled away for sale, and that accounted for the substitute.

There is no attention paid to a man's ordinary comfort; he must be put to some inconvenience, and that the authorities know.

Officers can see this; but they can do nothing under the circumstances.

For a wealthy Christian nation like England it is a disgrace. I should like to be able to present scenes on board a transport in the Red Sea to a British audience; but the country knows nothing about it.

I should like to take those gentlemen—I don't care who they are, Lords of the Admiralty, or those who are responsible for military administration with the Government contractors—out to India in the same way that the less fortunate of God's creatures whom fate has placed at their mercy, and feed them on the biscuits that some dogs would not eat.

And if it is true that £17 per head is paid for our troops going to India, I am ready to swear from my own observation, perhaps as good as the Secretary of State for War, that the ration each man gets on being taken for the whole voyage would not cost £1 10s.

We took out 1210 men—heads—say at £10 per head would be £12,100, which is £7 less, and which ought to cover expenses.

Women and children ought not to be sent out in troopers or transports, and the number of men now sent should not exceed one-half.

The country can and would be glad to afford it if it were known.

Any member of the House of Commons who went thoroughly into this question and got particulars as to the way this branch was conducted, which would produce large reform, would be doing countless thousands of his countrymen good, to say nothing of the good that it would do the country and the army itself in exposing a system of wasteful extravagance which calls for immediate remedy.

It ought to be seen that £300,000 per annum could be saved, which would leave our army more efficient than it is to-day.

That sum, annually wasted, would do much for our volunteers at home and add to India's strength.

Some day India will want all her strength, and let the authorities take the task at once in hand and abolish short service in India, which has been the ruin and destruction of our army at an extravagant cost and waste of money.

Do away with all religious institutions, whose expenses for their officers are defrayed by the State (£60,000 per annum Chaplain's Department), place all military districts under the spiritual care of the bishop or deputed clergy, and treat the troops as their parishioners as they do their own. Civilian associations of soldiers among religious bodies would do more to reform the army to a high moral standard than all the Acts of Parliament or reforms ever introduced.

FREDERIC W. TUGMAN.

## SOME QUESTIONS SUGGESTED BY "HELBECK OF BANNISDALE."

MRS. HUMPHREY WARD'S latest book has to us many points of interest, and as a work of art we predict it will rank above her two previous novels, *Marcella* and *Sir George Tressady*. In them the chief interest centred in the discussion of political problems and theories, and the human story—the *raison d'être* for a novel—lost in consequence much of its force. The characters took no hold on the imagination, but became entangled and involved in the mazes of modern party politics and the quagmires of the Social Democrat; and we were left at last disappointed, wearied with the profitless discussion, rather than refreshed and with sympathies gladdened by the discovery of new friends. But in *Helbeck of Bannisdale* the authoress has returned to the fresh and invigorating source which first inspired her. These Westmoreland mountains and their sunny dales speak to us of that peace and strength which come from the poetry and grandeur of Nature. They proved the inspiration of Wordsworth and his loving disciple Matthew Arnold, and they have given—if we mistake not—to Mrs. Humphrey Ward a force of description and a power of delineation which in the novels of *Robert Elsmere* and *David Grieve* enthralled our attention in spite of their gloom, and which in this her latest effort has portrayed the progress of a romance, if not highly dramatic, most real and human in its pathos and tragedy.

And more than this: by means of this simple village tragedy, where the principal actors do not number at the outside more than three, Mrs. Ward has shown forth with a directness that allows of no comfortable compromise, the great and ever-recurring conflict between the forces of rationalism on the one hand, and those of obedience to the dictates of faith in a revealed Gospel on the other. Mrs. Ward has laid her finger upon a very real problem going deep down into our spiritual nature—quite as real, though not so obvious to the general mind, perhaps, as those of the sexes raised by Sarah Grand and others of her school, yet infinitely more pleasant to investigate.

In *Helbeck of Bannisdale* we have a man and a woman each worthy of the best love of the other. They do so love, purely,

wholly; and yet they are nevertheless divided, *as by a gulf*, by the spiritual moral tendencies inherited on either side. True, the gulf is illustrated in their case by the more apparently impassable differences between the outlook and convictions of a Catholic and one trained and bred in the modern rationalistic spirit. But the characters of Alan and Laura are typical of that same deep gulf of thought and feeling existent in greater or less degree betwixt Anglican and Independent, Methodist and Agnostic, Romanist and Unitarian or Quaker. We see, as it were, a line of demarcation, in some places clearly defined, at others well-nigh invisible, and all along this line are ranged in opposition mighty forces, antagonistic to each other, and not wholly friendly to their allies on their own side. Sometimes the battle wages in sharp, fierce conflict; anon, its thunder dies down into the mutterings of desultory skirmishing; but still the fighting recurs hotly again and again; no lasting truce can prevail in such a warfare, and it is death alone which brings peace to the faithful and worn-out conscript. Surely the differences that cause such estrangement between good and earnest men and women labouring in our midst, eager to live and die in the service of their fellows, and yet so strangely at variance in the means employed,—surely the differences and their reasons for the same must lie at the root of our moral nature?

How may those differences best be summarised?

On the one side, the watchwords are the "*proving all things*" in the light of man's rational free-will, and the rejection of all which his own reason can neither explain nor admire. On the other side, we have the forces of obedience to Authority—"faith in things unseen"—of the surrendered will through the affections for the Ideal, involving a *mysticism* utterly at variance with and incomprehensible to those who feel it not. The issue betwixt them is THE EVOLUTION OF A GOD RATHER THAN THE REVELATION OF HIM BY INTUITION AND BY AUTHORITY.

And the side upon which a man may take his stand is largely due—we would maintain, and, as we think, Mrs. Ward has clearly shown—to the inherited tendencies of his nature towards or against a revealed explanation of the problems of life, the trust or distrust in a revealed religion as taught by his forefathers and as influenced by his moral environment. He may fondly imagine his views to be matters settled by personal conviction, formed by experience or the force of his own superior reason or wisdom; but Mrs. Humphrey Ward remorselessly tears away the scales of our vanity, and lets us see a far weightier cause for his beliefs—his inherited temperament.

Alan Helbeck could not help but view his life, the lives of others—nay, the whole universe—from the standpoint to which he had attained in the evolution of his character from his Roman Catholic ancestors, and in which he was influenced and supported by his

friends and relatives; his very surroundings—the lonely and decaying house, the silence and mystery of the hills on every side, the morbid if devout mysticism of his co-religionists—all deepened the inherited bias of his nature, acted and reacted on his mental powers in the isolation of his lonely life.

Opposed, and yet drawn to him by the love which knows not such distinctions, stands Laura Fountain, the daughter of a Cambridge Don passed over for preferment in College honours by reason of his peculiar views, and inheriting her father's militant rationalism. Brought up to hate through her father's eyes the intolerance and bigotry of professing Christianity, she hears as his daily companion at Cambridge, the constant discussions, the intricate and academic speculations of his free-thinking circle of friends. Though possessing a good natural power of brain-grip, she is somewhat superficially cultured, and utterly untutored in those underlying principles which move their arguments. She lacks, never having been taught, the necessary knowledge whereby to sift those arguments concerning certain great facts—so resolutely asserted and denied by theologians and their opponents. But in such an atmosphere, and for object-lesson, the vacillating weakness of her stepmother, in fine contrast to the strong steadfast character of a father with whom she was in closest sympathy—small wonder, we say, that her fearless and sunny nature rose in revolt against her surroundings at Bannisdale, and against the demands made upon her will by an incomprehensible and, to her, unnatural religion.

And if the conflict be painful, nay, terrible, between two such characters, how complex it becomes when one individual mind becomes the battle-ground for the opposing forces of what is termed "Rationalism" *versus* "Authority"!

Inherited tendencies often produce this result, and men see and wonder at the noble struggles of a Newman, a Frederick Denison Maurice, of a Matthew Arnold, to reconcile that which cannot be reconciled with logic on the premisses at hand. Those more happily situated than these can hold in lofty scorn and condemnation the apparently weak and wavering opinions of their eccentric neighbours; but they do not know nor do they understand—they cannot comprehend—the ever-varying standpoint from which those opinions are viewed and weighed. Knowledge, and reflection on the factors which go to make up the man's inherited character and tendencies, are necessary before the accuser can understand why certain facts or ideas, mystical and supernatural, may one day assume the aspect of realities, of eternal verities, and on another shrink into the garb of fantastic theory.

Mrs. Humphrey Ward, in *Helbeck of Bannisdale*, goes further, and indirectly shows that, consistent with logic, compromise on this subject is impossible. The implacable foes cannot lie down together,

because the two awful facts of our mortal existence—*sin and death*, which includes pain—drive, and must drive, the minds of men to take an active rather than a passive view of the struggle. These two facts, yet problems, to be faced—sin and death—compel men to ask for a solution. The only solution given unto them is the mysticism of faith, or the stoical patience of the Agnostic. Alan Helbeck and Laura Fountain approached the subject from different sides.

With Alan, it was the *sense of sin* more especially, the sense of human frailty and his own wrong-doing, that spurred him on to seek salvation and rest in the Catholic faith and in self-surrender to her service. But with Laura, it was the terrifying *facts of pain and death*, the sight of human suffering, her heart-longing to pierce the veil of death, that cried aloud for some solution to her misery. It was this same pain and death which had cast so soon its shadow over her life, that led her at last like a wearied child, to seek in the Christian's God some answer to her prayer for hope and life beyond the grave. But meanwhile, although her great love for Alan Helbeck pleads with her to yield to the teaching of the priests, the memory and love for her dead father, her honesty of heart, the same steadfast faithfulness to what she deemed to be the truth, repelled her from the sacrifice of her free-will, even of her own loving human instincts. Laura felt that, were she to marry such a man as Alan Helbeck, her whole will would have to be subservient to the Church of Rome; failing this, her husband would be estranged in heart and conscience from what she understood well was to him the gate of Paradise—his ideal of duty. So she did not marry him, but through the river passed, she hoped, irrecoverably out of his life, leaving his path clear before him.

Herein lies to many, perhaps, the tragedy of their story, and yet the suicide of Laura Fountain is but an incident in their life's tragedy. That *dénouement* was but the outcome of her broken health, overstrained by the occurrence of her stepmother's illness and death, coupled with her own anxiety of mind. But the main point of the book, the tragedy that underlies the whole story, is the clashing of two earnest minds in the conflict that separates sect from sect, mind from mind, the god of evolution from the God of Revelation. Their souls must perforce clash—and break, unless indeed the one yields to its own undoing, and to the indirect harm of the other.

Finally, the book before us raises the following questions:

1. Protestants may protest against the, to them, awful lust of the Roman Catholic Church for power and authority over the wills and innermost affections of her servants, but do their own claims come far short?

2. The claims of the Roman Catholic Church are strictly logical

from the premisses of their authority. If that same authority be accepted (and Protestants claim the same divine authority as do the Catholics, though her decrees therefrom are protested against), do we not as Protestants, by the attempted compromise, forsake the logical position? Compromise is very human, very Teutonic, and it may be the wiser course, but we cannot have both that and logic on our side as well. Where can we stop between Roman Catholicism, the strongest fortress of revealed religion on the one bank, and that of the truth-seeking rationalist on the other? There is no sure foothold in that swiftly swirling stream of Protestant compromise.

3. And if this be so, what of the warning "Ye cannot serve two masters," and of another, "For the Lord thy God is a jealous God"? Fanatics may be narrow, oftentimes cruel—Romola was not so comfortable and easy-going a companion as Tito—yet are not these fanatics, the Romolas and the Savonarolas, the so-called madmen like General Gordon, even the Salvationists, wiser because truer in their deductions from their premisses, than are the less consistent though "broader-minded" men of the world?

The Protestant dislikes to be reminded that his position is illogical, but the facts are against him. Holding the same ground for divine (that is, "revealed") authority as the Catholic, he must remain either inside or outside of their camp. He must choose between them and the advancing host of Rationalism. Can he as a man find no other defence against the enemies to his peace? Is there no golden mean for him between the obedience of the Catholic and the atheism of the rationalist? Yes, there remains for him the faith of the Agnostic—the "Christian Agnostic" if you will—who, clad in his despised workaday leathern doublet of sober-coloured patience and hope, is armed by logic quite as much as if in the glittering mail of Catholicism. Realising the contradictions of his nature, and the all too partial knowledge that man possesses for the solution of the problems of this world, the Agnostic is content to weather the storms of fate as best he may, and is thankful for what gleams of faith he may have from time to time to assure him that there exists behind the veil of death a larger, freer world, wherein with better knowledge and higher powers he may pursue that which is "the property of God, but the pursuit of man"—Truth; for which he labours in this life, in the hope of that "world of solved problems" which awaits him hereafter.

A. ARNOLD.

## EDWARD BELLAMY—PROPHET OF NATIONALISM.\*

IF the very unequal distribution of the means of subsistence be regarded as a disease of the body politic, it must be said that the methods of treatment that have hitherto been applied to it have been anything but scientific.

To combine against the capitalists, to demand more pay for less work, and to strike if their demands be not complied with—this is in brief the remedy of the Trade Unionist—a remedy which, conceived as it is solely in the interests of his union, is obviously partial as well as selfish, and is therefore quite inadequate to cope with the disease. This is the action of men who neither understand the causation of their troubles nor the remote effects of their conduct, of men who can see no farther than they can feel.

And the nostrum of the charitable philanthropist, if more creditable to him, is no more likely to succeed, for no intelligent person can pretend that it touches the causes of our troubles, or does more than mitigate and soothe the most distressing symptoms. Even when it takes the more enlightened form of establishing labour colonies like that of the Rev. Herbert Mills or of "General" Booth, it is in its very nature too partial a remedy to be capable of national application, and cannot do more than temporarily provide some work for the unemployed.

This malady of nations has not yet reached in Britain that degree of acuteness or virulence to which it has attained in the United States of America, although, more slowly, it is following the same course, and so in the United States we may naturally expect to see the remedy first applied. At all events, it is from that nation there has come to us the most able and most interesting attempt to expound and to popularise a remedy. The scheme, which is advocated by the American Nationalists, and is receiving from the more cultured people of that country a growing amount of support, is ingeniously embodied in Bellamy's *Equality*.

Parenthetically it is worthy of remark as an indication of the thoughtlessness or mental indolence, even of many educated people, that without the least inquiry or investigation, they should so gener-

<sup>1</sup> Edward Bellamy died at Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts, in May 1898.

ally suppose that the word "equality" in this connection means equality of personal attributes, or implies, in fact, that one man is as good as another. On this account it is not unnecessary to say explicitly that the "equality" of Bellamy postulates only the natural equality of rights of which the realisation is impossible under the present arrangements of society.

But, granting that some have too little of this world's goods while others have too much, could not the differences of rank, merit, ability, service be recognised by graduated emoluments awarded to each according in some sort with these differences, avoiding on the one hand the extremes of poverty and superfluous wealth, and on the other an equality of income? No. For, firstly, there is no criterion by which such a division could be made so as to satisfy the recipients, and, secondly, the chief factor in the production of wealth among civilised men being their association, it clearly follows that the wealth thus produced is the inheritance of all (it is this general fund which, in the words of Bellamy, has hitherto been "the subject of plunder and embezzlement"), and, therefore, every person is entitled, not only to his own product as an isolated individual—which would barely suffice for the necessities of life in a savage—but to vastly more—namely, to his share of the general product of the organism of which he is a unit, and that on the only plan which is both just and workable—the plan of equal division.

It must be admitted, however, that "the man in the street" and "the ordinary reader" are not without excuse in being somewhat incredulous regarding the feasibility of righting this great wrong when the only methods brought to their notice are (1) by the abolition of private property, everything being somehow enjoyed in common; or (2) by simply pooling the total capital of the citizens of the State, dividing it equally, and leaving it as heretofore under the direct and separate control of each in competition with all the rest. If such proposals as these, and the still madder methods of nihilism and anarchy, are the only roads to social justice, the common-sense of the many as well as the philosophy of the few will decide to bear the injustice.

It is one thing to describe an ideal State, as Plato did, for example, and quite another thing to come down from the clouds and to give details of the mode by which the changes desired are to be brought about. Bellamy does this—it was scarcely possible to do it until recently—so that the intelligent reader has little difficulty in seeing before his mental vision the steps of the great transformation.

Those who have read *Looking Backward*, published about ten years ago, will understand the nature of *Equality* when they are told that the latter is the sequel to the former, and that the two books may be regarded as the first and second volumes of the same work. In

*Looking Backward* we make the acquaintance of Julian West, an American capitalist who falls into a hypnotic sleep in 1887, from which he is roused to conscious life again in the year 2000. While he has been asleep old things have passed away and all things have become new. The changes he finds are far greater than those that perplexed and confounded the simple Rip van Winkle. Poverty, whether squalid or genteel, no longer exists. Privilege with its corresponding wrongs, the old selfish Plutocracy with the multitude writhing under its heel, are for ever things of the past. The "fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man" are no longer phrases merely. The rule of "Let him take who has the power, and let him keep who can" has given place to the golden rule of the great reformer, Jesus Christ. Social disease has been transformed to social health, for the sun of righteousness, so long hoped and prayed for, has at last arisen with healing in his wings.

The origin of the industrial part of the national malady is vividly shown in the "Parable of the Water Tank"—a passage both well conceived and cleverly written. From this we learn that

"there were certain men in that land who were more crafty and diligent than the rest, and these had gathered stores of water where others could find none, and the name of these men was called capitalists. . . ."

"And the capitalists said unto the people, 'For every bucket of water that ye bring to us that we may pour it into the tank, which is the market, behold! we will give you a penny, but for every bucket that we shall draw forth to give unto you that ye may drink of it, ye and your wives and your children, ye shall give to us two pennies, and the difference shall be our profit, seeing that if it were not for this profit we would not do this thing for you, but ye should all perish.' And it was good in the people's eyes, for they were dull of understanding. . . ."

"And after many days the water tank, which was the market, overflowed at the top, seeing that for every bucket the people poured in they received only so much as would buy again half of a bucket . . . for the people were many and the capitalists were few and could drink no more than the others. Then the people were no longer hired and paid to bring water, and being therefore unable to buy, their thirst became sore, and the saying went abroad, 'It is a crisis!' . . . And the people murmured against the capitalists and said: 'Behold! the tank runneth over and we die of thirst. Give us therefore of the water that we perish not.' But the capitalists answered: 'Not so. The water is ours. Ye shall not drink thereof unless ye buy it of us with pennies.' And they confirmed it with an oath, saying after their manner, 'Business is business.' . . ."

"And after many days the water was low in the tank, for the capitalists did make fountains and fish-ponds of the water thereof, and did bathe therein, they and their wives and their children, and did waste the water for their pleasure."

And thus the unemployed had work again for a time till there was another glut, and the crisis was repeated as before.

The great economic change that put an end to private capitalism and its profits is called by the author a revolution; but it was not a violent upheaval. There was neither riot nor bloodshed. It was a

gradual transition quietly brought about by moral and constitutional means.

The first step was, of course, to municipalise and nationalise various *quasi*-public services, such as waterworks, lighting plants, the telegraph and telephone systems, the coal mines, the railroads, and petroleum production. One result of this was to show the people the superior simplicity, efficiency, and humanity of public over private undertakings. But the principal use which this partial process of nationalisation served was to prepare a body of public employees sufficiently large to furnish a nucleus of consumers when the Government should undertake the establishment of a general system of production and distribution on a non-profit basis. In this way something like 5,000,000 persons were ere long dependent on the national employment.

When the reform party had gained a sufficient majority to establish the new order by legal enactment, and the entire economic resources of the country had thus been nationalised, it became for the first time possible in human history to find work for every one who would and could make himself useful, and that, too, according to his tastes and abilities—an adjustment which we know from bitter experience to be quite unattainable under the old competitive system<sup>1</sup>—and finally to secure for all their equal right to liberty, maintenance, and happiness.

But the reader of *Equality* cannot commit the mistake of supposing that the abolition of private capitalism is synonymous with the abolition of private property. The suppression of the millionaire on the one hand, and of his correlative, the pauper, on the other, the enormous multiplication of productiveness, coupled with the economies due to combination and co-operation, were found to have placed at the command of every man and every woman annually a credit in the national exchequer amounting to about £800. This the citizen could draw upon yearly to the full amount in satisfaction of his needs and wishes, including the acquisition of house and the permissible amount of land, pictures, books, blue china, and every other commodity or property, portable or non-portable, to which he might take a fancy. But, as there was no longer any need for money, and no reason for its private accumulation, the unexpended balance of his annual credit was returned at the end of the year to the national fund.

The revolution soon made it easy also to dispose of the vicious

<sup>1</sup> "A recent advertisement for a night watchman in St. Louis brought 725 applications for the post, and this though the qualifications mentioned in the advertisement were such as to exclude all uneducated persons. This is in no way exceptional, and is becoming aggravated."—H. M. Williams, in the *Arena*, May 1898.

The number of the unemployed in Great Britain varies much from time to time, and we have no adequate statistics on the subject. The number always out of work is evidently great, however, from the very numerous applications received for almost every advertised vacancy.

and the criminal in a manner at once equitable, satisfactory, and final. Under the rule of justice and fair play, with work and pay for all, a goodly number of this class at once became reformed, but the large residuum who proved themselves too degraded to be won back to a decent life of liberty were placed in confinement, where they lived and worked in seclusion, and were "absolutely prevented from continuing their kind." Thus the race was enabled at last to purge itself of its uncleanness, and to get rid once for all of another hindrance to its higher evolution.

Bellamy has not forgotten the objectors, and their objections have been carefully collected and preserved in what is called, not inappropriately, "The Book of the Blind." His answers to these are sufficiently thorough, and the list, which seems fairly complete, includes, for example, the objection that it is only human nature which stands in need of improvement; that there would be a lack of incentive to work; that all people would be levelled; that the influence of competition in developing character would be lost; and that independence and originality would be discouraged.

In dealing with these the author conclusively shows that there can be but little hope of moral improvement in men so long as they continue to live under a social and economic system that is morally abominable and anti-Christian; that we can dispense with that incentive to work which is due to the continual fear of starvation as well as that lust of wealth which, under the private profit system (*vide* the "Parable of the Water Tank"), tends inevitably to limit the consuming power of a community to a fractional part of its productive power, and so to keep the mass of mankind in continual poverty; and that, moreover, there are better incentives to effort than the cash reward; that, if economic equality implies a levelling, it is not the men whom it levels, but the ground they stand on; that the kind of competition which has hitherto obtained is not only devoid of all the elements of fairness, but tends to develop and to reward not so much the better and higher qualities of human character as the lower and the worse; and that the condition most favourable to mental independence and originality is that secure and independent basis of livelihood which Nationalism provides.

Such is, in briefest outline, the case for Nationalism as presented by Bellamy, and Bellamy was neither a faddist, nor a politician, nor an agitator with "an axe to grind." Like many others who have been led to entertain the same, or similar, views, he was a man of letters and a thinker, and, being free from the bias of sect and party, or other personal interest, he was specially fitted to form a trustworthy judgment on the subject.

His views agree in the main with those of other recent independent writers on the New Socialism; but it is the merit of Bellamy that, avoiding the errors and defects of some of the leaders of

Socialistic thought, and founding his doctrine on the facts of history and of human nature, he has succeeded in presenting it in a way so thoroughly and so admirably reasoned that rational dissent is impossible. As a means to this end, he has wisely given due weight to the ethical argument, for if it be true that every step of human progress is effected by the displacement of wrong by right, it follows that to propose or to support a theory of political economy in which the moral factor is disregarded is a waste of time, if nothing worse.

And his books have another recommendation: they are written in a form more graphic and attractive, and hence more easy to read, than it is possible for an ordinary treatise on such a subject to be, and from the scheme being shown in actual operation, the results being told in plentiful detail as accomplished facts, and all in narrative and colloquy, the project must appear more feasible to some, and especially to those who are unaccustomed to follow a train of abstract reasoning.

Edward Bellamy has certainly given the "dismal science" its *coup de grâce*, and the new political economy, unhampered by the blighting traditions of the old, cannot fail to be productive of the most beneficent results.

It is useless and unjust to blame the rich as a class any more than the poor for the social evils that so urgently demand reform. Among the former there are undoubtedly some who have acquired their wealth in ways that are morally indefensible even under the present régime, and others who are only to be blamed for heaping up riches far beyond the just and reasonable needs of any man. But in the highly complex conditions of modern society, which no person living is responsible for having brought about, it is quite impossible, even if it were desirable, to apportion the blame among the various members of the community. The fault, as Bellamy would say, really lies in the old crude and brutal economic system, and until that is abolished our social evils will be the perennial product.

It is a serious mistake to suppose, as some appear to do, that the subject here dealt with is a "Labour" question merely, or that it is even chiefly a dispute between the artisan and the labourer on the one side, and the capitalist employer on the other. Poverty, privation, lack of employment, do not affect and afflict the so-called working classes only. In the "battle of life" are not men and women of the higher and the finer mould too often crushed by the coarser and the lower? Who does not know of cases where talent and genius and energy, especially when associated with that expensive thing called a conscience, or when hindered by loss of health, have hardly brought to their possessors even bread? And if the commodity which one has to offer to society—poetry, for example, or art, or philosophy, or some new and unfamiliar form of truth—be not in demand, may not the producer starve? Nationalism, as Bellamy has pictured it,

would rectify this wrong and save the world this loss. Is the subject, then, not worthy of serious attention and earnest investigation? Is there so much as a ray of hope from any other quarter?

The continual accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few, the tendency of large businesses to grow larger by the absorption of the smaller, the growth of monopolies with their selfish aims and tyrannical powers, the disastrous disputes between capital and labour—all these apparently must go on, and how can the consequent mischief be avoided? Is there any other way than by the absorption of all in a national monopoly, in which every man, woman, and child shall be a shareholder?

That this is the course to follow have we not also an indication in the growth of the collective industries, the municipalisation of various agencies for supplying public needs,<sup>1</sup> and the nationalisation of railways and telegraphs? These are already accomplished facts in the leading countries of the world: are they not just so many steps, more or less blindly taken, in this direction, and do they not, therefore, facilitate and expedite the needful change?

The great advantage of an intelligent recognition of the fixed principles of true political science is that by constantly keeping them in view as a test or guide, we may ascertain beforehand, whether any proposed public movement or legislative measure is a step in the right direction or the wrong. These guiding principles are, in the main, the principles of Nationalism.

W. FLEMING PHILLIPS.

<sup>1</sup> From a recently published return of the industrial and other properties and agencies of the Corporation of Glasgow as at May 31, 1897. it appears that their aggregate value is no less than £11,096,330.

## AUT CÆSAR AUT NULLUS.

Is English Protestantism not a dying faith? That is a question which, stated thus baldly, may appear sufficiently startling. But it is one which the attentive observer of contemporary phenomena may soon feel himself compelled to ask. The remorseless logic of events eats away, year by year, in secret the kernels of majestic principles, and then suddenly, and how painfully, the people awaken and grasp nothing but the husks of splendid names. At the close of the nineteenth century, in the capital of civilisation, and at the altars of the greatest Protestant communion in the world, services have been held to crowded congregations, which only the wildest phantasy a century ago could have deemed possible of resurrection in that Church. Those who are now past middle age can remember the burst of indignation, the wave of excitement, which the re-establishment of the hierarchy and the *Letter from the Flaminian Gate* created in England. Time has moved swiftly since then. Not in hate, but in amity, with a tolerance and a charity not scant, even, it may be, with a certain deference and respect, we now turn to the ancient mother, Rome. Devout Christians, where our fathers were devout Protestants, though we still call ourselves by their name, we have lost much of the sense of difference in the nascent consciousness of unity. The sense of that unity has grown and is growing in the face of a common enemy. The Higher Criticism was a foe that our fathers knew nothing of, but it is a foe that has struck hard at beliefs that they cherished dearly. What it will make of Christianity is as yet hidden from the wisest of us. What it and Ritualism together are making of English Protestantism is palpable to all who see.

Inevitably, therefore, in the light of current events, the question puts itself to every man who does not confine his view to the mere surface of things—Is English Protestantism not a dying faith? And if he is independent in his judgment and catholic in his view, he will ultimately find himself putting the far wider question—Is Protestantism, as a form of Christianity, not a dying faith? For the recognition of the true condition of British Protestantism is the recognition of causes which are active wherever Protestantism exists. And that recognition can only lead to one conclusion. Dogmatic Protestantism is at the present moment struggling with disintegrating forces which it cannot long resist, which are yearly sapping

its life-blood, and to which it must eventually and at no distant period utterly succumb.

To historians looking from the watch-towers of the seventeenth century, when the initial conflicts of Protestantism and Catholicism had subsided, it must have seemed as if the new cleavage of Christendom were destined to abide. East and West, Greek and Roman, had now for many centuries confronted each other as two separate communions, each united in itself. And in the new division of North and South was it strange that history should repeat itself? It seemed, indeed, as if it might. But, from the first, it had become evident that the new schism differed in one respect very materially from the old. In all the lapse of centuries the Greek and Roman communions had, though not without fierce conflict, remained single and undivided. With Protestantism it was otherwise. The new faith acknowledged no common authority, submitted to no universal dispensation, and its adherents found in their own consciences the ultimate sanction for their religion. Almost at once the powerful barriers of nationality which Catholicism had more or less till then kept open, fell together and closed. It was the birthtime in Christianity of national churches, and with the rise of national churches came the inevitable incursion of national politics into the religious sphere. But the process of disruption did not stop there. The visible unity of the Catholic Church had been broken and the efforts of powerful governments were unable to maintain it even in their own dominions. Year after year and fighting desperately the while, sect after sect established itself in obedience to this imperious dividing impulse. And when in course of time the bitterness of the struggle lessened and division was a thing no longer to be bought with blood, the spectacle which Protestantism presented was one unique in Christendom. In almost every land where the seed of the Reformation had been sown, in battle, fire, and blood, and wherever their populations had settled, had sprung up a multitude of churches, a multitude of creeds, whose diversities no man could reconcile and whose mutual antagonisms no man could gainsay.

Yet with all this division, this apparently endless religious anarchy, one most remarkable fact could not fail to strike the thoughtful observer. The nations which had embraced Protestantism had advanced by leaps and bounds. Material prosperity, hitherto unequalled, flowed in upon these sterile northern lands. Their marts and ports teemed with industrious and ardent throngs, and their flags flew on every sea. In the march of progress the old Catholic countries fell hopelessly behind, and every decade increased the chasm that sundered North from South. And yet the South had been the nursery of civilisation, and to the very advent of the Reformation the home of science and art. That with a purely religious revolution these purely secular pursuits should suddenly shift their

centre, and that the religious division should correspond in space and time with a division in all that makes for material progress greater than that which separated any of the Protestant communities from each other, were surely phenomena that were neither meaningless nor adventitious.

The sources of this secular progress are, indeed, to be looked for in the very heart of that religious revolution which men call the Reformation. Or rather, we may say, the same causes which produced the Reformation produced also the material progress which accompanied it. To regard the Reformation, as is often done, purely from the point of view of religion, of Christianity, is to commit a grave error. The Reformation was only in a limited and partial sense a religious revolution. Truly to understand its significance, we must also look at it in the light of that great intellectual upheaval which was its precursor and concomitant.

This intellectual upheaval was undoubtedly precipitated by historical events, but was none the less due to causes which had long been working in secret. During the so-called Dark Ages, and in the bosom of the Catholic Church, a seed was growing in silence which was destined to attain a terrible maturity. For many generations the Church had smiled in ignorance upon the foundling, and the foundling which men called Science and philosophers Reason, had thriven in the arms of Faith. But the time came, in the course of the fifteenth century, when the nurse found itself, for the first time, in serious conflict with its ward. The progress of scientific discovery was gradually revolutionising men's ideas of the world. Then, when it was too late, the Church turned in indignation upon the rebel and tried to crush it, and the breach of faith and reason in Catholic Christianity became irrevocable.

The result was not, however, the denial of Christianity by reason, but the transformation of it. The advance of science had as yet only brought men into conflict with the outworks of faith. A very slight readjustment of the old positions would suffice, and the latitude that Catholicism denied Protestantism allowed. In the colder north the awakened energies of the scientific spirit found free room to develop. It is true that the great principle of religious toleration was still very far from recognition, even in the Protestant north; but in the initial divisions of the new faith and the absence of any ecumenical authority, a great opportunity was afforded for its growth. And in the very increase of these divisions and the bitterness of their antagonisms lay a new surety for its eventual recognition. Every fresh schism in the great Protestant communions lessened the powers of any one Church to tyrannise over its neighbours.

All this was directly favourable to the unfettered development of science. In no countries was reason likely to enjoy greater

freedom at the hands of faith than in those in which faith was most divided against itself. Hence it is no matter for astonishment, but rather the reverse, that those countries where Christianity has been most split up into sects have made the greatest progress in material prosperity. Nor should the influence of reason itself in fostering these religious divisions be ignored. "Liberty of conscience" means, and can only mean, "liberty of reason." The Reformation itself was to a large extent simply a result of the exercise of reason in matters of faith, and this exercise once admitted was not easy to limit. In its essence an individualistic, critical, disintegrating force, it divided Protestantism at the first, and its continued exercise propagated these divisions in all directions. Hence in turn those very divisions that secured the free development of reason in secular things were themselves increased by the aggressive assertion of reason in things religious.

For several centuries after the Reformation, however, the division of faith and reason remained within the bounds of Christianity and Protestantism, as the Christianity of reason stood in determined opposition to Roman Catholicism, the Christianity of faith. But to a philosophic observer it must have appeared evident that this division was destined sooner or later to change its form, and this by the very nature of the elements involved. Protestantism, however much it might admit the scrutiny of reason, was still, as a form of Christianity, a religion. In other words, it still necessarily admitted the presence of faith, and of a faith which, though not then denied by reason, was, at any rate, not directly justified by it. The essence of all religion is the supernatural. The essence of all science is the natural. So long as you can keep the two separate in separate spheres, so long you can reconcile science with religion, reason with faith. But the moment either begins to claim the whole a conflict is started which can only end in the annihilation of one or other of the combatants.

Such a conflict with such an issue as its outcome is apparently tearing Protestantism to tatters in the eyes of Christendom. It was not the fault of Catholicism altogether, but of the imperfect advance of science, that dogmatic Protestantism was ever possible. It was from the first a union of irreconcilables, an attempt to combine the impossible, and it was successful for a time, simply because it restricted faith to a sphere into which reason had as yet not dreamt of intruding. But it was of the very essence of reason that it should go on to claim the whole; and a time was at hand when, in the realisation of its ideal of a purely natural explanation of the universe, it was destined to come into conflict with the cardinal principles of Protestantism as a religion.

The present century had already passed well on toward maturity, when science, rounding off its acquisitions in lower spheres, first

definitely began to draw man within its net. Then for the first time it was seen what a purely natural explanation of man meant, and it became clear that his religious beliefs could not long escape invasion. Nearly half the century had already passed when there occurred the first of two events which are most significant in their relation to each other and in the light they throw on the two great movements in which they were only moments. In the month of October 1845, Newman was received into the Roman Catholic Church; in the month of November 1859, Darwin published the *Origin of Species*. These two events, apparently so completely unconnected, mark the commencement of a new era for Protestantism.

The publication of the *Origin of Species* heralded the ultimate divorce of reason from dogmatic Christianity. That divorce is as yet only in its initial stages. It is very far from being consummated; but, as to its ultimate consummation, no one who has impartially and intelligently watched the progress of events can long remain in doubt. Position after position is slowly and reluctantly abandoned, and the advocates of the old, the orthodox Protestantism, in their attempts to justify their faith from the standpoint of reason, are driven farther and farther back.

But what remains when the heart of the position is won? A purely natural religion, a Protestantism from which dogma has been entirely eliminated. Such a religion is little more than a system of ethics. It is certainly not a form of Christianity, and it is Protestantism in nothing but the name. The essence of all religion is the supernatural. I do not care what religion you have. If it is a religion, it has a dogma, a *credo*, an "I believe." In this respect I find no difference between Calvinism and Roman Catholicism, Presbyterianism and Anglicanism. They all equally tell their votaries that they have something given them from without, something which they do not prove, but receive, not seen, but taken on faith. Reason is shut in the one as well as in the other, and I do not care whether you ask me to deny reason to a very small sphere or to a very large. The denial is qualitatively the same. If, from the point of view of reason, I can bring myself to believe the dogmas of Protestantism, when I know that these dogmas contradict the canons of reason, I do not require to go far to bring myself to believe the dogmas of Catholicism. If my reason brings me to deny in the part, it will, if impartially exercised, bring me to deny in the whole.

It is just this impulse to universal dominion on the part of its two constituent elements which is undermining Protestantism at the present day. It is falling between two stools. Protestantism, dogmatically, is and was essentially a compromise—a compromise between the full free play of the ardent, unreasoning faith and the denying activities of the unfettered intellect. Close upon the revolt of the latter follows the revolt of the former.

The conversion of Newman was only the result of deep-seated causes which were already at work in the Church which he left. It is not the purpose of this paper to sketch the history of what is called the Ritualistic movement in the Church of England. It is its object only to explain it. The wave of excitement which followed Newman's conversion and the fear of Roman Catholic aggression soon subsided. But the movement had not ceased. It had only changed its form. The very causes which had driven Newman and his followers from the Church of England into the Church of Rome were slowly bringing about a revolution in the Church of England itself. By imperceptible gradations, but none the less surely, that Church was itself drawing nearer to Rome. Ceremonies, festivals, and beliefs long fallen into desuetude, and shunned with aversion by orthodox Protestants, but held dear by the Roman Church, were gradually and almost insensibly revived. And not alone in the episcopal and priestly Church of England did the new influence make itself felt. In the Presbyterian Churches of Covenanting Scotland, in the nonconformist communities scattered through the Anglo-Saxon world the new spirit, the spirit of reviving faith, stirred into utterance.

We have thus to regard Protestantism as at present propelled in opposite directions by two forces, and its two constituent elements of faith and reason as now in active conflict. Ritualism is only the obverse of the Higher Criticism. The one expresses the wider demands of faith, the other the will for empire of reason. Year by year, as the insatiate intellect makes deeper and deeper inroads on the cardinal dogmas, the nascent ardour of faith adds to those dogmas that which it had given up before for the sake of reason. As time goes on the two sections seem destined to fall farther and farther apart. The old Evangelicalism, the fiery Protestantism of Puritanism, with its bigotry, intolerance, and fanaticism, is going or has gone. And in its place there is rising a Church, or moral union, or body of moral unions, or whatever you like to call it, which is gradually eliminating all the dogmatic from Christianity, and which will have little in common with historical Christianity but its ethics; and, on the other hand, a Church which is taking up almost all the old Catholicism into itself again, and which, whether it is ultimately absorbed in the Roman Church or not, will differ from it only in name.

This account of Protestantism explains its failure in modern times to make new conquests in Catholic countries. In these countries, and more particularly in France, where large masses of the population have lapsed entirely from the Roman Communion, Protestantism has won few converts. These people have left Christianity altogether, and gone straight over to agnosticism. And the reason of this is simply that Protestantism is no longer a *via media*, no longer affords that satisfaction to the free claims of reason which it did three

hundred years ago. It presents itself, in other words, as a dogmatic religion to these people, and as a dogmatic religion they find it little better than the Catholicism they have left.

That the near future will witness a great and remarkable rejuvenescence of Catholicism in the Protestant north and, indeed, throughout the Anglo-Saxon world, is, therefore, a conclusion which the disinterested spectator of the modern religious arena cannot long escape from. Prejudices, passions, inherited antipathies may for the moment blind us to the nature of the change which is going on around us. We may deny the inference and yet we are being driven out of dogmatic Protestantism in spite of ourselves. And the very nature of the secular reforms into which many of us, ardent Protestants in name at least, are flinging ourselves heart and soul, is hastening the inevitable catastrophe. The secularisation of education is already doing much. Disestablishment with all that it involves may be for the moment shelved; few can doubt that, in face of the new world that is springing up around us, it can be long postponed. And when the last tie that connects Church and State is severed, and Protestantism, as a form of Christianity, loses its national recognition, that nascent yearning that at present turns so large a part of the establishment with wistful looks to the ancient mother Rome, will be deeply and, in its issues, even startlingly intensified.

The issues of this great evolution must be gravely affected by the position and attitude of Catholicism itself. If we ask ourselves what has been the secret of the power and influence wielded in time past by the great religions of the world, we must answer that it has lain in the higher social morality which they have enforced and in the supernatural sanctions by which they have enforced it. When a religion ceases to be moral, it ceases to be a religion, and when it no longer reflects the highest ethical ideals of its time and place it starts on the road to ruin. Had the Catholic Church in the fifteenth century preserved unsullied its earlier purity, had it never stooped to condone sin, to temporise with vice, or to traffic with corruption, the course of history and the character of Protestantism would have been very different. But, because it was weak and worldly, Protestantism triumphed for a time, and triumphed not only through the negative force of reason, but also through the positive force of its purer faith. For a time Protestantism stood forth to the Christian West as the exponent of a higher morality than Catholicism, and had Catholicism continued in the ways it then followed, its history as a form of Christianity would have been sealed. But the disruption of its dominions acted on it like an electric shock and, with an almost miraculous effort, it shook off the coil of corruption and started on a new and vigorous life.

The fact is, faith, even when it cloaks itself in the ceremonial

usage that the enlightened reason denounces as superstition, will never, so long as it holds fast to the moral law, alienate from itself the bulk of men, and it is not so much the nature of the act or the belief, as the moral spirit that illumines it, that makes the qualitative difference. The bulk of men in their actions are not swayed by reason but by passion, and when the faith that they have is taken away there remains to them no sanction for right conduct. *Bellum omnium contra omnes*. Only the few to whom, by kindly nurture, reason is really a guiding star are able to preserve in the slippery paths of agnosticism or intellectual theism the vesture of an upright life. What an enormous moral force Catholicism in the past has been, history sufficiently shows. And the opportunities of moral regeneration which lie open to it in the future seem almost as great. But if these opportunities are not to be largely missed, it must keep touch with those large masses of mankind who are ruled not by reason but by passion. Hence the enormous importance in the near future of the attitude which Catholicism adopts to that modern nightmare—socialism. Whether it can keep and extend its hold on the working classes, on the serfs of labour in Europe, in the world, is the question of all others the most pressing for it to answer. For it will not be by its conquests among a few fashionable *dilettantis*, but by the influx of its splendour and munificence into the sordid environments of the great cities of the earth, that it will win whatever power and greatness lie before it in the future.

There is one other aspect of the general question which has been already touched on, and that is the relation of Catholicism to progress. If that religion has been found to be incompatible with material advance in the past, how, it may be asked, will it ever walk with it in the future? How will it ever prove consistent with the continued growth of civilisation in those Teutonic lands which at present bear so large a part in the progress of mankind? The question is one of the most vital importance, and it touches very nearly the future of our race. It is sufficient for the present, however, simply to note the facts, and these are significant enough. We are face to face, in the dominions of Protestantism, with a great Catholic revival. We are standing at the sick-bed of dogmatic Protestantism, and we know not how soon we may be looking on its expiring agonies. That religion which for nearly four centuries has fostered in the barren north a secular progress such as the world has never seen, is now deserted by its offspring, which, abjuring all supernatural auspices, goes forth alone. And the irony in the situation is that dogmatic Protestantism, deserted by reason, turns to that religion which it of old denounced as the seat of all superstitions, which has contributed little or nothing to modern civilisation, and which, in several of those lands which have remained

faithful to it from the first, is at present stagnating or actually retrogressing. Whether reason can long exist apart from faith, or faith from reason, whether progress is possible without religion, or religion without progress, and whether, if Catholicism be that religion, progress is possible with Catholicism, or Catholicism with secular progress, time alone can show.

W. G. S.

## THE NIOBE OF NATIONS.

IN May last King Umberto opened in Turin the Exhibition to which Italians from every province flocked to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the promulgation of the Sardinian Constitution. The cheers which then greeted him had a sad echo in the yells of rioters and the rattle of musketry that ran up the whole length of the kingdom from Bari to Milan.

How many fell in the different towns will never be published, will probably never be avowed even in the confidential reports of the *arcana imperii*. Even in the little village of Sesto in peaceful Tuscany, it seems that four were killed. The official reports put the number of dead in Milan at seventy-five: this is so ludicrous an under-statement as not to be worth refuting. What we know is that some 20,000 troops with artillery were engaged in pretty severe street fighting for three days; and from this and the many statements of eye-witnesses we may infer that the deaths were certainly not much, if at all, less than a thousand. But, indeed, the exact number of the killed and wounded is a matter of secondary importance. What is ominous is that thousands of men stood up against the fire of repeating-rifles and machine-guns for many hours, and that men who prove the sincerity of their discontent in such fashion cannot be the mere pawns of selfish agitation.

In 1862 the Government of United Italy was hailed with wild enthusiasm from Chiasso to Girgenti, and a whole people that, if it was moved to look too fondly for the coming of a Golden Age, was yet by no means destitute of that shrewd political common sense, not untinged with cynicism, which lies somewhere at the back of every Italian head, was prepared to follow, and did follow with confident hope and marvellous patience in difficulties and hardships, the guidance of the statesmen of its choice.

In 1898 the successors of those same statesmen have to defend the monarchy with bullets and bayonets against the sons of those loyal subjects. These ill-starred politicians, whose rule has led to such results, may, when arraigned at the bar of history, be able to plead extenuating circumstances; but they cannot be acquitted of grave mistakes, of reckless disregard of the teaching of experience, and of violating every rule of political morality; and now the writing of the finger on the wall seems to warn them that the day of

retribution is at hand, that the time left for repentance and reform is short. It is a disheartening retrospect this of a generation of wasted opportunities and of failures in which there has been but little of the sublime; but if such a retrospect should show that the political decadence of the kingdom has been due, not to inherent weakness, but to blunders that might have been easily avoided, not to the failure or decay of national life, but to the ineptitude of a governing clique, reason for hope may be found in the very grossness of those blunders, and the many lovers and admirers of Italy may trust that in the near future she shall yet falsify the predictions of those who maintain that, like Imperial Rome, she has reached a pass "in which she can bear neither her vices nor the remedies that might cure them."

Among the causes that have led to the actual crisis, though others may be of no less importance, none have been more baneful than the corruption of parliamentary life. And I shall in this paper endeavour to trace the gradual decline of political morality and political efficiency from the Cabinets of Cavour to those of Di Rudini. The reader who follows me in this inquiry will, I fear, have to give his attention to some tedious detail of sordid political intrigues, but an appreciation of these seems to be necessary to the understanding of the present and forecasting of the future. Want of space compels me to pass over in silence the not less important question of financial adventure and municipal and industrial development.

A familiar apologue tells how round the cradle of a highly favoured child, fairy godmothers smiled, and showered on their darling every good gift they had in store. Never did the bud of a young life unfold with fairer promise. All that the noblest qualities of mind and body could give—the dower of a splendid parentage and loving nature, lordly rank and ample wealth—adorned him; but alas! all was made of no avail by the jealousy of a slighted sprite who, casting over that young life the shadow of its own base nature, blasted the glorious uprising of the world's hope; and so wrought that a childhood of infinite promise led to a hapless youth and inglorious manhood.

When we look back on the confident enthusiasm of hope with which her sons and her friends welcomed the beginnings of renascent Italy nearly forty years ago, the triumphs of noble national life which that dayspring was to call forth, the solid reasons on which that forecast seemed to be based, we cannot but confess that that sad fantastic tale has in some sort had its antitype in sadder history. Her soil, now as in the days of Virgil, teems with wealth, her kindly sun still ripens the fruits of every climate, the mass of her population is still frugal, laborious, ingenious, hardy; and many of her sons show an aptitude for intellectual effort second to none in the world; yet during the past generation Italian history can show few pages

that minister either to her enemies' envy or to the pride of her sons. Of late years especially, disappointment and disaster have fallen on the country so thick, disgrace mingled with loss, that one might almost be tempted to hold faith with those of the religion whose doctrine teaches them to find a causal connection between the fall of Italian Ministries and funds and the violation of the sacred patrimony of St. Peter; so that an excommunicated king might well be driven to exclaim with exiled Diomedæ:

"Hæc adeo ex illo mihi jam speranda fuerunt  
Tempore cum ferro cælestia corpora demens  
Adpetii."

It was a generous but hardly a well-reasoned instinct that led many friends of Italy in the early sixties to gauge the powers and prospects of the new nation, taking as their standard in practical politics the energy and wisdom of men like Cavour, the eloquence and inspiration of men like Mazzini in ideal politics. Such anticipations were foredoomed to failure. But others, too, who based their forecast on what seemed the sober induction of political philosophy, who looked for an indication of what Italy might do to that which little Piedmont had accomplished, saw their anticipations hardly less falsified by the result than were the forebodings of those who asserted that at the first stress of danger, at the first pinch of hardship, the new nation would fall to pieces, and Italy again become a geographical expression.

There is a dominant line in the national character of Italians that may serve to explain this enigma. It was this trait that Tasso had in view when he wrote: *Alla virtù Latina o nulla manca o sol la disciplina*.<sup>1</sup> It was another side of the same truth that D'Azeglio expressed when he said, "In the heart of every Italian there is some touch of civil war"; Settembrini's words, too, though referring more particularly to the Neapolitan, were applicable to his countrymen generally when he regretted that "Talent they all have, and some of them very great talent, but they have no perseverance, no sense of order or discipline." The poet, the politician, the patriot, each from his own point of view indicated that flaw in the Italian character which may be traced through the centuries, and which has grown with the growth of the nation. It is to that impatience of discipline, taking the term in its widest sense, that we must attribute the fact that the people of modern Italy, in spite of great natural endowments, have produced no great artistic work—no poem, no novel, no history, no painting, no building, no music, unless that of Verdi be an exception, that can be placed in the first rank. Genius the Italian has; he is, indeed, a standing refutation to the paradox,

<sup>1</sup> The noble nature of the Latin race has every virtue save, perhaps, that it is not disciplined.

that genius is an infinite capacity for taking trouble, but his genius is barren. What M. Chevallier said of French workmen, comparing them with English, is true of the Italian of every class, and especially of the upper class: He cannot steadily, doggedly, settle down in spite of failure to overcome material difficulties. His full faculties do not wake up save in contest with other men.

Undisciplined himself, the Italian is prone to make light of breach of legal and of moral obligations in others, and in public life especially has developed a laxity of which the traces are all too deeply marked in the parliamentary history of the passing generation.

That history falls into two clearly marked periods, divided one from the other by the change of government in March 1876. Most unfortunately for the nascent kingdom, the great, the heroic, movement begun in 1859 too soon and too easily entered into its rest. The discipline that a long war chequered by reverses would have enforced differed widely from the self-complacency that was generated by the easy victories of 1859-1861, and the vicarious conquest of Venetia in 1866. It was not the fall of the walls of Jericho before the blast of Joshua's trumpets but those forty years of hardship in the wilderness that formed the nation of Israel and gave tenacity to its purposes. When the movement had ended in the recognition of Victor Emanuel as monarch of United Italy, it was inevitable that the government of the new kingdom should remain in the hands of that party which, formed and educated by Cavour, had by consistent and far-sighted statesmanship realised the dream that had for more than three centuries eluded the grasp of Italian statesmen, and had secured for the King of Sardinia an equal place among the great sovereigns of Europe. Misled by the analogy of other Continental Parliaments, writers have often assumed that this party, because it sat on the right, was inspired by Conservative or reactionary principles. Nothing could be further from the truth. The history of those momentous years was incompatible with the predominance, or even existence, of a genuine Conservative party. Universal enthusiasm alone made the attainment of unity possible. Party strife there was which at times threatened to break out into open violence; but, however acrimonious the debates, the questions at issue, of whatever importance, were never other than of the means to be employed. The end for which all hoped, all worked, was one.

"One party," said Minghetti, speaking in May 1883, "wished to make Italy by the spontaneous initiative of the people. Impatient of every delay, they hoped that that initiative would alone suffice to take our independence by storm. The other party, of which I was a member, sought rather to secure what was won, and to marshal our regular forces. We hoped to prepare for future events by alliances with foreign Powers, and were determined to keep the rule and guidance of the Commonwealth in the hands of the Government. . . . The means we severally advocated for attaining the equilibrium of the national budget was another line of

division. Our opponents were convinced that we should never accomplish that purpose by the mere piling on of taxes, though we might ruin the country in the attempt. I and my friends held that the most cruel sacrifices were necessary, imperative, inevitable."

But sound financial theory is not the peculiar apanage of Conservative or of Liberal statesmanship, and the advantage of guerilla over regular troops has been pleaded by one party as often as by the other.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly the Right always repudiated the designation of Conservative. The *Opinione*, one of the most influential organs of the party, wrote (November 1882):

"In order to have a monarchical and Progressive Left you must conjure up a rigidly Conservative Right. But none of the leading men of the Right can play that part, for it would be inconsistent with all their past history and with the principles that have guided them."

So, again, Signor Sella, writing to the Constitutional Association at Turin in May 1881, said:

"If you expect to find in the Chamber sitting on the Right men less advanced, and on the Left men more advanced in political, administrative, economical, and moral ideas, you would make a great mistake."

And this letter was endorsed by other recognised leaders of the party, such as Minghetti, Lanza, Sparenta, Di Rudini. In fact, the old Right disciplined by Cavour professed a thoroughly Liberal creed. It would in other countries have been looked on as almost revolutionary. It was that party that established parliamentary government in Piedmont, abrogated the Concordat, suppressed religious corporations, deprived the Church of the custody of the registers of births and deaths, of the right of exemption from military service, of the management of schools and charitable institutions, and established trial by jury. Guided by these principles and working out this policy, the Right remained in office during the first sixteen years of Victor Emanuel's reign over United Italy, and the results which these statesmen achieved were, even by the admission of their adversaries, magnificent. Under their rule Italy had taken her place among the great Powers of Europe. Austria had recognised this outgrowth of hatred and despised Piedmont as an equal, and the visit of General Turr to Vienna had already laid the foundations of those friendly relations between the two monarchs which, in later years, made the Triple Alliance possible. At home the kingdom had been consolidated, the bitterness of local jealousies had been assuaged, brigandage had been scotched if not killed, a national army had been created, credit had been restored, and the

<sup>1</sup> The distinction was at least as old as 1847, not to say 1832, when the *esaltati* had no patience with the deliberate methods of the "moderate" leaders; yet that shrewd observer, Metternich, had said (*Memoirs*, vol. vii. p. 401) in 1847: "Between Gioberti, Balbo, D'Azeglio, and the new Radicals—Mazzini and his crew—there is no difference." Nor was there from his point of view.

terrible burden of a yearly deficit has been removed.<sup>1</sup> The national income, which in 1862 was 488,000,000 francs, had by 1874 been brought up to 1,077,009,000 francs; but the system of taxation by which this result had been attained weighed on the country as an almost intolerable burden. To men of all sorts and conditions the tax-collector was an object of dread and hatred, and that dislike extended to the Government. Hot-headed patriots had never forgiven the Ministry for checking the ill-advised attempts of the Garibaldini from 1862 onwards, and looked on this long hesitation to move against Rome as inexcusable weakness if it were not treason. They felt the subserviency of the Government to France as a bitter humiliation, and did not always admit that the poverty of the country made it a necessity.<sup>2</sup> Nor did the French diplomatists do what they might have done to make that subserviency less galling, but rather (*more suo*) seemed to take a pride in inflicting slights on the new kingdom.

Economists naturally found much to criticise in the fiscal system that had in twelve years more than doubled the national income, and in the name of equity and humanity demanded the abolition of the tax on grinding corn, which pressed so unfairly on the poorer classes. Lastly, the rigid economy—an economy that might under other circumstances have been justly stigmatised as miserly—enforced in every department of the public service, had alienated the entire class of public servants.

In another direction the policy of the Government had inflicted on the country a far greater and more permanent injury, though its effects were at the time little understood, or accepted as inevitable. It had imported from France the system of inspecting, regulating, dictating all the details of local life from central ministerial offices, but without the safeguards which were there afforded by the existence of an almost hereditary caste of public servants, whose careful training and traditions did much to lessen the corruption and oppression which are the natural consequences of bureaucratic despotism. In Italy an Administration whose resources would have been strained to provide men sufficient to carry on the routine of government undertook to reorganise the entire framework of imperial and local affairs. Provincial and communal autonomy were regulated out of existence, and the Ministry of the Interior arrogated to itself a minute control over the administration of every town and parish in the Peninsula. This could not be done without giving rise to many angry and often just complaints.

<sup>1</sup> In 1862 the deficit was 470,000,000 francs; in 1866, after the Austrian war, it was 721,000,000 francs. The estimates for 1876 showed a surplus of 20,000,000 francs. The Italian stock, which in 1867 stood at 50, had by 1876 risen to 80.

<sup>2</sup> Mancini himself, Minister in 1861, speaking in the Chamber in 1880, admitted that from the death of Cavour in 1870 Italy had had no foreign policy of its own: *La politica nostra in quel tempo non si fece in Italia ma a Parigi.*

There was, besides, another cause that helped to bring on the crisis. The Left, during the past years, had gradually been approaching the Right, till the difference between the two parties had become not one of principle or of programme so much as the far more bitter divergence founded on personal aversion, which, while it envenomed party feeling, relaxed the bonds of party discipline, and undermined the power of those responsible leaders who would moderate the excesses of their followers. Local ill-will, too, became more difficult to deal with as the division of Left and Right tended to be merged in a split between South and North.

At last, in March 1876, the end came. Signor Minghetti, for the first time since the foundation of the kingdom, was able to open to the Chambers a budget without a deficit:

"Though," he said, "our situation with a forced paper currency and a large floating debt is not absolutely prosperous, yet to have attained an equilibrium is the corner-stone of the whole edifice; I am convinced, therefore, that I have to-day announced a noteworthy result. Woe to others should they ever have to come to this House and tell you that that equilibrium has been forfeited!"

The object of the long struggle had at last been won. The country was solvent. The harsh exactions and rigid economy of fifteen long years were justified by the result, yet the announcement was made to a cold and even hostile Chamber. Hitherto a fear of jeopardising the financial future of Italy, perhaps a less patriotic willingness to see a necessary but unpopular work carried out by others, had kept the Opposition in check, and it was the very success of the Ministry that hastened its fall. A resolution condemning the harsh exaction of the Grist Tax, passed by a large majority, was accepted by Signor Minghetti as a vote of censure, and he resigned. "We leave you," he said, "the country peaceful at home and respected abroad. We leave you a surplus in the national finances. God grant that you may preserve these good things for Italy!"

The government of the country thus passed out of the hands of trained and, to use the word in its good sense, professional politicians into those of men who were from the necessity of the case amateurs. With few exceptions,<sup>1</sup> these had little, if any, experience of affairs. Some of them had spent their early life as conspirators, some as adventurers, some as exiles, some in literature. They had not been drilled in the routine and responsibilities of official life. Their political philosophy was in the air and dealt with the abstract, nor had they ever been made to realise by the teaching of experience that that science is more than any other limited by the concrete. Their views of policy were deduced from general principles, and in

<sup>1</sup> Depretis and Nicotera were the only two of the new men who had had any official experience worth speaking of.

the application of them they were apt to be guided rather by their ideas of what might in the abstract be seemly than by any consideration of what was indicated by the needs of the nation and the particular circumstances with which they had to deal. The rule of action which determined their answer to the practical problems they were called on to solve may be put into a syllogism. Italy, by virtue of her ancient history no less than her noble aspirations, is fitted to take rank in the van of Western civilisation, such and such legislation is suitable or necessary for a nation that takes such a position, therefore let a Bill formulating such principles be passed. How far the financial, social, or moral condition of the country demanded or even admitted of the proposed change was held to be quite a secondary consideration. On the other hand, they had not been trained in the traditions of loyalty and of fair play in parliamentary warfare, and were disposed to carry on the game of party tactics rather in the spirit and according to the moral code of the unscrupulous political conspirator than after the manner of constitutional statesmen. Since the advent of the Left the majority in the Chamber of Deputies have acted as if they held Figaro's view of the cousinship of politics and intrigue.

Though some of the new leaders, such as Depretis and Cairoli, were Northerners, it is not less true that the change of Ministry involved the transfer of the centre of gravity from North to South, from the school of Cavour that accepted the English parliamentary system as the most hopeful solution of the problems of constitutional government, to men whose principles were those of French doctrinaires, whose traditions were derived from 1789 and 1848.

The coalition which thus overthrew the Right after sixteen years' tenure of office did not seem to offer materials for the formation of a stable Government, and it was partly at least from a reasonable confidence that this mongrel majority must soon fall to pieces that Minghetti so easily abandoned office. It was made up of the most heterogeneous elements: members of the old Left, Radicals, Republicans, Clericals, discontented supporters of the late Ministry, all helped to swell its numbers, multiply its divisions, and accentuate its discords. The Left was the only section of this coalition that could claim to be an organised party. Yet even the Left was far from being homogeneous. Taking no account of minor fractions, it was divided into four main groups led by Cairoli, Crispi, Depretis, and Nicotera, jealous of and distrusting each other, loyal to their patron rather than to their party, and held together only by the bond of a common hostility to the Right. The efforts of a party so composed to retain office led naturally, to use the expression of Professor Villari, "to compromises and coalitions of the worst nature, and to impotent governments."

Nevertheless Depretis, the titular leader of the Left, did not shrink

from the responsibility of forming a Ministry, and was soon ready to meet the Chamber with a voluminous programme, of which the chief items were—electoral reform, decentralisation of the administration, independence of the magistracy, universal obligatory education, liberal expenditure on public works, abolition of the Grist Tax, and a readjustment of the incidence of taxation. For the realisation of his programme he invited the co-operation of all honest, loyal, and capable men in whatever part of the Chamber they might sit. This invitation, slipped in at the end of it, was yet the most pregnant clause of the speech in which Depretis unfolded the ministerial policy, for in it we may find the key to the parliamentary history of the next twenty years, the constant shiftings of gravity, the frequent cross-divisions, the scandalous coalitions and the no less scandalous desertions; the apparently purposeless Cabinet crises. Yet it may perhaps be urged in defence of Depretis that this attempt to rally round himself a personal following that should take no account of the recognised lines of party cleavage was not dictated entirely by personal ambition, that he saw and wished to find a way of escape from a grave danger which had imperilled constitutional government even from the early days of United Italy: that of Parliament, Government, and Opposition alike falling into the power of and being degraded by selfish shifting groups.<sup>1</sup> The pity of it is that his policy only aggravated the evil.

In England we have become so used to see a Ministerial party faced by an Opposition whose criticism, while it is no small help towards maintaining the discipline of its opponents, is kept within due bounds by the knowledge that the party may at any time be called on as a homogeneous whole and under its recognised leaders to assume the responsibilities of office, that it is hard to realise how necessary such an Opposition is to the working of the Cabinet system. If instead of such an Opposition the Treasury benches had facing them a set of men most of them without adequate incomes, divided into groups every one of which had its own independent programme, every one of which could be detached from its allies by concessions or promises more or less legitimate, every one of which was at liberty to propose additions to the national expenditure, every one of which could be influenced by promises of public money for local schemes, if not by more ignoble means, while none of them felt sure that if the Cabinets which they harassed and opposed were overthrown they would be called on to undertake official responsibilities; if, finally, the Government party was made up of exactly

<sup>1</sup> Professor Villari, in 1866, wrote: "Until the groups into which the Chamber split up on the death of Cavour are supported by a solid part of the nation, the Chamber will necessarily be divided into mere cliques, and whoever may be in office, there will be no real parties. If that section which is now called 'the party of action' were to make its way into office, it would forthwith sicken of the clique illness."—*Lettere Meridionale*, p. 235.

similar elements, it would be easy to foresee the disorder and scandals that would arise even at Westminster, where the traditions of many generations have established a fixed and high standard of party loyalty and political morality, where a suggestion that any one of the party leaders had been influenced by jobbery would be laughed at even by his bitterest opponents. Yet such was and is the composition of the Chamber of Deputies, and it can hardly be thought unnatural that such conditions have led to their logical consequence.

Very soon after the fall of the Right it was felt that Depretis had become not merely, perhaps not so much, the head of the Government as the Dictator of the Chamber, in this sense that no Ministry of which he was not a prominent figure had a chance of permanence. But while he was consolidating his supremacy it began to be seen by observers who looked below the surface that the disclaimer of the Right to be a Conservative party was no longer true, at least not absolutely. Their programme had been carried out almost in its entirety, with the inevitable result that some, if not all, the members of the party were content to accept achievement and to look on further change with suspicion. Depretis, had he been a statesman and not a mere politician, might have seized the opportunity and divided parties according to the cleavage line of opinion, and the history of the Italian Parliament would then have been very different from what it has been. He stood at the parting of the ways and chose the broad road that led to confusion; for even at this early stage in his career we may take it that Depretis had determined not to be the servant of any party, and, confident in his own dexterity, was preparing to throw over the men whose votes had brought him into office. Partly for tactical reasons and partly because it harmonised with the bent of his own nature, he accepted in practice the thesis enunciated by Bluntschli and endorsed by Gioberti, that it would be to the advantage of a State for the Left and Right Centres to combine, and exclude the two extreme wings from power. It is a theory that is attractive to the student, especially to one who has in view States in which the Constitution does not command universal respect, in which there are politicians on one side advocates of a Communistic Republic, on the other of an Absolute Monarchy; but deeper reflection brings conviction that, however specious, the plan is fundamentally inconsistent with the theory of party government. An attempt to carry on the Government somewhat on those lines during the later years of William III.'s reign was one of the causes that led to the degradation of political life in England during the seventeenth century, and the experience of both France and Italy in these later years shows that its result is to bring parliamentary institutions into contempt and to undermine political morality.

Three men of remarkable ability controlled the history of the

period that now began, and left a deep and lasting impress behind them; and an appreciation of the careers of Depretis, Magliani, and Mancini enables one in great measure to understand the political, financial, and social position of modern Italy: Italy was in a plastic state when these men were in power, and they thus were able to mould the history and the institutions of the nation more deeply than could, under other circumstances, be done save by men of pre-eminent genius. Depretis, for instance, with whom I am here concerned, had an influence, it may be feared, far more lasting than had his infinitely greater contemporary Gladstone on English life; and this must be my excuse if I dwell with somewhat more detail than might seem reasonable on the intrigues that marked the parliamentary history of the following years. It is easy to be wise after the event, and the disastrous results of the policy that Depretis then adopted are patent even to the most superficial observer of the history of the past twenty years, but even the shrewdest of his followers may be excused if they did not in 1876 foresee the consequences of that choice. During the past few sessions the leaders of the Right, as their party tended more and more to break up, had been reduced to shifts of every kind to secure a majority. Instead of attending to legislation, or even administration, they had to waste their energy doing the work of party managers in order to maintain some sort of discipline over a crowd of supporters who, now that the great objects which had united the party had been accomplished, were no longer held together by any common policy; for every success recorded had loosened the hold of Ministers on that section of their followers whose zeal had been engaged rather for the attainment of that particular object than in loyalty to the party. But the new majority was even more amorphous, and Depretis may be excused if he pursued the *ignis fatuus* of the formation of a strong united "National" party, devoted to himself as Minister, and enabling him to govern without regard to the individual ambitions and jealousies and greed, or to the social and local prejudices, of Deputies. His mistake lay in thinking that the "moderate" men would have larger views, would be more unselfishly patriotic, more ready to waive their individual prepossessions, and to co-operate on important questions, than those of more accentuated opinions.

Hardly, however, had Depretis come to power than the moral antinomies of the position he had determined to assume became apparent. Though while in opposition pledged to a measure of administrative reform, he quickly realised that if he meant to retain the support of his followers he must not interfere with the administrative machine, which had been so carefully organised by his predecessors with a view to rewarding the faithful and punishing mutineers.

The successive Governments of Italy, imitating in this those of

France, have always considered it their privilege, if not their duty, to guide the constituencies in their choice of representatives. The Left, indeed, had in past years unsparingly denounced the conduct of their opponents in this matter, but it was hardly to be expected that their practice in office would square with their theory while in opposition. The responsibility of power opened their eyes, and they easily understood that at all costs, even at the cost of consistency, a party majority must be secured, and in Baron Nicotera, his Minister of the Interior, Depretis had an admirable instrument to hand for securing the defeat of Opposition candidates. Nicotera had previously served in Sicily, where he had found a suitable field for his abilities in stamping down brigandage and the Camora. His strong and somewhat unscrupulous character, intolerant of opposition and careless of the form of law (his enemies said even of its spirit), was well suited to the work now in hand, and during the general election in the autumn of 1876 he used and abused those weapons which the Left had in the past denounced as illegal and unconstitutional. Newspapers were subsidised, electors were intimidated, prefects and syndics were taught to vie with each other in showing their zeal for their new superiors, and but few candidates of the Right were returned. It was a complete rout.

• But the enormous ministerial majority thus created was hardly less amorphous and unmanageable than that which had turned out Minghetti in March; and if his supporters were unruly, Depretis himself had as yet his apprenticeship to serve, and though distinctly the foremost man of his party, he had not as yet acquired that consummate dexterity in parliamentary tactics and that prestige which in later years made all resistance to him vain. During the next few sessions he was feeling his way with somewhat uncertain steps, and often seemed to be the sport of circumstances instead of controlling them.

A bare list of the ministerial changes during these years may seem as dull and frivolous reading as the programme of a forgotten ball, but it will give the reader some insight into the composition of the Chamber and the value of the party loyalty there to be found. In November 1877 Zanardelli, on the ground that his colleagues were playing fast and loose with the party creed, resigned. A few weeks later Nicotera was accused of violating the secrecy of telegrams; and Cairoli, as champion of political morality, supported by a coalition of his own personal friends of the Left and many of the Right, carried a vote of censure. The Ministry resigned; but Depretis was at once commanded to form a new Cabinet, and having substituted Crispi for Nicotera, resumed office on December 26. But the change was unfortunate. Crispi was made defendant in a scandalous trial, and on March 12, four days only after the Chamber had reassembled after the close of the Papal Conclave, Cairoli, champion now of social morality, again led a coalition that overthrew the

Government, and in his turn took office. This, the third Ministry of the Left, was as short-lived as its predecessors. Cairoli was accused of intriguing against Austria in Albania, Zanardelli of winking at *Italia Irridentu* demonstrations, with the result that the two nations were brought to the brink of war. At home anarchical meetings were allowed, public order was insufficiently maintained, and in November the whole country was horrified by Passamente's attempt on the King's life. Parliament met soon after; the Cairoli Ministry was forthwith turned out, and in December Depretis formed his third Cabinet. The strategy by which he hoped to assure his stability was ingenious. He refused to take on board Crispi and Nicotera, the two Jonahs of his former voyages; but, by keeping in his own hands the portfolios of the Interior and Foreign Affairs, allowed them to hope for office in the near future, and so bid for their independent support. His other rivals of the Left he disarmed by endorsing Bills for electoral reform and the abolition of the Grist Tax which Cairoli had introduced; and miscellaneous votes were secured by a Bill authorising the expenditure of 1,080,000,000 francs on railways during the next twenty years. This huge sum was, during discussion of the Bill, increased to 1,260,000,000 francs, individual members making their support depend on favour being shown to the districts they represented. The Grist Tax Bill passed by the Chamber was amended by the Senate. Depretis moved the rejection of the amendment, and then, in the face of gods and men, Cairoli got a majority to agree with the Senate in emasculating his own Bill, and in July 1879 was commissioned, as successor to Depretis, to form his second Ministry, which, however, fell to pieces in the recess; and when Parliament met in the autumn the old opponents, Depretis and Cairoli, united to form a coalition Ministry, the sixth since the Left came into power three years before. This alliance, in which both leaders were held to sacrifice consistency to forward their personal ambition, scandalised both House and country, and was only condoned in the hope that it might make an end to the sequence of barren and illogical changes of the past year. But these hopes were realised to a very limited extent. No sooner had the Ministers assumed office than the dissident Left, headed by Crispi, Nicotera, and Zanardelli, joined the Right in refusing supplies, and a new crisis was only avoided by a dissolution, followed by elections, in which Depretis, by using all his power as Minister of the Interior in "making the elections," was able slightly to strengthen his party.

In the spring of 1881 the blunders of Cairoli as Foreign Minister, at the time of the French invasion of Tunis, irritated Parliament and country past endurance, and on April 7 the Government fell before a direct vote of censure. The King, wearied out by the impotent, unscrupulous manœuvres of the Left, turned to Stella, the recognised

leader of the Moderate Right. His personal character was unblemished, as a statesman he was at least the equal of any of his surviving contemporaries, his services in securing the solvency of the country when it was on the verge of bankruptcy had merited the gratitude of all parties, and it was the hope of the saner part of the country that he would be able to save Parliament from the moral bankruptcy which threatened it. But Sella had no homogeneous party behind him, and had neither the dexterity nor, it must be added, the unscrupulousness necessary for uniting under his lead groups and factions divided by personal rancour or local interests. The King, seeing no other course open, let Cairoli withdraw his resignation, and on April 28 Ministers were fain to meet a riotous and discontented House which grudgingly vouchsafed them a vote of toleration rather than of confidence. On May 15 the Cabinet, finding the Chamber quite out of control, again resigned, and Depretis accepted the royal command to form his fifth Cabinet, which he did, throwing out to the wolves Cairoli and two other colleagues.

The attempt to govern the country and manage the Chamber with the help of "all honest, capable, and loyal men" had now lasted five years, and to thinking men the results were little less than appalling. The country was scandalised at the decomposition and recomposition of groups dictated by no political principle. Government was brought to a deadlock. Parliament seemed likely to be hopelessly discredited. Cabinets were formed only to be broken up, and announced a policy only to abandon it. Cabals were taking the place of parties, and Deputies gave their allegiance to their chiefs only to desert them. Ministers had responsibility without power, and Deputies grasped at power without responsibility.

"The Italian Chamber," said Minghetti about this time, "is now affected with two grave symptoms—(1) We have imported the evil of Spanish Parliamentarism in its most aggravated form. Patrons, captains of groups, have arisen who are backed by coteries of clients. Bitter animosities divide the patrons, and their followers look on each other as personal enemies. (2) Politics have become a business. Men find in the clash of parties opportunities for satisfying their illicit desires and corrupt ambition."

M. de Laveleye, than whom it would be difficult to name a more competent or more friendly judge, wrote :

"Le Député doit se faire le serviteur des solliciteurs qui l'assiègent sous peine de perdre leur voix et le ministre doit donner satisfaction aux députés pour conserver ou pour former une majorité. . . . Les lois, les règlements d'équité, l'intérêt public, pour leur complaire tout est sacrifié."<sup>1</sup>

A writer of authority in the *Nuovo Antologia* judged the situation no less severely :

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Belg.*, February 1880.

"We have a Chamber which, instead of minding its business and doing its duty, seems to aim at nothing but using up Cabinets, usurping the place of the Executive, and arrogating to itself every function of government."

But if the results of his tactics had been to reduce Parliament to a disorganised mob which gave or withheld its votes at the ever-fluctuating dictates of caprice, passion, or self-interest, the position of Depretis himself had been strengthened. His invitation to men from all sections of the Chamber to support him had been in a large measure accepted, and politicians now began to speak of Right and Left as mere historical terms. Cairoli, Crispi, and Nicotera, the only men who could contest his claim to be leader of the Left, had fought, had been routed, and now were little more than guerilla chieftains of groups. Lanza, the last hope of the Right, despairing of his cause, had abandoned political life. The bulk of the Right, which five years before had hated him with a perfect hatred, whose election cry had been "*Abasso il Depretis!*" now looked on him with friendly toleration as the only leader able to hold in check the extreme Left with its fringe of anti-monarchical skirmishers.

During the whole of the following session the personal ascendancy of Depretis was on the increase, success had given him confidence in his own powers to play on the various motives by which Deputies could be influenced, and appealing now to the hopes, now to the fears, of the Right and Left, he prevented any serious attempt at mutiny, and managed the Chamber with the dexterity of a consummate artist. The system he pursued was graphically and with quite unconscious irony described by his own organ, the *Popolo Romano*:

"He is the skilled pilot who knows how to navigate the ship of State through wave and storm, tacking from side to side as occasion demands, slackening or quickening his course, veering to catch every breeze, and so saving ship and cargo from running on the rocks."

A law passed this session authorising a further expenditure of 680,000,000 francs on railways was not without its influence on votes.

An uneventful session was followed by a dissolution, and in October 1882 Depretis issued a manifesto to his electors at Stradella in which he somewhat cynically took the country into his confidence. Six years before, addressing his electors, he had said: "I hope that my words may help forward a fertile transformation of parties;" now he repeated the invitation to his old opponents even more definitely: "Even labourers standing idle till the eleventh hour, if they would be transformed and join him, should not lose their reward," and as a sop to them he promised that under his rule order would be maintained and all Socialist demonstrations would be repressed. If society wanted to be saved he would be a saviour of society.

In fact, in spite of the disclaimer of their leaders, it began to be

clear that the Deputies and the electors tended to fall into the two great divisions into which, under ordinary circumstances, all bodies of men diverge: those who oppose all change until it is demonstrated that it is advantageous, and those who approve of every change unless it is demonstrated that the proposal is disadvantageous. But Depretis was very far from intending to further any such logical arrangement, which would, indeed, have rendered to a great extent nugatory the astuteness of the "skilled pilot."

In the elections that followed the country was induced to give what was practically a vote of confidence to Depretis. The bulk of the old Left acquiesced, if it did not rejoice, in his triumph. The leaders of the Right, Minghetti and Bonghi, lest a worse thing should come upon them, accepted his programme, and the rank and file of the party, trembling lest they might be outcasts, raced to find shelter in the Fusional omnibus which he drove.

When Parliament met, Depretis had an opportunity which never since has presented itself under so favourable conditions of adopting a policy which would have divided members into two parties, formed on a logical basis, and opposed one to the other, not by personal or local antipathies, or by their interested allegiance to a chief, but by their way of looking at far-reaching social and political questions. But the Prime Minister sought only to elude the responsibilities of his position by following out to the end the course which he had chosen. He won in full measure the cheap applause due to the astute parliamentary tactician, but forfeited for ever all claim to be counted a patriot or a statesman. Since 1876 much had happened. The genuine Left, of whose views Zanardelli may be taken as an exponent, had by degrees formulated a definite radical policy, opposed to which the old Right formed the nucleus of Conservative reaction. Depretis, who had been sitting on the stile, might have become a leader of either party, to the incalculable gain of political honesty; but the knowledge that the allegiance of the House, as a whole, was yielded to himself personally and not as the mere exponent of a programme, had a singular fascination for his, at bottom, dictatorial temper. Though he might wear a velvet glove, the iron hand sometimes peeped through it, as on one memorable occasion, when he closed a debate in the Chamber by the harsh exclamation, "That's my will, and there's an end." He also took keen pleasure in the exercise of his unique dexterity in managing the House, playing on it with the confidence of a trained musician running over the chords of his favourite instrument.

"Few intellectual treats," said an opponent in the course of the debate, "are dearer to me than that of listening to a speech of the great orator, master of homely eloquence and of fierce invective, picturesque in gesture, in action, in pose, passing easily from grave to gay, now witty, now pathetic, at one moment frankly taking his hearers into his confidence, the next puzzling them by his subtlety."

But, in spite of all, he never won that hold on his followers which directness of purpose can alone deserve. Like Sir Lucius in the play, the House looked for a little less simplicity and a little more honesty, and so the solid disciplined majority that never was, but always to be formed, still eluded his grasp, and the pursuit of it led him on to transactions of doubtful morality; where, among the quicksands of groups, coteries, and coalitions, a Cabinet which had translated into action Machiavelli's cynical apophthegm, "*Il scopo del Governo e durare*," yet went in daily peril of his life, shrank from large schemes of legislation. The majority on which it depended was always in a state of flux; its composition changed from day to day; men of all shades of opinion, from Cavaletto on the extreme Right to Berti on the Left, at different times and for different purposes lent or bartered their votes to the Prime Minister, but they were few indeed whose faith unfaithful kept them falsely true, and on whose support he could count through all the changes of his Protean career; and so, supported only by an invertebrate mob, and resembling those low organisms that are able to cast off now one section, now another, making up for the loss in one direction by enlargement elsewhere, and through it all to continue a *quasi* identity of life, the Government maintained a sort of continuity of existence, though between May 1883 and July 1884 no fewer than eleven Ministers deserted or were ejected from the Cabinet.

I have dwelt at what may seem somewhat disproportionate length on these first years of the Depretis Administrations, for it was during these years that the ill-omened variety of the parliamentary system under which it is still suffering was definitely formulated and adopted in Italy, a system according to which the Prime Minister's main function is to keep himself in office with the help of his natural friends, if may be; if not, then with that of his natural enemies. To tell in detail the parliamentary history of the years subsequent to 1884 would be as foreign to my present purpose as to examine the effects of that government on the well-being of the country. Enough that the seed sown and nurtured by Depretis grew and bore fruit after its kind. The shadow of corruption and jobbery cast by politicians highest in place broadened from its base till it tainted all official life with its black stain. Cabinet after Cabinet was formed and overthrown on grounds that would not bear examination and could hardly be avowed by men whose names, with hardly an exception, carried no more weight in Italy than outside, and the country meanwhile became more and more discontented with those whom it sent up to Rome to misrepresent and to misgovern it.

Memories of their school days will suggest to some readers a Saturday dish that went by the name of "resurrection pie." In it, as boys affirmed, the remains of all the dishes of the week were set on the table again, neatly covered with a pie-crust that served to con-

veal and make more palatable the questionable interior. Just so, during these years, were the *disjecta membra* of one used-up Cabinet after another served up again and again for the consumption of the Chambers and the nation. Alone among the ruck of smaller men looms the grandiose figure of Crispi. He, at all events, was a man who knew his own mind, who would not forfeit his reputation by performing parliamentary antics in response to the wires pulled by professional intriguers. He acted on the belief that it was the business of a leader to lead, not merely to fill an official chair and draw an official salary. For a time there seemed to be some hope that his masterful rule would at least have the result of bringing into being a genuine ministerial party confronted by a genuine Opposition. But it was not to be. His disastrous conduct of the African adventure and the cost of an overweening ambition strained the resources and patience of the nation, and he fell execrated for the harshness with which he had stamped out anarchical and socialist risings, and his name smirched by half-proved imputations of personal rather than political dishonesty.

After him Di Rudini carried out the system of Depretis to its *ne plus ultra* of political profligacy: coming in as a member of the Right, to which he had belonged for more than twenty years, in six incarnations, consistent only in his inconsistency, he bargained in turn for the votes of every faction and every group, from the extreme Right to the uttermost Left, whose support might enable him to scramble along for an additional week or month of office without power; and finally he submitted—he a servant of the King—to be dictated to in the conduct of the general elections by the revolutionary republican sect whose mouthpiece was Cavallotti, whose chief tenet was the abolition of the monarchy, and who were even then laying the train of powder that exploded in Milan. He fell at last, unrespected and unpitied, afraid to face a division in which almost all the Deputies who had in turn been recruited and betrayed by him would have voted against him; nor were the words in which Sonnino condemned his unhallowed system one whit too strong:

“It is not Di Rudini that can reconstitute a Liberal-Conservative party on a broad basis. After his flirtations with the revolutionary parties, and after having abandoned all his programmes of policy, he cannot claim our confidence, still less ask for exceptional powers. . . . I fear for the future of our representative form of government that corruption of the parliamentary system which is involved in the exaggeration of an all-invading power of Ministers. For I see that the heads of Cabinets look on the Ministry as a fort from which, when once they have established themselves in it, hoisting now one flag, now another, they can threaten and defy everything and everybody. . . . It will not do to raise the cry of ‘Crucify it! crucify it!’ against the Chamber, to win the favour of public opinion, which just now abhors our parliamentary system. A fine censor, indeed, of that system is Di Rudini, who has himself set the example of the most unnatural coalition, who in the last general election

has formally based himself on the recognition of groups and grouplets in the place of parties."

This is not the place to deal with the results to the nation of the action of Cabinets so constituted and so kept alive, of their legislation and administration, and it is hardly necessary to say that this schœnobatic mode of government has earned for itself the contempt and hatred of the nation. It is in deference to the popular demand that the Cabinet which on June 29 succeeded to that of Di Rudini is at least composed of men of one party. Whether its life will be long it is hard to say. It contains no men of marked distinction, and is opposed by many men of greater parliamentary reputation and greater debating ability, but it may well be hailed as an abandonment, if it be consistent to the conditions of its birth, of the Depretis system, and a return to the saner traditions of party government.

E. STRACHAN MORGAN.

## SOPHIA : A PERSON OF QUALITY.

### THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MILITANT CHAMPION OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS.

IN the year 1739 there appeared the first edition of a very remarkable pamphlet, of which only two copies are supposed to be now in existence. It was entitled :

*"Women not Inferior to Man, or a short and modest Vindication of the Natural Rights of the Fair Sex to a perfect equality of Power, Dignity, and Esteem with the Men."* Printed for John Hawkins at the Falcon, St. Paul's Churchyard. Price 1s. By Sophia : A Person of Quality."

Sophia was no half-hearted advocate, fed like an ordinary Miss on bread and butter, but a female knight-errant encased in an armour of logic, who entered sword in hand the enemy's country, and with scimitarlike thrusts attacked all castles of custom and prejudice in which her sister women were held captive and languished.

Never before or since have the claims of women been so boldly, nay, so aggressively advocated. Sophia's words are full of fire and passion, and so keenly does she feel the position of her sex that her tone has the ring of one stung by personal insult and injury. Her name, her life, and her personal surroundings are at present, and may, it is feared, remain for ever shrouded in mystery ; but her pamphlets show conclusively that her keen intelligence had pierced beyond the veil with which the folly and frivolity of her times had half hidden the subjection of her sex, and that her eagle vision saw that subjection and keenly resented it. For the majority of women of high social status, the early eighteenth century would seem to have been a time of frivolous unrest. In town or at the fashionable spas of Bath or Tunbridge Wells, either as actors or spectators, they fluttered like unresting moths around treacherous flames that too often destroyed them. Personal conquest, cards with high stakes, Court gossip, intrigue—political and otherwise ; such were the chosen amusements eagerly sought for by both sexes. But, amid all the hurrying and changing scene, it is evident that in the hearts of many women there was growing up the desire of something more satisfying and elevating than the unwholesome trash, akin to garbage, on which

they were feeding. Here and there a woman struck out for herself a path in literature, and, possibly to prevent failure, stooped to conquer by pandering to the depraved tastes of the age. It was not possible for the licentious freedom so prevalent to leave women unsullied. The sexes in the aggregate ever rise or sink together. The only approved paths for women, whether inclined for celibacy or not, were marriage, courtesanship, or a yet more degraded walk in life; for then philanthropy as a science was unborn, and literature but in embryo. The more intelligent took a keen interest in the national wars and the struggles and intrigues of parties, but they were all more or less domestic bondswomen, dependent on the wills or caprices of their masters, fortunate only when their special lord proved himself kind and honourable. Unfaithfulness was common, and unfaithfulness ever carries in its train a host of other miseries.

Mary Astell was in her grave, and her proposals for the establishment of colleges in which women might receive a superior education and devote themselves to study if so inclined seemed as dead as herself. No steps had been taken to ameliorate the condition of women. It is not surprising that when Sophia felt herself impelled to come forward as their champion, she could see no way of temporising or of untying the Gordian knot that held her sisters fast, but by fearlessly claiming equality.

Strange to say, she reserved to men a prerogative to the offices of religion; but the one door which Sophia did not see her way to ask to be opened for her sex was being entered by Selina, Countess of Huntingdon. The Countess was already passing beyond the mere devotion of service (which was then, as now, permitted and encouraged for women) to that of dictator and founder of a sect. Later on she declared herself not in sympathy with such women as were trying to invade the province of man. In this she did but resemble many of the women of to-day, who, having grasped power for themselves or secured a vocation, see no reason why other avenues need be opened than the ones through which they have been fortunate enough to enter. Before her conversion to religion the Countess figured as no mean asserter of her rights, as the following, taken from the letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, will show:

"At the last warm debate in the House of Lords, it was unanimously resolved that there should be no crowd of unnecessary auditors, consequently the fair sex were excluded, and the gallery destined to the sole use of the House of Commons. Notwithstanding which determination, a tribe of dames resolved to show on this occasion that neither men nor law could resist them. These heroines were Lady Huntingdon, the Duchess of Queensberry, the Duchess of Ancaster, Lady Westmoreland, Lady Cobham, Lady Charlotte Edwin, Lady Archibald Hamilton and her daughter, Mrs. Scott, Mrs. Pendarves (afterwards Mrs. Delany), and Lady Francis Saunderson."

The ladies stood from half-past ten in the morning until five in

the afternoon "without bite or sup, and carried their point." It is just possible these ladies were animated by something beyond the mere determination to hear an interesting debate. They may have remembered how, bit by bit, masculine domination was arrogating to itself every parliamentary privilege, so that Sir Edward Coke had even objected to women being admitted as witnesses before the House of Commons. Whatever the motive, this is clear, that these ladies of title and position were determined not to be excluded from hearing the debates of the House of Lords.

The immediate motive which Sophia says impelled her to write her treatise was an article which appeared in September 1789 in a periodical called *Common Sense*. It would seem, however, that a spirit had been moving over the face of the waters, for the July number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* contained an article which held up Semiramis, Queen Elizabeth, and Boadicea as examples of women who were above the petty concerns with which women too frequently troubled themselves. They were "women who preferred public safety to private conquests." The *Craftsman* of the same year urged "to make women as useful and capable of maintaining themselves as the men, and prevent them becoming old maids." This was followed by a vigorous article in favour of women being educated as self-supporting, urging "that such a training would subject them to less risks from men than the ordinary boarding-school girl had to encounter."

As Sophia's pamphlet and the reply thereto by "A Gentleman" also appeared in 1789, it is evident that both must have been thrown off hastily—indeed, they bear evidence of having been written under the heat of passion. *Common Sense* was a periodical of which the editor had thus defined the scope:

"It would be endless for me to enumerate the various branches of the Court of Common Sense. 'Homines' comprehends not only all men but all women too. The conduct of the fair sex will therefore come under my consideration."

Soon afterwards there appeared an article entitled "The Province of Women," which began by asserting the universality of man's province:

"Man's province is universal and comprehends everything, from the culture of the earth to the government of it. . . . Women are not formed for great cares, but to soothe and soften ours. . . . Should some lady of spirit, unjustly offended at these restrictions, ask what province I leave to their sex, I answer that I leave to them whatever has not been peculiarly assigned to ours. I leave them a mighty empire, Love."

The article concludes with the advice that such women as possess talents should conceal them with great care. "The graces of women should be trimmed to the strength of men."

The only witness she desires is plain undisguised truth ;

"but possession has empowered men to make violence take the place of justice. . . . She will examine whether there be any essential difference between the sexes which can authorise the superiority the men claim over the women. . . . Men, if asked, would be unanimous in declaring we were made for their use; that we were only fit to breed and nurse children, to mind household affairs, and to obey, serve, and please our tyrannical masters.

"Woman, the toys of men, the slaves of lust,  
Are but mere moulds to form men's outward crust.  
The heavenly spark that animates the clay,  
Of the Prime Essence that effulgent Ray,  
'The ennobling soul is all to man confined,  
Not meanly squandered on weak womankind.'

"All this is very fine, and amid a seraglio of slaves could not but sound mighty well in the mouth of an Ishmaelite."

Sophia readily appreciates and gives due weight to the services rendered to the community by the pains and perils of maternity, and questions whether women do not deserve from their

"disinterested employ in the nursing of men a first place in civil society. . . . Princes are supposed to have the greatest toil and care for the commonweal, therefore more or less respect is paid to the Sovereign. Soldiers stand as a bulwark between us and our enemies, therefore they are preferred more than gownsmen. By the same rule (of pre-eminence of service) women should be entitled to the greatest share of public esteem. . . . Men can dispense with princes, merchants, soldiers, lawyers, &c., as they did in the beginning of time and as savages do still. But can they do without nurses? Such the generous offices we do them. Such the ungenerous returns they make us! Men are rewarded for taming tigers and elephants; shall women be neglected for spending years in taming that fiercer animal, Man? Such services done by us are too little valued, being so frequent and usual. Because women fulfil the duties of maternity so well, no ways proves us unqualified to execute any other.

"What I have hitherto said has not been with an intention to stir up any of my sex to revolt against the men. I only mean to show my sex that they are not so despicable as the men would have them believe themselves, and that we are capable of as much greatness of soul as the best of that haughty species, and I am fully convinced that it would be to the joint interest of each to think so. . . . Had we the same advantages for study allowed us which the men have, there is no room to doubt but we should at least keep pace with them in the sciences and every branch of useful knowledge. It can only, then, be a dastardly meanness in them to exclude us from those advantages."

"'Tis Man's with knowledge to expand the Soul,  
To wing the eagle flight from pole to pole.  
'Tis his to pierce antiquity's dark gloom,  
And the still thicker shades of time to come.  
'Tis his to guide the ponderous helm of State,  
And bear alone all Wisdom's solid weight.

\* \* \* \* \*

While Woman's only science is to move  
The fondling passions and the baby love.  
Be this her doom—  
Fix'd to the toilette, spinet, and loom."

Sophia sneers at the blind way in which "Custom is accepted in science, religion, philosophy," &c. But for custom,

"an Amazon with her helmet on her head, animating her embattled troops, would have been no more a matter of surprise than a milliner behind a counter with a thimble on her finger, or than a peer of Great Britain playing with his Garter."

It is custom alone which has debarred woman from office, and made her appearance in office a singularity. She declared that even in those days there were "many ladies more capable of teaching the sciences than those men who filled the university chairs," and she cites among learned women two who had died in that decade—Constantia Grierson and Elizabeth Rowe—the former a woman of very humble birth but most remarkable genius, who died at the early age of twenty-seven years. Lord Carteret, in recognition of her services to literature, obtained for her husband a patent in which her name was inserted, appointing him King's Printer in Ireland, an office which continued in her family till a very recent period.

But to return to Sophia :

"Why, then, are we not so fit to learn and teach the sciences, at least to our own sex, as men fancy themselves to be? It can only, then, be a mean, dastardly jealousy in them to exclude us from those advantages in which we have so natural a right to emulate them. The pretext that study and learning would make women proud and vain is pitiful, capricious, and of a piece with their practice. For true knowledge and solid learning must, cannot but, make *women* as well as *men* both more humble and more virtuous. It must be owned if a little superfine knowledge has rendered some of our sex vain, it has equally rendered some of theirs insupportable. . . . England by repeated experience has learnt how much happier a kingdom is when under the protection and rule of a *woman* than it can hope to be under the government of a man. . . . It is impossible ever to govern subjects rightly without knowing as well what they are as what they seem, which the men can never be supposed to do while they force women to live in constant masquerade."

Sophia does not shrink from pressing her demand for equality into what in the present day women are content to regard as the peculiar province of men—viz., military government. But we must remember that the spectacle of a woman commanding an army was not an event so remote from Sophia's age as it is from ours. She did not need to go back to Boadicea for an example. The Plantagenet kings, when going abroad, often placed the military as well as the civil and judicial power of the kingdom in the hands of their queens. Margaret of Anjou fought twelve pitched battles in her husband's defence. If Joan of Arc was a visionary, not such was Isabella of Castile—Isabella who sold her jewels to find money for Columbus—her capacity "was as great in military matters as in civil affairs." According to a recent writer,

"she took personal command of the army in the war with Granada which resulted in the annihilation of the Mussulman power in Spain. She rode with her troops in the face of the enemy, wearing mail armour; she cared, with practical forethought worthy of our own humane century, for the sick and wounded."

Much of this may have been in Sophia's mind, for she goes on to say :

"Why may not she (woman) be as capable of heading an army as a Parliament, and of commanding at sea as reigning on land? What should hinder her from holding the helm of a fleet with the same steadiness and safety as that of a nation? And why may she not exorcise her soldiers, draw up her troops in battle array, and divide her forces into battalions on land, squadrons at sea, &c. &c., with the same pleasure she would have in seeing it to be done? The military art has no mystery in it beyond others which women cannot attain to. A woman is as capable as a man of making herself by means of a map acquainted with the good and bad ways, the dangerous and safe passes, and the proper situations for encampment, &c. Persuasion, heat, and example are the soul of victory, and women can show as much eloquence, heat, and intrepidity when their honour is at stake as to attack or defend a town. . . . Men educated in sloth and softness are weaker than women, and women hardened by necessity are often more robust than men. . . . A Marlborough perhaps might have routed an army with more ease than he could have wrestled with the meanest of his soldiers. . . . I insist there is no science or public office in a State which women are not as much qualified for by Nature as the ablest of men; but with regard to divinity, our natural capacity has been restrained by a positive law of God."

Here Sophia cannot resist poking one of her occasional bits of fun :

"Why? God undoubtedly knew the general tendency of the men to *impiety* and *irreligion*, and therefore might He not confine the functions of religion to that sex to attract some of them at least to those duties which they are so prone to dislike? Especially as the natural propensity of our sex to virtue and religion made it unnecessary to add those external helps to his divine grace. . . . Thus does it arrive too often that men and women hold each other in sovereign contempt, and therefore vie with each other which shall treat the other worst; whereas how happy they might be would both sexes but resolve to give one another that just esteem which is their due. But while men lock up all the avenues to knowledge they cannot without reproach to themselves blame us for any misconduct which ignorance may be the occasion of, and we cannot but accuse them of the most cruel injustice in disesteeming and misusing us for faults they deprive us of the power of correcting."

Sophia concludes her first pamphlet thus :

"In a word, let us show them, by what little we do without aid in education, the much we might do if they did us justice, that we may force a blush from them (if possible) and compel them to confess their own baseness to us, and that the worst of us deserve much better treatment than the best of us receive."

In this, her first pamphlet, Sophia had insisted that women were not inferior to men in intellectual capacity, but that men had failed

to recognise or to do justice to the abilities of women. She maintained that women were well qualified to govern, to teach the sciences to undertake public offices, and that even in military and naval matters they possessed all the necessary qualities for command. Her contention was that capacity should never be excluded from ruling, no matter which sex possessed it, and we are slowly but surely pressing towards such a goal, though we have to press forward through much obloquy and insult. We have now that which Sophia had doubtless seen—viz., the highest estate of the realm in the hands of a woman. We have now (a sight which would have gladdened her and doubtless modulated the asperity of her tone) colleges in which women teach the sciences. We have women journalists, women inspectors, and in the work of local government and educational administration we have from fourteen to fifteen hundred women engaged in fulfilling their citizen duties. And if we have not women military and naval commanders, we have had ever since the days of the Crimean War the services of women gladly given and gladly accepted towards assuaging the horrors of warfare. Women as a rule, unless urged by high and holy principles, abhor warfare, and Sophia's argument was less that women should claim these offices than that there was nothing in their sex to disqualify them for such. "Remove the stigma of inferiority" was Sophia's cry; a cry that has been repeated by the women of this century. Much of the public work done by them in recent years has been done with the object of proving that they are not inferior in capacity. "Woman's duties," says Count Tolstoi, "are domestic, but man has been in the wrong from time immemorial in forcing her to keep her place. *Set her free!* and she will come back and do voluntarily and as an equal the same work which she used to do as a slave and a drudge." The Count's utterance is full of wisdom, common sense, and noble appreciation of womanhood.

Sophia's militant pamphlet brought forth an immediate reply, *Man Superior to Woman*. It was published in the same year, also in pamphlet form, and signed "By a Gentleman." It is a curious circumstance that, though this warfare of the sexes was set going by a magazine article, neither in that magazine nor any of the current periodicals of the day, as far as the writer of this article has knowledge (with the exception of *The Champion*, June 3, 1740, edited by H. Fielding, which calls Sophia's attention to a pamphlet just published, called *Woman Unmasked*, and styles her the championess of her sex), was there any notice of or comment on it beyond a business advertisement in 1740 in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. This is the more remarkable when we bear in mind how eagerly everything was seized upon which contained capital for diversion. Surely Sophia had given good measure, pressed down and brimming over, for ridicule. The real name of the "Gentleman" is hidden.

in as much obscurity as that of "The Person of Quality." If any apology were needed for the stinging shafts, cutting satire, reproaches and asperities of Sophia, ample justification is given by the fact that the age produced a writer of ability who, using the name of "Gentleman," would utter such low coarse abuse, or advance such degrading notions of womankind. The reply is written with a pen dipped in venom and is loaded with disgusting innuendoes. Much of it is beneath criticism, and thus Sophia in her rejoinder evidently treated it. The presumption of equality as heralded by Sophia is compared to the ambition of Lucifer. Lucifer strove for equality and lost all.

"In justice to ourselves and for the instruction of them, to show them that it has been owing to our own generosity more than any right they can claim, that we have not hitherto treated them only as our less useful selves. . . . It is easy to trace the analogy between the revolt of the ambitious spirits against the Heavenly Sovereign and the rebellion to which Sophia's doctrine may incite the rest of her sex against the natural lords to whom God made them subject here on earth. . . . Now let any one affirm, if truth will permit, that they were ever treated in any other nation made up of both sexes upon a better footing than inferior subjects, but only at best to be the upper servants in their families. This is the light in which they have always been reared here in England, the place in the world where the fair sex is most regarded and perhaps deserves most to be. . . . In China they are confined to see no one but their husbands and children, and have their feet kept small from gadding." In Turkey they are pampered prisoners at best.

It will not do to quote for him Amazons and the virago tribes of Scythia.

"It is plain to demonstration that the state of subordination in which woman is to man must have been dictated by at least reason and prudence. . . . The unsearchable wisdom of Him who had it in his power of the same lump to make one vessel to Honour, another to Dishonour. . . . But having formed him of the dust of the earth, that he might have something in common with the creatures he was made to command, the Lord found that alloy too strong for the perfection he designed to give him, and therefore extracted from the rest of his body whatever he found mean, imperfect, and savouring too much of the animal, and confined it to a single rib; which had undoubtedly been annihilated, but for the wisdom of this all-thoughtful contriver, which is capable of assigning a use to the most worthless things in themselves."

Thus "the rib, the sink of all defects," was shaped into woman.

This is followed by the ingenious argument that, woman having been formed out of a rib, "Man is still the last complete creature which issued from the hands of God."

It is difficult for us in these days to understand the force which the "rib" argument possessed a century and a half ago—when, except to a few scholars, every word in the Bible was regarded as inspired.

The article is at times ferocious, a fact of which the writer seems perfectly oblivious :

"If I had a mind to be severe, I could tell them that it is owing to our generosity that we give them any place at all, and that nothing but the want of power to annihilate them, or to create a lower degree for them, can excuse our leaving them in possession even of the lowest place in society."

"Yet I do not believe it absolutely impossible for a woman to have a true courage, animated by real virtue, but I look upon such a woman as a miracle out of the common course of nature. As such I consider the immortal Boadicea, and as such I profoundly revere the more immortal Sophia when she tells me she could, with more ease and less repugnance, dare the frowns and fury of an already victorious army, which she had forces to resist, than she could stoop to court the smiles of a corrupt Minister whom she had reason to despise. . . . Sentiments so like my own compel me to believe her, though a woman, and I admire (I had almost said adore) her for them."

He agrees with his fair antagonist that the virtuous are always timid,

"but no conclusion must be drawn from that till Sophia can make it appear that the timid are always virtuous. . . . Women are qualified for nothing except that for which they are given us, that is, the propagation of human nature."

Then follows a contrast :

"Man, created by God to rule this vast universe, was by his Maker endowed with a soul equal to the task. His body is strong, his mind vigorous, and his heart resolute ; his understanding is fitted for the most sublime speculations, and his person for the most hardy and important exercises. He can dive into the utmost secrets of nature without losing himself, and has art enough to copy her noblest works and to improve the great original. He wants neither fancy to invent nor genius to contrive. With quickness to apprehend and memory to retain, he has judgment to discern, and can, by distinguishing and comparing different ideas, form the greatest designs. Happy in a genius for the most glorious enterprises, he has both courage and conduct sufficient to execute them. For he is not only qualified by his intellectual capacity to be greatly wise, but naturally prompted to be truly good. In short, virtue and wisdom are the epitome of his character when woman interferes not to corrupt it."

The "Gentleman" then concludes with a sketch of an ideal Angelina, who is supposed to represent the height of womanly perfection :

"Whenever she treats of learning, it is in the manner which shows rather a desire of receiving information than a consciousness of being able to afford it. The books she reads are such only as can assist her judgment and refine her morals, the choice of which she ever depends upon her husband for. . . . Let them apply their little talents at least to emulate us, that, pleased with the pretty mimics of ourselves, we may venture to place them in our bosoms without fear of cherishing a viper there."

"That of all plagues the greatest is untold,  
 The book-learn'd wife, in Greek and Latin bold;  
 The entre-dame who at her table sits,  
 Homer and Virgil quotes, and weighs their wits,  
 And pities Dido's agonising fits.

I hate a wife to whom I go to school;  
 Who climbs the Grammar Tree, distinctly knows  
 Where noun and verb and participle grows;  
 Corrects her country neighbours, and abed  
 For breaking Priscian, breaks her husband's head."

The question now arises, who was this "Gentleman" from whose Reply we should have liked to have taken more copious extracts, and whose contemptuous estimate of woman was only exceeded by its gross coarseness? The opinions and the style suggest Pope! Is it possible that we have in these pamphlets a continuation of the feud between the poet and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu? There is much internal evidence to support such a theory. If so, their quarrel had widened from that of a personal to the more interesting but no less intense one of sex. It is easy to understand that both these writers would, for a time at any rate, desire the mask of anonymity. Pope so launched his *Dunciad* and many other works. Lady Mary, though not insensible to a posthumous fame, practically published nothing in her lifetime, the nearest approach to publication being her famous *Turkish Letters*, which were copied for private circulation in 1724, with a preface by Mary Astell. Pope was not deficient in kindness to many, but his writings prove that he could be suspicious, spiteful, venomous, and coarse, and Lady Mary was, after their quarrel, ever as a red rag before him. Mr. Leslie Stephen thus sketches some of the poet's attributes:

"Language about women, sometimes describing coarse contempt, and sometimes rising to ferocity, the reaction of his morbid sensibility under real or imagined scorn. . . . He threw filth at random, and his abuse was a sheer piece of Billingsgate."

If Lady Mary were Sophia, she had every reason to guard her *incognita*. She left England in July 1739, and may have thought it a good opportunity for publication. The pamphlet appeared soon after her departure. Was this a parting shot, not only at Pope, but at that "assuming sex" with which she must have had many a passage of arms, in which she had proved herself not alone the equal but the superior? Among her letters is one, in 1740, addressed to an anonymous Countess. Doubts have been thrown on its authenticity, possibly from the want of a clue as to the person to whom it was addressed. After alluding to "that wicked wasp of Twickenham" (Pope) it contains this mysterious paragraph: "I shall say some things to you in my next that I would have you to impart to

the *strange man* as from yourself. My mind is at present tolerably quiet."

There is little in this on which to hang a theory; but if the letter is genuine, and its authenticity seems only doubted because it did not appear until the 1767 edition (five years after her death), it gives us this certainty: that Lady Mary had a correspondent to whom she wrote freely about Pope, and that the anonymous Countess was acting as a go-between from Lady Mary to some person (publisher possibly) designated as a "strange man."

We shall now pass to Sophia's rejoinder, which appeared in 1740:

"When first I began to examine into the real talents of my sex in general, it was purely from a desire of improving them in myself to the full extent of the capacity I might possibly find myself gifted with from heaven, and though the prejudices I had imbibed from vulgar error falsely persuaded me that I should find the sphere which women are capable of acting in extremely narrow, I thought it a duty to know the province of our abilities. 'Usurped authority' over women had not been made 'venerable' through being 'ancient.' Nor will it suffice to say that because the subjection was an ancient, that it was a wise custom. The lawmakers were themselves *men*, and consequently interested in the usurpation. . . . What weight can their evidence have against the rights and liberties of women, which they had a prior interest in violating?"

#### Sophia finds

"much is irreparably lost through the indolence of some women not using their talents, and the mean tyranny of most men in putting it out of their power to improve those talents. . . . The impossibility of concealing with any honour such reflections as these, which so nearly concern the whole human species, and more particularly my own injured sex, was the grand motive which set me writing the little piece I lately communicated to the public under the title, *Woman not Inferior to Man*. . . . Where is the honesty or generosity in endeavouring to crush innocence and equity or palliate falsehood? Or where is the wit in labouring to stifle truth with fallacious witticism, merely to countenance barefaced oppression and tyranny. . . . ?

"However, the gentleman I have to oppose is not so easily put out of countenance, and, I find, resolved to omit nothing which could possibly answer his purpose of decrying the women. He has ransacked all the rubbish of antiquity, and plundered all the men of note who have in any age distinguished themselves by their mannish spleen against us. . . . To make such of any weight he should have shown the reasonableness of them. . . . The pacific disposition of womankind and the universal ease with which they support their subject condition, he urges as a plea to authorise the men's unjust usurpation of authority. So ungenerous is that assuming sex! and so dangerous is it for us to stoop to their weakness in anything! But does he imagine all the men to be so perverse as not to be reasoned into justice or generosity, or does he take all the women for such easy idiots as to be coaxed out of their natural rights by every fawning sycophant? . . . For my own part, I am resolved to show my adversary and all his sex that there is at least one woman capable of preferring truth to flattery, sense to sound, and who dares to assert her rights in the face of usurpation, though hardened by custom to tyranny. . . . They have

monopolised education and withheld it from women. To have been consistent, they should have withheld it from foolish men. . . . Education is the right of man though his faculties are inept."

**Sophia answers the Scriptural objection :**

"If I could think it lawful to be merry with Scripture subjects, I would make bold to retort his joke upon himself. I could easily show him how very forced is the jest he labours to divert us with, and how much more natural it is to conjecture that man was formed a mere rough draft of that finished creature woman. . . . I will not, however, carry the jest so far as my adversary thinks proper to do."

**But further on Sophia cannot resist a palpable hit :**

"Were we to express our conception of God, it would never enter into the heads of any of us to describe Him as a venerable old man. We have a more noble idea of Him than to compare Him to anything created."

She proceeds to show with much acuteness how much more immorality is spread by men than by women :

"What horror, foulness, and confusion must not the world be overrun with were not women in general infinitely more chaste than the men are ! . . . Woman was made for the glory of man if he copied after her, as she is his shame while he does not."

• "Men invented the pitiful artifice to confine women to trifles and then meanly turn it to base reflections on us. . . . Before little master is well breeched he is taught to lord it over his sisters; before he can well know what an estate is he is made sensible of being an heir to one; and all the relation he is taught to consider his sisters in is that he will have the payment of their fortunes at his own mercy. . . . Nay, it is a hundred to one if he is not informed, too, that when his father dies his very mother will in some measure be dependent on his honesty and good nature for the punctual payment of her jointure."

"In answer to the taunts of my adversary that women have a natural itch for talking, and the examples he gives of Greek and Roman women who could not keep secrets entrusted to them, his friend Tacitus has perpetuated the memory of Epicharis, whom all the cruelties of Nero could not induce to betray any of the secrets she was privy to in the conspiracy against him. . . . The Saxon women were a counterpart to those of Melita . . . and such as have been engaged in plots in this kingdom have shown as much fidelity to the trusts reposed in them as any of the Grecian or Roman ladies recorded by Plutarch, Tacitus, or other ancient historians. Let any one but look back at any of the State trials of former reigns, and they will find what numbers of dastardly squeakers there have been among the men; while neither pillory, whipping, nor hope of life or fear of death could ever extort a discovery from the *women* who were concerned with them. Was there not one exposed to the outrage of the populace in one? Were three not executed in another? and no less than fifteen excepted in a general amnesty? What light or help were the Government able to get from any of them by threats or promises? If such women had been happily embarked in the true interests of their country they would as nobly have sacrificed all their private hopes and fears to the faithful discharge of any trust reposed in them. . . . Angerona was so famous for her steadiness in keeping a secret that the Romans worshipped her for the Goddess of Silence."

After giving examples of chattering men, Sophia adds :

"If the Latin editor of Pindar was not an idle prater the men of Smyrna were all gossips. . . . Mean as is the notion my adversary entertains of women, I prefer his false censure to his invidious praise. . . . If all women are of my mind, the flattery of men will meet with a due scorn, till they show some honesty in restoring to us the dignity and esteem we have a natural, nay, superior right to. . . . If men lay aside for a minute the laws of their own making, they'll find it a difficult task to prove why a woman should obey her husband more than he his wife."

"And yet, notwithstanding the advantages which the men have engrossed to themselves and all the disadvantages they have laid women under, there needs but a common degree of observation to perceive that the case of the two sexes is like that of two brothers of the same parents; between whom this is the only great difference, the elder got the start in coming into the world, and the younger makes the best figure in it. . . . It has never been heard that a person, who, by ignorance, neglect, or the surprise of others, has fallen from his just right, may not try all lawful means to recover his property; and his incapacity of possession was never considered natural or civil. . . . Knowledge and truth are goods exempted from any prescription, and consequently so are the sciences by which they are to be attained. . . . It is more than plain that whenever the women have been upon any degree of equal advantage with the men, they have always, at least, run parallel with them in most things, and even outstripped them in some particulars. . . .

"Let such of my fair readers as think I have carried some things too far reflect that I have nowhere gone beyond the strictest rules of truth, and if I have too strongly pressed our rights to an equal share of power, dignity, and esteem with the men, and our natural capacity for surpassing them; I have, notwithstanding, never aimed at wresting the power they are in possession of out of their hands. In my former treatise, as in this, I have, indeed, endeavoured to inspire my sex to have that just esteem for themselves which is requisite to force the men to pay them that esteem which is their due. If any blame me for this, let them reflect on the advice of Pythagoras, 'Above all things be sure to have a due respect for yourself.' . . . I have nowhere been for the women departing from their character, but have aimed wholly at giving it its true lustre."

"Thanks to propitious Providence, the state of life I have been placed in has raised me above the reach of knaves, and blessed me with the liberty of shunning fools. The little acquaintance I have chosen to cultivate with any of that sex has ever been with men of sense, and those, for aught I have reason to believe, men of virtue too. Indeed, I have never had, and hope I never shall have, occasion to put to trial the honour and honesty of any but two, as I have never encouraged an intimacy with any but them, and their goodness is trial proof. One is Honorio, my guardian, and Claudio, who was my writing master, is the other."

Honorio, the guardian,

"was possessed of the quintessence of honour, unborrowed from titles, the excellence of his understanding and probity led rather than raised him to the peerage, the first of his illustrious ancestry rewarded with a coronet."

This is the only personal remark in the essay, and, if correct and not given to wilfully mislead, certainly demolishes any theory that

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was Sophia. Lady Mary had a husband and son, and therefore was not free of masculine ties.

The first essay is more marked than the second by scimitar shafts of wit, and is not free from just that vein of coarseness which occasionally appears in Lady Mary's writings. The later essay is more calmly written, shows less temper, but is equally able and decisive in opinion. The tone sounds from a higher level, and indicates just that retreat, reserve, and step upward which a modest woman would take when dealing with a none too fastidious adversary. The three essays were published as late as 1751 under the title of *Beauty's Triumph*. It is a noticeable fact that, though the woman's question had been touched on in more than one of the current periodicals of the day before the publication of *Woman not Inferior to Man*, afterwards there was an almost entire silence; possibly something of that conspiracy of silence under which women's questions even now languish. If Sophia's opponents had valour, they evidently regarded discretion as the better part of it.

Sophia was a fearless adversary, and she would seem to have affrighted the many. The subjection of women appeared to her mind and appealed to her heart in precisely the same manner that it did, more than a century later, to that more calm and logical, but equally generous champion, John Stuart Mill.

Sophia claimed that she had never passed the truth, and therefore appealed to her sex to have no fear that she had overstepped prudence. She lived in a cynical and sensual literary age addicted to false flattery. She left those weapons to men, and preferred hard hitting in the open, when she dealt with a problem which is as interesting to us on the verge of the twentieth century as it was to her in the eighteenth. Her large-hearted and passionate zeal for us deserves to be remembered.

This article should stimulate some with better opportunities than the writer to continue a search to discover her identity. On the walls of some stately home in England her portrait surely rests, and men and women pass it by, giving neither praise nor blame. This should not be. The loving eyes of women should be turned towards it. A century and a half of time have but made more clear the truths she advocated, even that central one (which she, writing anonymously, doubtless keenly felt) that women are too often forced to act in masquerade. She did her work, and she shares the fate of most pioneers, but she too bids us

"Follow after—follow after. We have watered the root,  
And the bud has come to blossom that ripens for fruit.  
Follow after—we are waiting, by the trails we have lost,  
For the sound of many footsteps, for the tread of a host.  
Follow after—follow after, for the harvest is sown,  
By the bones about the wayside ye shall come to your own."

HARRIETT McILQUHAM.

## SANITATION AND SMALL-POX.

As the new Vaccination Act may possibly give the opponents of vaccination the opportunity for testing their own theories for which they have long asked, it may be useful to consider what we have to face in the near future and to see what protection the public have to rely upon in the face of a probable outbreak of small-pox. Recent epidemics have shown us that we have nothing to expect from any beneficent change in the disease itself; when it has the opportunity it can be as malignant, as infectious, and as fatal as it ever was. To what have we to look to check its diffusion?

There are only two means suggested, outside vaccination, by which it is confidently hoped by some that its diffusion may be prevented—these are sanitation and isolation. Though in these days isolation is looked upon as a part of sanitary science, it ought to be considered distinct from sanitation in general; for one reason, it has only been adopted in practice in recent years, and therefore could not have contributed to the enormous decline in small-pox which took place before its introduction. It is also doubtful whether many towns and townships in the kingdom are even yet prepared effectively to isolate every case of small-pox which may appear in them, and even if so, the best laid schemes may be defeated and the infection get at large from small-pox patients who are not properly isolated.

We shall, therefore, in this paper only consider sanitation properly so-called; and by sanitation we mean personal and public cleanliness, an efficient drainage system, and an adequate supply of pure water. The dissentient members of the Royal Commission on Vaccination describe what they meant by sanitation in almost similar terms; they say: "In speaking of sanitation we use the word in its widest sense; we are not speaking merely of drainage improvements, but we include the prevention of overcrowding on areas, or within houses and rooms, the proper construction of dwellings, so as to permit thorough ventilation, the promotion of cleanliness by adequate water supply, and the prompt removal of filth accumulations."

Confining ourselves then to sanitation proper, we shall try to find out if improvements in sanitation have caused or largely contributed to the decline of small-pox, and whether there is evidence that the prevalence of small-pox generally at certain times—say

in England in the last century, for instance—and in recent epidemics in particular, can be attributed to the absence of sanitation.

We are strong advocates for sanitation, and welcome every advance in the direction of it that is made; we readily admit that sanitary improvements have raised the general health, have reduced the death-rates, have saved us from repetitions of the cholera epidemics of former years and other evils. At the same time it is at least wise to try to determine within what limits, if any, its influence can act; and whether it can be relied upon to exterminate small-pox as it has exterminated cholera, and as no doubt it would exterminate enteric fever if it were perfect in every place and at all times.

And it ought to be remembered that other causes have assisted in promoting the general healthiness of the people besides those which may strictly be called sanitary. Amongst these causes are the decrease in the cost of food and the general raising of wages, in consequence of which the bulk of the labouring classes are much better fed than they used to be; the shortening of the hours of labour; the regulation of the employment of children, universal education with healthy school premises, the spread of temperance, and other causes, some of which are not so apparent.

We think that, often enough, sufficient credit is not given to the first fact mentioned—that the people are much better fed than they were fifty years ago and more. People who are comparatively well fed can stand the effects of harder work, can resist the influences of weather, dirt, and bad air much better than those who are not so well fed. A great deal of the improved healthiness of the people is probably due to this cause alone. In a much lesser degree, but no doubt in some degree, the same cause helps people, especially children, to resist the attacks of special diseases, perhaps even such diseases as typhoid fever and small-pox; but this is not so certain, as in some cases robust health does not seem to confer any protection or immunity.

When small-pox was prevalent in the last century, and no special means of protection were in use, scarcely any one appears to have escaped. The relative risk of an attack must in the first instance depend, all other things being equal, upon the risk of exposure to infection. Where there is no exposure there is no risk. No matter how insanitary the state of a population may be, small-pox has never been known to arise spontaneously; and so, in an isolated community where there is no small-pox, it will never occur until it is introduced.

Leaving out vaccination, isolation, and other things which affect or are alleged to affect the diffusion of small-pox, we will for the present confine our inquiry to sanitation. This paper makes no claim to be a complete survey of the subject, but it may suggest further inquiry.

As to the theory that insanitary conditions are responsible for the prevalence of small-pox and for occasional epidemics, it is scarcely necessary to prove that it is generally held by anti-vaccinators, and that practically "sanitation" is the only thing that now comes into the field as a rival to vaccination. But we may as well give the opinions of a few opponents of vaccination. The opinion in its crudest form is stated by Mr. John Pickering, of Leicester, in a pamphlet on *The Small-pox Epidemic in Gloucester*, 1896. This gentleman submits for the consideration of the reader a series of propositions, the first of which runs: "That infection, in its natural form, is invariably produced by uncleanness of person, house, or surroundings, and that infection is a law of nature punitive in its character."

We do not know exactly what this means, but we can see what is intended.

Dr. Alfred Russell Wallace, in *Vaccination a Delusion*, says, "Among the greatest self-created scourges of civilised humanity are the group of zymotic diseases, or those which arise from infection." After naming the best known of these diseases, including small-pox, he continues, "The conditions which specially favour these diseases are foul air and water, decaying organic matter and other unwholesome surroundings, whence they have been termed 'filth diseases.'"

Mr. A. W. Hutton says: "Small-pox is known to be a dirt disease, one that haunts ill-drained, ill-ventilated, and uncleaned tenements."

A well-known anti-vaccinationist lecturer says: "Small-pox is a sewer malaria and insanitation is at the bottom of it."

We could multiply such expressions of opinion, but it is unnecessary. "Sanitation" is the anti-vaccinator's card, and it is based upon the theory that small-pox is either caused or propagated by insanitary conditions and can be exterminated by the removal of those conditions. This is the theory. We ask for evidence, and evidence of a kind is freely offered us; which generally amounts to this and no more—that when an epidemic of small-pox occurs the anti-vaccinators cry out "insanitation," call it a "filth disease," a "sewer malaria," and swear that there must be something wrong with the drains!

A favourite form of this kind of argument is to compare Leicester with Gloucester. In 1893 Leicester had an outbreak of small-pox, and Gloucester in 1896 an epidemic of far greater severity. Since then, Leicester, with the anti-vaccinators, is almost as blessed a name as Mesopotamia was with the traditional old lady. The limited extent and mildness of the outbreak in Leicester in 1893 they assert was due to the clean condition of the town, while the severity of the Gloucester epidemic was occasioned by the "total neglect" of sanitation and isolation. We dealt with the case of Gloucester in a former article,<sup>1</sup> and showed how unfounded such a

<sup>1</sup> THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, June 1897.

statement is. Since the publication of that article, Dr. Sidney Coupland's report on the epidemic in Gloucester has been published, and we are glad to find that eminent authority justifies all we said. But beside the Gloucester report, Dr. Coupland's Leicester report is also now in our hands, and a careful study of it does not show us that in the matter of sanitation Leicester was in any way in advance of Gloucester. We shall not discuss the question of the rival merits of these two places, but taking the general death-rate as a test of healthiness the advantage is on the side of Gloucester. The general death-rate in Gloucester for the ten years preceding the epidemic of 1896 was only seventeen; while that of Leicester for the ten years preceding the outbreak of 1893 was nineteen. After that no one can say that Gloucester is not as healthy as Leicester.

Dr. Wallace in *Vaccination a Delusion* instances London, and "proves" his case by a diagram (I) which, so he says, shows that small-pox goes up and down with the increase or decrease of sanitation, with the general death-rate, and other zymotic diseases.

This is worth examination. The Commissioners, in their *Final Report*, say

"that there is no proof that sanitary improvements were the main cause of the decline of small-pox";

and further that

"no evidence is forthcoming to show that during the first quarter of the century these improvements differentiated that quarter from the last quarter or half of the preceding century in any way at all comparable to the extent of the differentiation of small-pox."

To these declarations of the Commissioners Dr. Wallace replies:

"To the accuracy of these statements I demur in the strongest manner. There is proof that sanitary improvements were the main cause of this decline of small-pox early in the century—viz., that the other zymotic diseases as a whole showed a simultaneous decline to a nearly equal amount, while the general death-rate showed a decline to a much greater amount, both admittedly due to improved hygienic conditions, since there is no other known cause of the diminution of disease; and that the Commissioners altogether ignore these two facts affords, to my mind, a convincing proof of their incapacity to deal with this statistical question.

"And as to the second point, I maintain that there is ample direct evidence, for those who look for it, of great improvements in the hygienic conditions of London quite adequate to account for the great decline in the general mortality, and therefore equally adequate to account for the lesser declines in zymotic diseases and in small-pox, both of which began in the last century, and only became somewhat intensified in the first quarter of the present century."<sup>1</sup>

If the story ended there, or if the succeeding chapters told the same tale, it would look as if Dr. Wallace had something like a case. But, unfortunately for Dr. Wallace's theory, and unfortunately for

<sup>1</sup> *Vaccination a Delusion*, pp. 38, 39.

the inhabitants of London, it did not end there. The next chapter was a very different one. It is referred to by Dr. Wallace in the continuation of the sentence just quoted—"only to be followed, twenty years later, by a complete check, or even a partial rise." This second period therefore begins about 1845, and is thus explained by Wallace :

"In 1845 began the great development of our railway system, and with it the rapid growth of London from a population of 2,000,000 in 1844 to one of 4,000,000 in 1884. This rapid growth of population was at first accompanied with overcrowding, and as no adequate measures of sanitation were then provided, the conditions were prepared for that increase in zymotic disease which constitutes so remarkable a feature of the London death-rates between 1848 and 1866."<sup>1</sup>

This is in accordance with the facts, though, if the sanitary conditions of London were so bad after 1845, one wonders how they could have been so very good before 1825 ; but we will let that pass.

These sentences of Dr. Wallace's scarcely convey a sufficient idea of the insanitary condition of London during the period to which he refers—1845—1865. It may be interesting to look at the picture a little more in detail, and ample evidence is to be found of the insanitary condition of London during this period, which also shows that there was much more than overcrowding to account for the rise in the death-rates.

Without having to look very far for something to throw light upon the subject, we took the first that came to hand, in the shape of a copy of the *Illustrated London News* for September 24, 1853. The first article in this paper is "What London Requires for the Prevention of Cholera." Its general object is a plea for the better government of London, but its suggestions are sufficiently informing :

"Now that cholera is in the land, the warnings of sanitary reformers are found to have been entitled to more respect than they have received. Local functionaries think it possible that there may be danger to the public health in dirt, stench, and malaria. . . . It is easy to see that all which can now be done will fall very far short of what the circumstances require. There will be a house-to-house visitation of the densest and most unwholesome parts of the metropolis. Overcrowded lodging-houses will be compelled to disgorge a portion of the superabundant misery, beggary, and vice that crawls into them to rot and fester, like maggots in thick corruption. Reeking alleys will receive a scanty but welcome ablution ; squalid tenements will be whitewashed ; pigsties will be removed from their disgusting contiguity to the sleeping apartments where tramps and vagrants do all they can to imitate the habits of the animals with which they are so often found to associate. A few cesspools will be cleansed and a few drains will be flushed."

The same article proceeds to refer to the Parliamentary Commission then sitting to inquire and report upon the state of the Corporation of London, with a view to its reform, and says :

<sup>1</sup> Wallace, p. 37.

"It did not need the cholera to inform two millions and a quarter of people that are congregated together on the northern and southern banks of the Thames that, for want of a central and complete authority, the science of public health was practically unknown and almost utterly disregarded. But perhaps the visitation of the pestilence will impress the fact with sufficient distinctness upon the public mind, and enlist public opinion on behalf of the only remedy sufficiently large to cope with evils whose name is legion. . . . London requires an abundant and cheap supply of water, not only to the rich, but to the poorest of the poor; a complete system of drainage; the purification and embankment of the noble stream that now runs through it, bearing miasma on its tide."<sup>1</sup>

And so it goes on with a list of evils which needed to be abated.

These lines suggest what London was like less than fifty years ago, when "the science of public health was practically unknown and almost utterly disregarded;" the words are not ours, but those of a contemporary writer. It is not without reason, then, that Dr. Wallace says, as we have quoted above, that the decline in the death-rates shown in the first quarter of the century "met with a complete check or even a partial rise twenty years later." Only, what he calls a partial rise in the death-rates during this period we should call a very serious rise.

If, then, Dr. Wallace is right about the decline of small-pox in London during the first quarter of the century being due to hygienic improvements, we should naturally expect that the reversal of these conditions would have brought about a revival of small-pox as well a rise in the general death-rate, corresponding also with "that increase in zymotic disease which constitutes so remarkable a feature" of this period.

We turn to his diagram to see if this corresponding rise in the small-pox death-rate occurred, and, may we say, to our surprise—a surprise caused only by Dr. Wallace's confidence in his own theory—it did not occur. Dr. Wallace may say what he likes, but without he has blundered in his diagram, there was no increase of small-pox, but *it continued to decline*. From 1848 to 1866 it was lower than it had ever been before, and in some years was remarkably low. The average death-rate from small-pox in the ten years 1841–1850 was 40 to the 100,000 living; from 1851 to 1860 it was only 28; and from 1861 to 1870 it was 27. Which shows a fall of 30 per cent. within the period under consideration. In the year 1853, in which the *Illustrated London News* article was written, it actually fell to 9, and in 1858 to 6.<sup>2</sup>

But during this thirty years the general death-rate was at least 25 per cent. higher than it was between 1820 and 1830, when the small-pox death-rate was more than double. That is to say, the general death-rate had increased 25 per cent., and the small-pox death-rate had decreased more than 50 per cent. And yet we are

<sup>1</sup> See also Dr. Farr, *Vital Statistics*, p. 341.

<sup>2</sup> Final Report—Table p. 32.

asked to believe that the death-rate in both cases is affected by the same general causes.

These facts evidently entirely overthrow Dr. Wallace's hypothesis, for the small-pox death-rate ought to have risen with the other death-rates and the insanitary deterioration of London. Dr. Wallace is so convinced of the necessity of this for the vindication of his theory that, in the face of his own tell-tale diagram and the figures given above, he actually says it did. With a supreme disregard for facts that almost compels our admiration, he says:

"This rise was equally marked in small-pox as in other diseases, and thus proved, as clearly as anything can be proved, that its decline and fluctuations are in no way dependent upon vaccination, but are due to causes of the same general nature as in the case of other diseases."<sup>1</sup>

We have given up this discrepancy between Dr. Wallace's diagram and his text as an insoluble puzzle. He is not the kind of man we can suspect of bad faith; but there it is, and perhaps he can explain it; we cannot.

After the above was written Dr. Wallace's attention was called to this point, and the only explanation he has to offer is that we omit to *average* the *great epidemic* with the preceding ten years. A delay in the printing of this paper has given us an opportunity of considering this criticism. We can only ask what has the epidemic of 1871 to do with the deaths from small-pox which occurred during the previous thirty years? It did not make them any more than they actually were. You may include an epidemic in an average, but it is an occurrence by itself, and the death-rate during an epidemic is distinguished by its being in excess of the average. For purely statistical purposes Dr. Farr averages the epidemic of 1871 with the *next* and not the preceding ten years, but this does not suit Dr. Wallace. But even this is misleading. The small-pox death-rate in London in 1871 was 242 (per 100,000 living), in 1873 it was 3, in 1874 it was 2, and in 1875 it was 1; an average between 242 and 1 bears no relation to the actual facts.

But, for the sake of argument, we will grant Dr. Wallace all he asks, and more than he asks; we will take the period of thirty-four years, beginning with the epidemic of 1838 and ending with the epidemic of 1871, and throw in both epidemics, and even then the average for the whole period is still only 44, or about half of that of the period with which we are comparing it, when the general death-rate was at its lowest.

We have thus two London periods brought before us. The first quarter of the century, when (we are following Dr. Wallace) small-pox declined in a corresponding ratio with other diseases, and with the improvement in the hygienic conditions of London.

A second period, 1848-66, when there was a deterioration in the

<sup>1</sup> *Vaccination a Delusion*, p. 89.

sanitary conditions of London, with a corresponding increase in the death-rate and in zymotic diseases, but no corresponding increase in small-pox.

We now come to a third period, beginning with 1866. Says Dr. Wallace :

"At the latter date commenced a considerable decline both in the total mortality and in that from all zymotic diseases, except measles and small-pox, but more especially in fevers and diphtheria; and this decrease is equally well explained by the completion in 1865 of that gigantic work, the main drainage of London."<sup>1</sup>

Surely this is a significant admission—*except measles and small-pox!* That is to say, two diseases of the class which are not influenced by sanitation.

Though it stares him in the face, Dr. Wallace cannot see the consequences of his own admission, and yet he might have seen why measles and small-pox do not respond to the fluctuations in sanitary conditions, for he says :

"Cholera, typhus, and enteric fever are believed to be communicated through the dejecta of the patient contaminating drinking water,"

but

"the other diseases (exanthemata) are spread by bodily contact, or by transmission of germs through the air."

Precisely so; and that is why sanitation does not control the diffusion of small-pox and measles as it does cholera, typhus, and enteric fever.

We have, then, presented to us by Dr. Wallace himself, in defence of his own theory, three instances—(1) London from 1800 to 1825; (2) London from 1848 to 1866; (3) London after 1866 (say, to 1885). The first instance in a measure is consistent with his theory; the other two are inconsistent with it, and therefore knock the bottom out of it.

We will not hasten to say that these instances alone settle the question, though we should be entitled to say and "thus proves" exactly the reverse of the conclusion to which Dr. Wallace has been led by a neglect of the very facts which he himself has collected for our information.

The Commissioners considered this question of the relation of small-pox to sanitary conditions, and we have seen how Dr. Wallace replies to them, and no doubt it will be claimed by the anti-vaccinators that he has completely demolished them. But the Commissioners did not rely upon a solitary instance; granting that hygienic improvements might have taken place in London, they say :

"Moreover, it must be remembered that the decline of small-pox mortality was observed in Western Europe in countries where the sanitary

<sup>1</sup> Wallace, p. 37.

conditions were widely different. Whatever may have been the sanitary improvements during the first quarter of the century in England and in some other countries, there seems no ground for supposing that throughout Western Europe the period was marked by great changes in the direction of improved sanitation. Indeed, in many countries down to a recent period, in some, it may perhaps be said, even down to the present time, insanitary conditions have continued to prevail."

We will make Dr. Wallace a present of London in the first quarter of the century. What has he to say to the other cases referred to by the Commissioners? We shall not have to ransack the history of Western Europe to find an instance of a city in which small-pox declined in the absence of sanitary improvements. We can find one nearer home.

Dr. John McVail, in an article in *Public Health*, May 1896, which has since been republished in the form of a pamphlet entitled *Vaccination or Sanitation*, gives an account of the remarkable decline of small-pox in Glasgow in the early years of the present century. We will pass by what Dr. McVail has to say about vaccination beyond mentioning that the practice of it was adopted at the time in that city, as this does not concern our present inquiry, for we are not asking why small-pox declined, but whether its decline was caused by sanitary improvements. For what immediately follows we are indebted to Dr. McVail.

We have two facts set forth in his pamphlet: first, that small-pox did decline enormously in Glasgow from about the beginning of this century; and secondly, that there were no sanitary improvements to account for this decline.

The facts relating to the decline of small-pox were recorded by Dr. Robert Watt, of Glasgow, in 1813. These statistics cover thirty years, from 1783 to 1812. For convenience, Dr. Watt divides the thirty years into five periods of six years each. There is no means of determining the death-rate from small-pox in relation to the population; but Dr. Watt found that out of every hundred deaths from all causes occurring from 1783 to 1800 inclusive about 19 were due to small-pox. The actual figures are—total deaths, 31,088; and from small-pox, 5958. After 1800 there was a great change; the actual figures for the five periods are given as follows;

Period.	Small-pox death-rate per 100 deaths from all causes.
I. (1783-88)	19·55
II. (1789-94)	18·22
III. (1795-1800)	18·70
IV. (1801-06)	8·90
V. (1807-12)	3·90

Of course Dr. Wallace might describe this as a decline which began in the last century and was only somewhat intensified during the first quarter of the present one, but such language would very

inadequately describe the great decline from nineteen to four. That this decline took place we presume will not be denied; but we have to see whether there were any such hygienic improvements in the condition of Glasgow as to account for it on the hypothesis that it must have been due to sanitation. There is no lack of evidence in this case, but it is evidence which proves there were no improvements of the kind in Glasgow.

Dr. Russell is the authority quoted by Dr. McVail for the particulars of the sanitary history of the city.

One of the first things noticeable in this history is the rapid increase in population from about the year 1780 onwards. In that year the population was 42,832; in 1791 it was 66,578; in 1801 it had increased to 83,000, and 1811 to 110,000, and so on.

The earliest description of the sanitary condition of the city given by Dr. Russell is from a statement made by Dr. Robert Graham, then Professor of Botany in the University, in 1818. We give a few sentences from Dr. Graham's report:

"If any man wonders at the prevalence of continued fever among the lower classes in Glasgow, or at its spreading from their habitations, let him take a walk which I did to-day with Dr. Angus, one of the district surgeons. Let him pick his steps among every species of disgusting filth, through a long alley four to five feet wide, flanked by houses of five floors high, with here and there an opening for a pool of water, from which there is no drain, and in which all the nuisances of the neighbourhood are deposited in endless succession, to float and putrefy and wash away into noxious gases. Let him look as he goes along into the cellars which open into this lane, and he will probably find, lodged in alternate habitations which are no way distinguished in their exterior, and very little by the furniture that is within them, pigs, cows, and human beings, which can scarcely be recognised till brought to the light, or till the eyes of the visitant get accustomed to the smoke and gloom of the cellar in which they live."

There is more to the same purpose, but this will suffice from Dr. Graham.

In 1837 Dr. Cowan, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the University, reported:

"Many of the causes of the production and propagation of fever must be ascribed to the habits of the population; to the total want of cleanliness among the lower orders of the community; to the absence of ventilation in the more densely peopled districts; and to the accumulation, for weeks and months together, of filth of every description in our public and private dunghills; to the overcrowded state of the lodging-houses resorted to by the lowest classes, and to many other circumstances unnecessary to mention."

This report was followed by others from Mr. Symons, Dr. Neil Arnott, and Mr. Chadwick. In 1842 the latter wrote:

"It might admit of dispute, but, on the whole, it appeared to us that both the structural arrangements and the condition of the population of Glasgow was the worst of any we had seen in any part of the kingdom."

It certainly appears to us that Dr. McVail is justified in saying, after quoting these descriptions and others even more revolting:

"It is evident that we are here dealing with a population in which sanitation is unknown, a population, moreover, whose health conditions appear to have been steadily going from bad to worse, owing to the rapid growth of the city."

How does this fit in with the hypothesis that the decline of small-pox is due to sanitary improvements? It is manifestly impossible that it could have been due to that cause in the city of Glasgow. From 1783 to 1800 inclusive small-pox contributed about nineteen out of every hundred deaths; from 1801 to 1806 the rate fell suddenly to less than one-half of the previous average, the contribution being only 8.90. In the next period, 1807-1812, it again fell to less than one-half of its rate in the preceding six years.

"Thus, while insanitation was hurrying from bad to worse, till the startling conditions described in 1818 and later years were being approached, and while other infectious diseases of infancy were on the increase, small-pox was diminishing by leaps and bounds."

Whatever the cause of the decline, it could not have been due to improvement in the sanitary conditions or the lessening of overcrowding. If small-pox is a "filth disease" which "haunts ill-drained, ill-ventilated, and uncleaned tenements," why did it decline when the state of the ill-drained, ill-ventilated, and uncleaned tenements of Glasgow was going from bad to worse?

A supplementary piece of evidence bearing upon this question is to be found in a paper read by Dr. Priestley at the Congress of the British Institute of Public Health, which is quoted at length in Dr. Sidney Coupland's *Report on the Leicester Outbreak*. The subject of the paper was the aerial diffusion of small-pox, and Dr. Priestley describes some investigations he conducted in Leicester in 1893. In the Newfoundpool district, adjoining the Leicester Infectious Diseases Hospital, a number of cases of small-pox occurred which could not be accounted for—that is, their pedigree could not be traced—and Dr. Priestley came to the conclusion that the infection was probably air-borne. We prefer to regard this as at present an open question. Dr. Priestley also put to a test the question whether germs of small-pox might not also pass through the drains and be drawn by the ascensional force of evaporation through the sewer-gas into the houses. This is an important question, considering how great a part the "drains" play in anti-vaccinationist speeches. We need not give the details of the tests applied by Dr. Priestley; they can be read in the report; but his concluding words on the subject are as follow:

"The only conclusion (if any) to be drawn from the above facts is that

an insanitary state of the house drainage does not *per se* give rise to small-pox even when near to a small-pox hospital."

It may be a disappointment to some of our readers to be made acquainted with the facts which we have presented, and the conclusion to be drawn from them, that sanitation will not check the spread of small-pox; it seems so natural to believe that because small-pox is a repulsive disease, it is also a filth disease, and that improvement in sanitation ought to eradicate it. But perhaps if they will try to realise the nature of small-pox infection, and how it is diffused, the difficulty will disappear. As we always prefer to accept the views of our opponents as far as we can, we again turn to Dr. Wallace, who himself tells us that small-pox differs from zymotic diseases like cholera, typhus, and enteric fever, which are believed to be communicated through the dejecta of the patient contaminating drinking water.

It is obvious that sanitary measures can control such diseases and prevent their spreading.

But small-pox is "spread either by bodily contact or by transmission of germs through the air."

It is equally obvious that sanitation cannot prevent the communication of infection which is diffused by these means.

Let us consider what happens when a person "catches" small-pox. A "tramp" (it is so often said to be a tramp) comes from a place where small-pox is prevalent to another place where there is none. He either carries the infection in his clothing or is himself infected, and after a few days the disease develops. He is in a lodging-house, some other person comes in contact with him, or breathes the air he has infected, and also "catches" the disease. What have the drains to do with it?

And this is the usual way, if not the only way.<sup>1</sup> It may happen in any class of society and in any class of house; but if any person comes within the range of the infection which is being diffused from the body and breath of the patient, he is also liable to be attacked by the disease. Where does sanitation come in? It is easy to see where isolation comes in, but that is another matter.

Multiply such instances by tens and you have an outbreak; multiply them by hundreds and you have an epidemic.

It is of course possible, as Dr. Priestley suggests, that where there is a great mass of infection caused by the congregation of a number of patients together, as in a hospital, the infection may float through the windows and ventilators and be borne some distance, and thus affect persons who are not very close to the patients, but we are not yet convinced that this cause operates except within very narrow limits; but even if it does sanitation cannot control it. Divergent

<sup>1</sup> Of course, infection may also be spread by articles of clothing, &c., which have been in contact with a person suffering from small-pox.

views are expressed as to the effect of the weather on small-pox germs; some declare that rainy weather is unfavourable to their diffusion, others with equal confidence declare that sunshine robs them of vitality. Whoever is right matters little so far as our point is concerned, for sanitation cannot control the weather. One lecturer tells us that rain put an end to the epidemic in Sheffield in 1887, but the epidemic in Gloucester in 1896 came to an end in the middle of a long-continued drought.

We are left to the conclusion that none of these external influences can be credited either with the diffusion of small-pox or the prevention of its diffusion. Universal experience shows that small-pox is only diffused from person to person in the way we have described, and an epidemic only occurs when this diffusion goes on, to some extent, unchecked; when there is comparatively free intercourse between small-pox patients and other people; when persons suffering from small-pox, or persons in direct communication with them, mingle freely with their neighbours, when they visit shops, schools, clubs, places of worship, &c.; when, as sometimes in the case of an outbreak amongst the poorer classes, a general recklessness prevails, a recklessness which we do not hesitate to say is often encouraged by the erroneous theories of anti-vaccinationist lecturers, who make light of the danger of infection and exaggerate the right of people to do as they please.

The anti-vaccinators have staked their case upon sanitation. We think we have proved that as far as small-pox is concerned sanitation can do very little, if anything, either to destroy the power of infection, or to prevent its casual introduction developing into an epidemic. Something more directly capable of arresting the spread of infection is required. No doubt isolation is the ideal method, but in view of its partial breakdown even in Leicester in 1893, and its more serious failure in Gloucester and Middlesbrough, it is certain that at present it is not to be relied upon with safety.

The extraordinary decline of small-pox during the present century is an incontestable fact; having seen that this decline cannot have been due to sanitation, it follows that it must have been due to the practice of vaccination. There remain, therefore, only vaccination and re-vaccination, which provide what is required to meet the case by conferring a protection upon the individual, which enables him to resist the influence of infection when, either by necessity or accident, he comes within its range.

WALTER LLOYD.

## MAGNETISM AND MORALS.

IN the window of a second-hand print-shop close to the corner of Leicester Square I noticed, a few months ago, an old-fashioned engraving of a picture which, as an original, must have been somewhat striking. It was the work of an amateur artist, a clergyman, and was entitled "The Resurrection of a Pious Family at the Last Day." Amid the wreck of rending rocks and falling columns, the members—some half-dozen or so—of the pious family are seen emerging from the ground, all duly draped after the fashion of the later Italian school. The group includes the venerable and bearded grandfather, the stalwart father, the dignified matron, the grown-up son and daughter, and the three-or-four-year-old baby. No doubt the execution of this pathetically incongruous work was to its author something of an act of faith, and no doubt it was in the following of the same faith—faith of which only an Anglican Erastian could be capable—that he dedicated it, with all loyal respect, to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

There could surely be no more striking illustration of the depth of incongruity to which a grateful and pathetic belief may carry one. That the Prince Regent, of all people in the world, should be set forth as the natural patron of the belief in family reunions beyond the gates of the grave! And then the utter want of appreciation of the frightful calamity which must have struck down three generations at a blow, in order to enable them to reproduce, after some indefinite lapse of time, the family life that extended from the grandfather's comfortable fireside doze after dinner to the rattle of coral and bells in the nursery! As for the classical draperies, so suggestive of the due mingling of art and propriety, they no doubt are founded on authorities which the artist, at any rate, is bound to respect. What incongruity! And yet what pathos! For, after all, this good clergyman who saw in the Prince Regent the natural defender of religion and morality only expressed a belief which is, to millions of men and women, as real as it is precious. As for the details, these millions will admit, as for the how and the when and the where, they are content to be in ignorance. "But," they will eloquently proceed to declare, "we know beyond the shadow of any kind of doubt that family reunions await us in the future,

and that we shall once more meet and recognise, under happier conditions than we now experience, those whom we have loved and lost."

Who could have the heart to interfere with a belief so human, so pathetic, so often effective, moreover, to arouse all the noblest powers of moral effort and endurance? There are times and circumstances under which to throw even the smallest doubt on such a belief would be little else than sacrilegious. And yet this is a belief which, owing to the growing knowledge of the structure of the universe, is slowly and unconsciously being corroded away. Quite apart from the intricate ethical problems involved in the question of future punishments and rewards, it is probable that in the most orthodox minds the aspects of the nature of a future existence, even in the most attractive and exalted form, have undergone a profound alteration during the last fifty years. There are probably very few with whom the incongruities apparent in the representation of the "Resurrection of a Pious Family" would not provoke a smile. Even those stupendous pictures by John Martin, which once used to be regarded as almost a divine revelation, would now fail to make any appeal to the mind of the average religious man or woman. The universe, we have learnt, is so infinitely larger, so infinitely more wonderful, than we ever imagined it to be. It is only by a tremendous and not always honest effort of explaining away—of reading the facts of modern science into apostolic theories—that we can manage to retain our traditional regard for what once moved our profoundest veneration. The popular conception of the earth as the vast centre of a limited universe has for ever disappeared. The earth is yearly becoming smaller and less important in our eyes, while the vast realities of the universe are yearly becoming larger. In keeping with these changes all our ideas with regard to ourselves, and our relation to the universe, are undergoing modification. Even those who affectionately think that they believe now what they believed thirty or forty years ago, will find, if they take the trouble to investigate the matter, that they have moved far away from their old landmarks. And yet, amid and throughout all these changes, the sense of a desire

"To feel, when life's last light is waning,  
The sense of self on dawning shores,"

remains as strong as ever—more strong, perhaps, with those who are profoundly interested in the intellectual problems of the universe than even with those whose daily yearning it is to regain, in some way, the touch of a vanished hand. For, when one comes to think of it, there can be no outlook more chilling, no faith more great, than that of the scientific student who feels almost compelled to believe that the moment of his death is the final and complete

extinction of his consciousness, and who yet, come what may, labours to the last to feed the flame of the world's knowledge. It is, one might say, curiously illustrative of the "contrariness" of things that the arguments that seem to tell against the prolongation of individual consciousness are the very arguments that make such prolongation of individual consciousness the better worth having. The scientific student has infinitely better reasons than the man of average family affections for desiring after the "sense of self on dawning shores"; yet it is the scientific student who has the most reason to discourage that desire.

It is not necessary to go into the genesis and history of this profound desire, nor yet to spend time upon a denunciation of its abuses. It is there; it is powerful; it is associated for the most part with what is best and noblest in human nature. It is illustrative of the strange force it exercises over the mind that so many people, rather than have this desire undermined, have been willing to accept and tolerate the impostures and puerilities of spiritualism. For who can doubt that the passion to obtain some tangible proof of the existence of another world, of an extra-terrestrial existence, is the result of the growing doubts suggested by the logic of advancing science? It is through its puerilities and its impostures that spiritualism is best known to the world, and it is no wonder that those impostures and puerilities have repelled and disgusted men of truly scientific minds. Nevertheless spiritualism has its pathetic side—a side of which the world seldom, if ever, becomes aware, but which entitles it to the respect due to a human effort to heal the wounds left by bereavement. But this, too, is a matter which, for present purposes, must be excluded from discussion. That there are actual facts mixed up with the pursuit and profession of spiritualism there is not the least reason to doubt, nor can there be any question that those facts are deserving of scientific investigation. Those, however, who associate themselves with spiritualism have disabled themselves from investigating its facts scientifically by accepting an explanation in advance. The disability extends even to those who have professed to be investigating the facts scientifically. When once a body of men, no matter how earnest and how cultured, form themselves into an association for "psychical research," they have assumed the existence of the very thing which their research is intended to bring to light. Assume the  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ , and, for all popular purposes, the thing is done. There is no more need of proof of any kind, and all that lies between the wish to believe in an extra-terrestrial existence and the formulation of such a belief is a mere wilderness of froth and words, in which no one can care to linger.

Avoiding all other entanglements, however specious, rejecting all assumptions, however attractive, let us see what science can tell us

about this desire, either cultivated or innate, after a continuance of the "sense of self" after death. What can science tell us negatively? What can it tell us positively?

Negatively, science can tell us a good deal, and what it tells us is by no means encouraging. What is this consciousness which means life to us in the present, and after which we hanker in the future? Roughly speaking, yet accurately speaking, it is the realisation of environment. It is, so far as the present is concerned, a realisation of the facts of our physical existence. Through the service of sight, touch, hearing, muscular resistance, we become aware of our surroundings, and are able to present a picture of those surroundings—a picture more or less complete and complex according to individual capacity—to our minds. Whether that picture is accurate or not, whether it is clear or dim, whether it is continuous or interrupted, depends entirely on the condition of the recording machinery—that is, of the brain. We know what will happen if a portion of that machinery becomes disordered. We know what will happen if any undue strain is put upon it. We know what will happen if it encounters any injury or violence from outside. A deterioration of any part of our brain-structure will produce insanity—a condition of things, that is, in which there will be no longer a complete harmony between ourselves and our environment. A blow from without may produce temporary unconsciousness—may destroy, for the time being, all our realisation of our environment. A clot of blood, finding its way from the heart along the arterial canals, may in a single instant extinguish the brain's recording and directing power, and convert into a mere corpse the man of the most subtle intelligence. For our realisation of our surroundings, therefore, for our consciousness, we are absolutely dependent on the physical machinery with which we are provided. Consciousness—the "sense of self"—cannot exist apart from that machinery; it is suspended or absolutely terminated whenever that machinery breaks down.

There is nothing in all this that is in any respect encouraging to those who cherish the desire for a prolongation of consciousness, of the "sense of self," after death. The physical basis of life is now so much of a settled scientific axiom that it is becoming almost difficult to entertain a conception of life apart from physical conditions. Even what has down to a very recent period been regarded as psychical has come to be recognised as physical, and whenever an association for psychical research gives the world anything at all it is only an example of what is clearly some obscure phase of physical phenomena. We gather little or no material here wherewith to build a bridge for ourselves out into the unknown depths of an extra-physical existence. Nor, when we come to assume the possibility of a prolongation of individual consciousness, do we find it easy, or even possible, to imagine the conditions of such an existence.

Consciousness, we are justified in holding, consists in a realisation of our environment. But what sort of an environment could that be of an individual consciousness persisting after death? All we can conclude is that it must of necessity be something entirely different in nature from our environment in the present. And if its nature must be so entirely different, how could it be realised by any of the means which are now serviceable to that end? Outside a world of matter, the machinery by means of which matter is appreciated would be useless. Sight, hearing, touch, muscular resistance—all these, our valuable servants now, would be unavailing, and if these are useless and unavailing, all the organs with which they are associated would be equally useless and unserviceable. The resources of art have accustomed us to expect to find, as the denizens of some extra-physical sphere of existence, beings human in shape though super-human in power. These, however, are a scientific impossibility. Throwing ourselves back, for the purpose of illustration, upon the conception of the Hebrew poet—a conception to which no modern poet has attained—we might imagine the vast Power of this Universe “making his messengers spirits, his ministers a flaming fire.” Force taking the form of penetrating light is an idea to which we are scientifically accustomed. But even this conception must fail us when we remember that the impression of light itself, as we know it, is dependent on physical conditions, and that the eye, which is sensitive to light-waves of one velocity, is altogether unaffected by waves of another velocity.

The conclusion, it would seem, then, can hardly be avoided that science has, so far, nothing but discouragement for that strong desire for a prolongation of consciousness which is so marked a human characteristic. If we were only permitted, by the force of logic, to entertain the idea of disembodied and enfranchised intelligences, speeding through the abysses of the universe like darts of flame, bent upon beneficent errands—if we were only permitted to entertain such a conception as this, it would be something to hold by, something to give grandeur to our existence, something to remove the feeling of pain in the contemplation of the apparent extinction of intelligence in the death of each man of intellect. We cannot, however, with loyalty to our own reasoning powers, accept even such a conception as this. We cannot, even to save ourselves from the pain of a moral defeat, of a disappointed hope, import into an extra-physical existence conditions which we know are essentially physical in their nature.

The question perforce arises—Can the logic of science, which takes so much away from us, give us nothing in return? That logic has enabled us to send a sounding-line into the depths of physical space; can it help us in any way with regard to the still more profound depths of moral and intellectual being?

There is one truth which cannot fail to strike us at the very commencement of such an inquiry. It is a truth which seems to be expressed something in this way—that the more completely we accept the idea of the physical basis of life and the physical basis of thought, the more strenuously are we compelled to the conviction that thought itself, including in that term all that is known as moral principle, is a fact of the universe. This is a consideration which, it seems to me, the leaders of the physical school have to some degree overlooked. Possibly they have been led to overlook it through their disgust at the illogicality and puerility of the conceptions of the anti-physical school. Admit the principle of the unity of the universe, and you must admit that every phenomenon has its harmonious place in the universe, and is related, not accidentally, but by bonds of the most intimate even though recondite nature, to all other phenomena. What, for example, is the meaning of that moral struggle which has given rise to the legend of contending forces of good and evil? It is curious that one of the deepest thinkers of modern times—Matthew Arnold—has both hit and missed the answer to this question. In his poem entitled “*In Utrumque Paratus*,” alluding to the possible acceptance of a physical basis of everything, including life and thought, he says :

“Thy native world stirs at thy feet unknown,  
 Yet there thy secret lies! •  
 Out of this stuff, these forces, thou art grown,  
 And proud self-severance from them were disease.  
 O scan thy native world with pious eyes!  
 High as thy life be risen, 'tis from these;  
 And these, too, rise.”

There we have an admission of the moral struggle, the intellectual advancement, as a fact and a part of the universe. Yet in another poem—“*Morality*”—Matthew Arnold seems to disclaim the very conclusion expressed in the lines just quoted. Here Nature seems to be questioned as to the origin of “the fire which in the heart resides.”

“‘Ah, child,’ she cries, ‘that strife divine,  
 Whence was it, for it is not mine?’

There is no effort on my brow—  
 I do not strive, I do not weep!’”

In other words, Matthew Arnold appears in this other passage to separate the sense of moral and intellectual struggle and progress from the domain of Nature, from the physical universe. Yet, when the position is examined by the light of the logic of science, that severance must appear—as, indeed, Matthew Arnold himself seems in another passage to have admitted—unscientific. The moral and intellectual struggle—the force and the fire that impel a man to do

justice to what he feels are his best possibilities, regardless of his physical comfort---this is, and must be, a fact of the universe as much as the sun's corona or alternating currents of electricity are facts of the universe. This is a conclusion from which there is no possibility of escape. To deny it is to involve ourselves in a bottomless abyss of contradictions and confusions. To deny it is to place ourselves practically on the same platform as the fetish-worshipper to whom the universe appears as the battle-field of contending personalities, either of which may vanquish the other.

Accept the idea that moral and intellectual struggle and progress are facts of the universe, that the ability to be conscious of this struggle and this progress is a fact of the universe, and the position of doubt and uncertainty to which the logic of science at first conducts us must seem to be considerably illumined. It is a fact of the universe, not a mere *à priori* shot in the dark,

"That men may rise on stepping stones  
Of their dead selves to higher things."

That this process of rising has its physical coefficient we may say that we know. We know that the mental processes involved in moral and intellectual struggle and advance are accompanied by changes in brain and nerve tissue. We know that this must of necessity be the case, even though the nature of these changes may be so subtle as to elude our observation and comprehension. We know this; we grant it; we are fortified by knowing it. It is a further argument to us in favour of that most acceptable belief that nothing in the universe "walks with aimless feet." And then, when the logic of science has brought us as far as this, we may look round and ask what facts the progress of science has placed at our disposal which may be used in an endeavour to arrive at some comprehension of the actual relation of moral and mental forces, which seem in individual cases so subject to sudden and absolute extinction, to those enduring facts of the universe which we have in these later years been able to grasp.

There is one fact, or group of facts, with which we have only recently become acquainted, the existence of which we are made aware of by certain observed and classified phenomena, but of the real nature of which we are really more ignorant than we seemed to be when our investigations began. It does not much matter whether to this fact or group of facts we give the name of "magnetism" or "electricity." Either name is merely a label for our own ignorance—a means of indicating the whereabouts of a profound and as yet practically unexplored abyss of cosmic reality. We have seen enough to know that this force we conventionally call magnetism plays a stupendous part in the structure of the universe. It appears to be intangible and imponderable. We know of it through some

of its manifestations, and some of the slightest of those manifestations we have contrived, on an infinitely smaller scale, and by the expenditure of much thought and energy, to reproduce. At the same time we know, or seem to know, that this force is intimately associated with those changes in physical structure which are the physical coefficient of the act of thinking or willing. Actual experiment, indeed, seems almost to point to the conclusion that this is the impelling or compelling force to all nervous action. Whether this is so or not, it seems at least to be satisfactorily settled that there is a close and inseparable association between nervous excitation and the force we speak of under the name of magnetism. Force, as we have learnt to believe, is indestructible. It is metamorphosed, but it is not destroyed. It is quite reasonable, then, to believe that in very many instances, perhaps in the majority of instances, the magnetism which is associated with any change in nerve or brain tissue—which, that is to say, is associated with thinking or willing—is transformed and takes the shape of some physical result. To put the case briefly and familiarly, it "perishes"—as magnetism—"in the using."

Acknowledge this, and we are led to another question. What becomes of the magnetism which is associated with abstract thinking, with the study of intellectual problems, with the appreciation of moral principles? With regard to this question we find ourselves at once in the presence of a probability and a certainty. The probability is that a higher class of magnetic force is associated with abstract thought than with mere ordinary acts of will. The certainty is that this magnetic force is indestructible—that it persists and continues unextinguished. And then arises the question again—what becomes of it?

The question places us on the brink of an abyss of speculation so profound as to be almost paralysing. The problem presented to us is of this kind—how to project ourselves, without any pretence of a revelation and in contempt of all *à priori* theories, into the conditions of an utterly unknown, intangible, and extra-physical state of existence. Granting that the force we have dimly revealed to us under the name of magnetism is an extra-physical force—granting, that is to say, that it is energy as distinct from matter—it seems clear that, in spite of all changes in the physical universe, that energy will still persist and go on. It will persist and go on even if all that we know as human should utterly vanish from the face of the universe. Is there, then, any possibility of a footing for our individual consciousness in such an extra-physical existence? Is it possible that there may be in the magnetism associated with abstract thought, with the appreciation of abstract principle, an individual quality or character that will in some way reconstruct for us an individual consciousness in an extra-physical existence?

The question is one that touches that profound problem of personality which orthodox theologians profess to find so simple. The mystery that hangs round the problem has been well expressed by Arthur Hugh Clough in his little poem headed "Through a Glass Darkly."

"What we, when face to face we see  
The Father of our souls, shall be,  
John tells us, does not yet appear;  
Ah! did he tell what we are here!

A mind for thoughts to pass into,  
A heart for loves to travel through,  
Five senses to detect things near—  
Is this the whole that we are here?"

That problem of personality is like the problem of electrical science; it becomes less comprehensible the more we attempt to unravel it. It is no use trying to satisfy ourselves with phrases. Phrases are only labels for our ignorance. This, however, seems certain, that the more we explore the problem of personality, the more does personality seem to depend on inner tendencies than on external acts. It is a matter of experience that men and women who think little tend more and more to resemble each other. Individuality, the strongest witness to personality, gets rubbed out. It is when you get among the thinkers that personality becomes conspicuous, and it is when you get among the thinkers that the question—"Can death be an absolute and final obliteration of consciousness?"—seems to be met by the most decisive negative. Well, then, if we may go as far as this, would it be unreasonable to go a step further and ask whether this energy, which we call magnetism, which seems so closely associated with thought and with appreciation of abstract principle, may not possibly, in some way which is beyond the reach of our present comprehension, form the basis of a conscious existence in a new environment? Might it not be possible to believe, or to hope, that the indestructible energy, which has taken from us a personal impress, may still belong to us; and that through some slow process of realisation those who have achieved their highest possibilities in the moral victories or the intellectual advancement which we have agreed to regard as good and desirable for our physical being, will awake to find in truth

"The sense of self on dawning shores"

marking the commencement of a magnificent and imperishable existence?

There can be no answer to such a question as this. It is one of those matters in respect of which we may indeed "faintly trust the larger hope," but in respect of which we cannot and may not pretend

to possess anything in the shape of even a fraction of a certainty. Yet it is not unscientific to "trust the larger hope." The hope itself, the desire to entertain it, the wish to feel that what is best in our present existence is not finally and absolutely extinguished by a stray clot of blood upon the brain—this hope and this desire to hope are in themselves facts of the universe. They are not arbitrary and aimless emotions. They cannot be this without implying a confusion in a universe of whose harmonious unity we have so many proofs. Only they must not be allowed to assume the appearance of logical convictions. They may be doves sent out in quest of a footing; they are not hill-tops on which our wandering ark can rest. But, assuming that they may be allowed a provisional acceptance, to what further conclusions do we seem to be led?

It is a little difficult to place in order the considerations that arise out of reflection in this direction. There are many points that seem to receive enlightenment, yet these points are so isolated that it appears at first almost impossible to link them into any chain of logical or scientific connection. The most important consideration, however, of which we become conscious seems to be this—that in the event of a personal and extra-terrestrial consciousness being constructed in such a way as has been suggested, the acquisition or non-acquisition of such a consciousness would depend, not upon any such idea of arbitrary judgment as belongs to almost every school of theology, but upon a natural law acting as unerringly and as automatically as the law of gravitation. It would be a case, absolutely, of the survival of the fittest. Those with whom abstract thought and regard for abstract moral principle had been most cultivated would realise that extra-terrestrial consciousness in a larger degree, while those in whom abstract thought and regard for abstract principle had been wanting might never realise that consciousness at all. To pass lightly over a point which has been much hammered on by theologians and moralists, it might well be held that for those who had experienced no desire for the things that make for such an extra-terrestrial consciousness, it would be sufficient punishment (to use the term) never to achieve it. Matthew Arnold has caught this idea in his sonnet on "Immortality," in which he repels the too-popular notion of a recompense in another world merely because passive suffering has been experienced in this.

"The energy of life may be  
Kept on after the grave, but not begun!  
And he who flagg'd not in the earthly strife,  
From strength to strength advancing—only he,  
His soul well knit, and all his battles won,  
Mounts, and that hardly, to eternal life."

There is perhaps too strict a limit—a limit hardly less strict than

that which has found a place in Calvinistic theology—implied in these lines. It might well be that simple unselfish acts, performed on what seemed like impulse, and forgotten, would be found supplying a basis for a future consciousness as acceptable in its kind as that grasped by the greatest and the wisest of men. And it might be, on the other hand, that the greatest intellectual effort would be counteracted and rendered ineffective by the disregard for moral principle. The man who “understood all mysteries” might fail through lack of charity. Or it might be that some strong vein of sensuality might partially or wholly counterbalance a true regard for abstract principle. Such things happen to men and women in their terrestrial personality, and it would be strange indeed, in view of the idea of the unity of the universe, if an extra-terrestrial personality, assuming its existence, were not subject to the influence of such balancings.

These are mere hints—the faintest possible tracings on the surface of an unknown existence which may not be an existence after all. One hint, however, leads to another, and we find ourselves irresistibly drawn into reflections on those high ethical principles which have occupied the minds of the wisest in all centuries and in every country. There is, for example, the question of pre-determination; there is the question of the possibility of the existence of an absolute malevolence, working always against what we take to be the beneficent purposes of the universe. As regards the question of pre-determination, the moral puzzle which it presents to theologians is to a great extent got rid of by admitting that it can be no injustice to those who have never had any interests rising above the environment of their physical personality if they fail to achieve an extra-terrestrial personality for which they have never felt any kind of desire. There is, too, the consideration that pre-determination cannot be regarded as absolute so long as—to quote Huxley’s admirable phrase—“volition counts for something as a factor in the course of events.” As regards the possibility of an absolute malevolence, to admit it is to introduce a logical confusion into our conception of the universe. The nearest visible approach to such a thing as an absolute malevolence is probably to be found in the person of the clever and unscrupulous speculator, who, regardless of any kind of moral principle and equally regardless of human life and human happiness, employs his ability in framing schemes for his own social or financial advancement. It is the existence of men of this kind that has seemed to justify imaginative minds in recognising the possibility of such diabolical bargains as that which forms the basis of the story of Faust.

There is something more that these hints contain. They contain some justification for the question whether the conditions of that extra-terrestrial consciousness which may be a fact of science, may

not, in pre-scientific days, have been seized on by the intuition of men specially gifted to project themselves, as it were, into the region of abstract principle. What is the meaning, for example, of that exhortation to "lay up treasure in heaven" which has become so hackneyed a possession of the orthodox pulpit? We have a certain traditional conception of the meaning of the phrase—a conception which has suffered not a little at the hands of the cheap negations of so-called popular science. But what if this exhortation has a real scientific value? What if it were the figurative method of describing a process that goes on as perpetually and as naturally as the conversion of heat into motion? And what, too, about that somewhat puzzling saying to the effect that "whoever will save his life shall lose it"? Anxiety for one's own comfort, for the maintenance of pleasant relations between oneself and one's terrestrial environment, must surely have an excluding effect with regard to the energy which may be capable of building up an extra-terrestrial consciousness. It might even be that the overwhelming desire, so arduously encouraged from orthodox pulpits, to make sure of salvation, of individual pleasantness, in another world is in direct antagonism with the true and natural conditions under which the "sense of self on dawning shores" is to be realised. Or, on the other hand, who can question the reasonableness of believing that it is the grand disregard of personal considerations in some heroic action—some noble assertion of moral principle, some act of devotion in the cause of humanity—that may establish better than anything else the natural inheritance to an extra-terrestrial consciousness? We know that it is such acts on the part of men that most profoundly move us as men. Are we to suppose that the universe is so devoid of order that this power of ours to be moved by such acts is devoid of meaning?

But enough has been said, and what has been said is merely meant as the indication of a possibility, never as the formulating of a theory. It is quite possible that our mental and moral being, assuming the existence of such a thing side by side with the physical changes which are the coefficient of thought, is a thing too subtle to be associated with even the intangible and imponderable energy with which we are becoming acquainted through various manifestations of what we call magnetism. The one thing of which we appear to remain certain through such a discussion is that the more unfathomable the universe seems to become, the more unfathomable become those forces of thought and of moral principle of which we are conscious in ourselves and which assuredly are not without their place and meaning in the immensity of all that is.

## WASTED GENIUS.

THE encyclical of the Czar has drawn the attention of the world to the subject of war even more effectually than the Hispano-American dispute; it has caused millions of people to pause and think over the question in a totally new light. No campaign on record has caused the civilised world to weigh war in the balance, or think over the matter so thoroughly and so intelligently, as this unique Peace Manifesto has done.

During the last few weeks we have had brought forcibly to our notice the many reasons why we should no longer be content to abide by the arbitrament of the sword, why we should settle our disputes by *might* instead of *right*; and we have also been reminded that men are reasoning and not fighting creatures, therefore we should settle our differences by appealing to our higher and not lower nature. When *might* decides a quarrel, it is the might of men who fight but who do not know for what or why they fight. When there is a point at issue between nations, it has been the rule to decide the case by the brute force of men who do not understand the reason for the contention instead of by the intellectual ability of men who do.

Lately we have all been seeing, as we have never seen before, the causes and consequences of war; and probably many have now begun, if not before, to doubt the lawfulness of it. The reasons against war have not been advanced undisputed. The cynic and pessimist and the believer in impossibilities have not been behind in treating the world to a superabundance of chimeras. Among the arguments against war and in the category of evils which it directly and indirectly produces we are thoroughly familiar with: the loss of trade, the loss of property, the waste of life, and the waste of money; but the waste of genius, though by no means subordinate to the other evils, is hardly ever mentioned and perhaps never even thought of.

If we compare modern wars with those of ancient and mediæval times, the dissimilarity which strikes one most forcibly is the difference in their length and duration.

The time the Greeks were before Troy, the long campaigns of the Crusades, the "Wars of the Roses," the "Seven Years' War," the "Thirty Years' War," were in point of time vastly different from

the Franco-Prussian, the Russo-Turk, and the Japan-China wars. What has produced the change? Inventive genius. We are told that we owe this relief to the inventive power of Science. What is the advantage of this change? Because the time is less the loss of life is not likewise less; neither has the expense of war decreased with the time of its duration. In modern warfare we can kill as many lives in thirty days as it took thirty years to kill once; and in thirty minutes we can expend wealth sufficient to carry on a thirty years' war in the old style. So the gain is not here. If we do not have so much actual fighting now, we have infinitely more anxiety and mental strain. The horrid nightmare of a European war makes us to live in a constant dread of that awful shock that will cause empires to fall. So it is evident that the inventive genius of science has only made war far worse than it once was.

In the times of old it was the personal prowess of those engaged which secured the victory, but now victory belongs to that side which has the best slaughtering machines, or to that side which has the most or can work them the quickest. This again is the result of inventive genius.

War is infinitely more barbarous and revolting now than it was a few hundred years ago. In the present day it is nothing less than scientific butchery; men are mowed down in unprecedented numbers in the space of a few minutes, and towns, with the inhabitants and property thereof, are utterly destroyed in an almost incredibly short space of time. What does personal bravery count for when men have to combat infernal machines? The quality which is most needed in the modern soldier is passive obedience to submit to be an unknown unit in a human target for the engines of war that science has produced. These changes which I have enumerated are the outcome of a certain kind of genius, and the result has been to make war a hundred times more calamitous and infamous. Therefore is not this genius wasted?

The amount of thought and ingenuity which the instruments of modern warfare must have required to have produced them is almost incomprehensible. Take the ordinary magazine rifle, a weapon of wonderful mechanism, one which has expended much brain power in its production, and this solely for the purpose of destroying human life when a fitting opportunity offers itself. Consider the quick-firing and other guns, the shells and torpedoes. Those who understand the latter will fully appreciate the genius which produced the torpedo, if not the torpedo itself. The Government dockyards are a marvellous representation of what time and thought can produce. Where can we find a better summary of the wonderful achievements of the inventive power of science than in the consideration of an ironclad in all its details? So strange and amazing do they appear to us that they are almost beyond comprehension. Enormous arma-

ments have utilised enormous genius in their production; and a proof that that genius is wasted is in the fact that the thing itself is soon destroyed in times of war, and in times of peace they soon become out-of-date, and finally obsolete; after which they are sold for a price ridiculously small when compared with what they cost. The men who have invented these instruments for wholesale slaughter undoubtedly possessed great genius. They used the power they were masters of in the best way for personal gain, but the world has gained nothing—only lost much. Why, then, did they invent these things? The demand created the supply. It was profitable for them to turn their attention to the invention of those things which the nations were frantic to possess. If we did not demand instruments of war they would not supply them, but would produce other and useful and beneficial things. Of course, the genius of these men was of a particular kind, but no one could believe that they were born with a proclivity to invent murderous instruments only. If there were no such thing as war, these men would have directed their talents to the invention of things that perhaps would have been of the greatest service to mankind. These we might have possessed had we not demanded the absurd engines of destruction instead, and thereby losing not only things that we might have had, but also the genius that could have produced them. Might they not have produced means of saving life instead of destroying it? Their unrivalled genius has been employed in perpetuating and making more terrible a relic of barbarism instead of advancing civilisation.

Our descendants will one day marvel at us tolerating such a system, in the same way as we wonder how our ancestors could tolerate many follies which we have seen and expelled.

In the times of peace and disarmament, which will one day come, inventiveness will take fresh strides and add many things to this world that will make life better worth living to the mass of the people.

The genius which has been expended over war, and which might have been used in a profitable and lasting manner, is lost to the world for ever. Men yet to be born may invent the things which men that are dead might have invented; still, this will not compensate the loss we have sustained. If the past had invented, the future would have improved upon it.

Science has obliterated distance, facilitated locomotion, rendered a hundred services to mankind; and might not that genius which is lost, if applied, have added much more to this list of inestimable benefits?

War has deprived the world of much that it had, and also of much that it might have had.

ROBERT J. STURDEE.

## WHAT IS THE RÔLE OF THE “NEW WOMAN?”

LETTERS on the subject of women's emancipation have lately been taking up the pages of the *Cambrian News*, whose editor is strongly in sympathy with the movement that is bringing on itself the derision of the bigoted and the superficial, who cannot discern the signs of the times, and drawing to conversion that portion of humanity for whom the morality and progress of the race is the question of supreme importance. The new woman (as she is styled) takes the form which a concourse of atoms, intangible at present to many as colour or sound, must take—*i.e.* that of the personality through whom she is viewed. According to materialists, she is a presentment of simulated mannishness; to religionists of Pharisaical type, a monstrosity to be condemned and defeated; to unthinking male youth, a creature who seeks to usurp their hitherto undisturbed royalty of arrogance and selfishness; to the frivolous of her own sex, as an absurdity to be laughed at in the company of the men they affect, who enjoy the society of women lacking self-respect, and with whom they can often take liberties, short only of those they reserve for the more lowly of condition. In the eyes of, alas! many well-meaning and virtuous of both sexes, she takes the form of an interloper into matters beyond and outside her stereotyped “sphere.” Those who have an intimate acquaintance with the real new woman, have come into touch with their subject, see her under a very different aspect.

By them she is known as the woman who, with a strong sense of her own importance, usefulness, and responsibility, longs to strengthen the cause of right and justice, to make head against evil, to help the fallen, to raise her own sex to the highest level it can attain, and the other to a nobler ideal, which an age of money-making is hampering with low aims and luxurious tastes. She wishes to make marriage no longer an auction of sale to the highest bidder, or an exercise of tyranny on one side and subjection on the other, but a covenant of mutual help and service; and motherhood, not dreaded, despised, and a hindrance to self-fulfilment and rights of citizenship, but a state of recognition and honour. The desire of the new woman is to make lives of children more sanitary and joyous, more fit not only for the battle but the service of life, and the lives of all

men and women purer, better, and more pleasurable. These are the aims of the new woman solidarised in the flesh, however short she may come in the carrying of them out.

The editor of the *Cambrian News* deals with the difficulties which prevent the greater portion of the sex from rising to the height of the new woman in a way which, though it shows his feeling for justice and the largeness and generosity of his mind, is tinctured by what we may call his manliness, and his view is not therefore quite acceptable to a feminine judgment.

His argument is, that women are themselves to blame for their position, and that they must dig to the root of the matter and find out what it springs from. He declares it to be their unwillingness to take upon themselves the struggle of life as men take it, and to face all the nakedness of its problems. He says that women have, in their dislike to hardship, handed themselves over for centuries to men in return for shelter and protection; hence arose slavery in marriage and subservience generally to men. To remedy this, he says women must equip themselves in future exactly as men do, must be ready to fight and struggle, if needs be, die, after the same fashion. That there is truth in his pitiless logic we allow, but we think the outcome of it so dangerous to the cause he wishes to assist, that we feel constrained to draw attention to his argument and to its flaw. True it certainly is now that women, whatever may have been their attitude in past times, shrink from strife, the clash of arms, and anything like a hand-to-hand struggle with men. How this feeling commenced we do not positively know, though myths and legends are plentiful on the subject in all races. Heathenism and Christianity are at one in hinting that women were once the equal of the other sex, and that either conquering man or divine punishment placed them in the condition of inferiority they now occupy; and so great is man's satisfaction with this arrangement, that we find in every religion provision made for maintaining it, while those who pretend to no supernatural belief justify their unsanctioned attitude by the natural law of might is right. To the latter our editor's line will be acceptable, as he strengthens their argument, that physical force must be the gauge of supremacy; on the other hand, his views must shock the religious, except in so far as they would note with satisfaction the irony of placing before women conditions impossible of attainment.

We do not know but that in days gone by, when there was less mental strain, and men and women lived as the animals, their physical condition might have been what the writer asserts it is now, more equal. In uncivilised nations still women are made beasts of burden; in countries under the sway of Christianity, and European, a beast of draught to take the place of or assist the dog; and in some primitive but prosperous highlands she attains a noble develop-

ment and takes part in agriculture. Whatever gave the first impetus to the feebleness of women, it is quite certain that man by various means fostered it for his own benefit, and erected helplessness, timidity and dependence into feminine virtues, by which it should be maintained. What, our friend asks, will end this state of things? "Nothing but absolute similarity of employment, even to the pressing of women into the war forces of the State."

How, we ask, is this competition to be inaugurated against the will of men, and what hope could it have of a good ending?

If desirable, can it be accomplished without, driving our champion's logic to its conclusion, a civil strife like none hitherto seen, if we discredit the legend of Theseus and the Amazons? In such a war the foregone conclusion must be defeat of the handicapped sex, and a double locking of its cast-off chains. To set men and women on such a strife, to rouse their passions against each other, could not be a gain to humanity any more than a return to savage nature would be; and we regret the bitterness too often even now displayed, pardonable as it is on the side of the enslaved, as any man who would analyse his own feelings under the constant sway of repression and injustice might see if he did not blind himself.

Many women would doubtless be ready to lay down their lives in such a war were there a chance of success in the end, but that is impossible, and this is why men are heedless to their complaints and play the tyrant with impunity. A war of lethal weapons between the sexes would certainly not be carried on in the romantic style of our English poet. How, then, can such a crusade be preached, and does it not savour of irony to say to women, "The matter only rests with yourselves, and this, the impossible, must you do or your cause is hopeless."

To begin our objections. We say that, though much rests with women, all does not; men are the force they have to reckon with, and at present it is too strong for them. The few opportunities already yielded, the few advantages allowed, are even now banding men against women and kindling their jealousy. They say women are "cheapening the market," though only by this cheapening have they been able to get a rung of the ladder to stand upon. "Women are throwing men out of work"; it is idle to reply you have introduced machinery, which has turned women out of industries they long maintained to the satisfaction of the public, earning thereby the respect and consideration which being of use to the community brings. It is vain to say that men in shops are doing what women could do, if the former would fill the ranks of the army and navy or return to the plough. (Perhaps our editor would say that the women have here a chance of retaliation and an opportunity to show their courage.)

What use is it saying to men in the upper and middle classes

"You are bringing daughters into the world for whom you can provide no maintenance, and on whom you will not spend a tithe of what you spend on your sons to teach them professions and keep them from unhappy marriages or degraded lives?" Or to those of the lower class, "You have families for whom you cannot provide, girls brought up to work late and early for barely enough to keep body and soul together, or to lead lives which seem to weary brains and aching fingers more desirable than a living death?" It is useless to say this; for men retort that they must live, and that they, not women, must be the last to be sacrificed. Men must marry, and men must sin, and woman is the grist for their mill. This is men's position; how are women to assault it? Just as, in spite of game laws, farmers and labourers are still helpless in the hands of their landlords, so, in spite of amended marriage laws, are women in the hands of men. The husband contrives to get the power of the purse, and can refuse to have his daughters satisfactorily educated. Men would never allow women to go through the stress of warfare or agricultural toil, if for no less selfish reasons, for the well-being of the human race. Where is the possibility of women making way against the tyranny, the prejudice of men, or even against the chivalry (not to be confounded with its false and demoralising counterfeit) which shrinks from rudeness and hardship touching the lives of those it holds in love and reverence? In the hopelessness of such a prospect as that advanced we may well sit down in despair.

Amid the unassailable harness of logic which our editor vaunts can we discern no flaw? Is he not arguing as though physical force was to continue the arbitrator of destiny, when there are signs that peace should be the goal and aim of humanity? Does he not ignore that, even in their enforced mental and political inactivity, women have been all along the civilisers of the race, that this rôle is one of importance, and might be imperilled if women's physical conditions were roughened to those of men?

Again, agnostics and Christians are in accord; both believe in a millennium for the race, the one holding it will be brought about by the coalition of humanity, the other through the interposition of the Deity.

It is in the commencing development of sympathy, justice, and mercy that we look for aid to the cause of woman. This we already hail in the men so nobly and unselfishly leading what, viewed from the physical force point of view, seems but a forlorn hope, but, from a higher standpoint, is the initiation of a development that must have consummation, if there is truth in the prognostications of science and religion.

Strong in this hope, we too say to women: "Be not afraid, work out as far as you can your own salvation, claim just and equal treatment from men, for only by your co-advance can the desired evolution

have place." We call on men to aid them for the benefit of the race, and because there is such a command as "Do unto others as ye would men should do unto you."

Believing that humanity is not two, but one, that no moral being has a right to oppress another or forbid its use of natural powers, we cannot go so far as to say we recognise no difference at all of sex, of condition, of position in the world we know, whatever may be the case in one whose circumstances are to us unthinkable, anyhow foreign to our present constitution, as is shown in the weakness of every Utopia formulated by men.

In the very classifying of these distinctions together, though it may at first seem we point a moral from the Catechism to women who wish to alter their standing, we in reality produce an argument on their side. No one thinks it impious to seek to rise from his own sphere into a higher one; condition and position are alterable at will—the one is retrievable, the other attainable, but the hardship of sex classification is that its condition is irretrievable, its higher position unattainable.

Women have been lumped together in one indistinguishable mass. In the midst of change woman must be inert, in the progressions of the State, a fixture, if not an unconsidered nonentity; and this, no matter how keen her interest and intelligence, how active her sympathy, how great her capacity, how wide her interests. Was ever a bondage equal to this bondage? That a being with the hopes, the ambitions, the longings, the spiritual and intellectual thirst of man, having the love of power common to every member of the race, the same yearning after liberty, the same revulsion against injustice and repression, should have been made the toy or slave of men, been debarred from their interests and advantages, condemned to scarcely more than one occupation, or to waste of life and time, seems, indeed, a cruel irony of fate. Let a man imagine himself in the same position, would he have remained acquiescent? And had he been told it was of divine ordering, might he not have been driven to the rôle of Prometheus?

When we admit, as we do, a physical difference between men and women, we allow no inferiority of one to the other in the aggregate, and we believe the difference is needed for the improvement of the race, and because the side this difference initiates has not been properly represented in the State and the world, the consummation desired has been, and is, delayed.

Those aggressive and passive virtues which appear stronger, with exceptions, in one or other of the sexes, are both equally important on their bearing on the race, though our great Christian exemplar assigned to the passive a higher place. However conditions may have accentuated what at one time may have been a very slight physical difference between the sexes, we believe that mother-love

must have always initiated a different aspect from father-love. The latter had to be aggressive for his offsprings' maintenance and defence, when he took on himself, what it is suggested that in very early days he did not, responsibility towards it. Though in birds the line of conduct of the parents is more similar, in the mammalia, where the mother only can nourish her young, a differing line is noticeable. The qualities of patience and self-denial are called into play for the female, and this removed into higher spheres constitutes the main position of motherhood. The retirement of the mother, the self-communion, the suffering, the joy of possession, the feeling of being all in all to another, these are experiences fatherhood can never touch, and we are amazed that men with any inherent sense of justice could ever have taken on themselves the right to dispose of their offspring; it was indeed heavy blackmail for their accorded protection. By every law of right the child should belong first to that one who imperilled life that it might exist, and the claim is accentuated by each act of patience, self-abnegation, tending and guidance. How can men, in the face of laws even of the present day, have the blindness to declare women have no wrongs? Through suffering, introspection, and their close association with innocence and helplessness, women have developed a more vivid sense of things spiritual than is gained by men in their ordinary career of sport, warfare, or business. We hold, therefore, that the physical, intellectual, artistic, religious powers of women, however equally cultivated with those of men, will be tinged by a subtle difference.

That quickness of perception, developed to counterbalance the defects of superficial education and non-cultivation of reasoning faculty, may hold sway for a time, is possible; but the qualities bestowed by motherhood will continue as long as sex endures.

The "new woman" has no desire to imitate the bad points of the other sex: she sees no shame in womanliness; but, unfortunately, neither men nor women exactly agree in their definitions of womanliness. Men, and the women who follow their lead, think it exists in timidity, self-depreciation and effacement, and deference to the views and opinions covered by a coat and trousers, and doubtless because of the last, they load with opprobrium and regard jealously the unfortunate individuals who seek safety and health in some scheme of rational dress which will suit active healthy human beings who have ceased to shun exercise and mud as did their grandmothers. This definition applies to what we call artificially developed womanliness: it is not natural to human nature; womanliness should no more include these things than manliness should. Timidity is not a virtue at all, it is a misfortune; self-effacement is a law of Christianity, and should be equally binding on both sexes; self-depreciation is false, and likely to lead to harm;

deference to the opinions of others is sometimes a virtue ; but if exhibited to those from whom we differ is deceit, and too common in the handicapped sex.

Manliness is too often confounded with mere brute strength, brute courage (which is not the highest), self-assertion, independence of character (too often another word for selfishness), and lack of consideration for the feelings and ways of others. The Christian type of man is what the world might often style a woman, and the unlicked cub, a muff—one that does not revenge himself but suffers wrong, denies himself, treats others as he would wish to be treated, places himself last, not first, ministers and serves, not making himself the intermediary between others, be they men or women, and God.

A womanly woman, to our thinking, should have courage; in fact, courage is an integral part of woman's condition ; without it she could not face her life ; she should have self-respect, humility—equally with men—deference to the opinions of those older or wiser, men or women, modesty in setting out her own, but independence enough to have them, and truth enough not to hide them. Manliness, we hold, should be the same. Where, then, does the difference come in ? We think it arises from, and exists in, a man's estimate of his physical strength gloried in through centuries, and which has become so much an instinct that feeble men imagine they are stronger, and, by a false conclusion, more capable, than women, and exercise the rôle of protection and guidance however unfitted for it ; while a woman imagines that a man only can act as her defender, for, never having used her own strength, she is unaware of its possession. We hold, however, that, as long as women are the mothers of humanity, this difference will remain ; and here we differ from the editor of the *Cambrian News*.

A man must always have less experience of weakness and suffering, and develops consequently less power of patience and sympathy with others. A man, not being so necessary as a mother to young children, cannot exhibit the tender ways of motherhood ; his method must be rougher. The blending of these things gives that subtle charm to women which we cannot analyse, and call womanliness, and, like men's untaxed strength, goes on being handed down through the centuries. It is true that men show tenderness—generally the bravest—but it is a grace that calls for comment, thereby proving it exceptional, as lack of tenderness in a woman is called manliness, but is quite apart from any conscious imitation of men.

We regret that women should ever cast a slur on their name by affecting the rougher ways and methods of the other sex, and that men should deny them equality because they are in some ways dissimilar to themselves, but it is really the argument of the latter

that drives women to the mimicry they satirise. "You're only a girl"; "You're only a woman" have so long been the stock phrases of males, young and old, to express their sense of superiority, that the despised sex may well be pardoned for believing its only chance is to say, "We will be women no longer."

Why, though every human being is born into the world with a distinct individuality, is it to be crushed out in the larger half of the race? Why must women be treated as a conglomerate, or rather, a homogeneous mass? By the laws of nature, vitality and activity must produce segregation. The movement has commenced, and women must and will continue to assert their right to freedom of thought and conduct, and they may be trusted not to overstep the bounds of womanliness, which means, in our view, they will do nothing that will ruin their motherliness, which is the great civilising motive of the race. We hold that war and hard manual and agricultural labour would do this, and militate against the tenderness of women's nature, which is needful as a palliative. But we see no reason why women should only have, as practically they had, two courses open to them—that of mothers or nurses; as a matter of fact, women have, by men's leave or without, played every rôle, and often, missing one of their own, made or marred that of men.

Too long have women been lulled by songs of love, so called, to rest in a gilded cage, or, where limited income takes the place of luxury, been the hewers of wood and drawers of water that men might be free to follow their leanings. Where would have been the men who, according to the dictum of an M.P.<sup>1</sup> who has been distinguishing himself by his logic on the woman suffrage question, "have done and do all the important work of the world," but for the women who bore them, reared them, and in most cases of success, by men's own acknowledgment, laid its foundation-stone by the pains they bestowed on the cultivation of character? Where would have been the means found for men's education and opportunities if women had not been sacrificed, or laboured at distasteful occupations, that the men might learn, or be free to follow their bent? There have been many Caroline Herschels in the world.

Their sisters might in many cases have done as well, with equal chances, and possibly far better than the average men whose ranks are swelled by such as the aforementioned member, whose arrogant declaration recalls to mind the fable of the frog that simulated the bull. There are doubtless great men who have done important work and earned the gratitude of the race, but we have yet to learn what claim the honourable member has to the adulation of his compatriots, while we could mention a long string of women, in government, diplomacy, science, art, medicine, philanthropy, who deserved the thanks not only of their country but humanity.

<sup>1</sup> Hon. member for Hereford against women's franchise.

Letting this alone, we say that women used to be the doctors, weavers, brewers, and bakers of the community, till machinery drove them out of their professions. Thousands work in manufactories and shops, sacrificing health and life that others may live in comfort, hundreds teach in our schools and homes, and if they have been prevented by men in their selfishness from entering higher walks of life, or reaping the rewards for duty done they do themselves, that is women's misfortune, not their fault. As far as manual work goes, we have yet to learn why a sempstress, a laundress, a factory hand, and last, not least, a teacher, is inferior to or less necessary than a mason, a ploughman, a stonebreaker, or a schoolmaster. The motherliness that is in women has made them good rulers, where men too often thought only of selfish gratification or lust of conquest; and good administrators of money and property, where men have squandered their patrimony in riotous living. Does this make men more ready to admit them to the same level? Alas, no; laws of primogeniture are laid aside in their case for disqualification of sex; men leave thousands to their sons and hundreds to their daughters; women are allowed to have only wants where men are encouraged to have tastes, and equipped accordingly; and still men add insult to injury by telling women they must not vote, because they do not do the work of men, or, as our courteous member phrases it, "the work of the world!"

If women had indeed played no other rôle but that of mothers and nurses they would have deserved the gratitude of the race for their civilising influence. Where would be the charm of home or society apart from the graciousness of life under their refining power? Motherhood alone should entitle a woman to the honours of citizenship, certainly not be the bar to keep her from it. No one says a father must not be a citizen because his first duty is to provide by hard work for his children, and that he therefore has not time to give to his country's affairs. When a man comes to fatherhood and middle age he receives pleasure from the respect and importance attached to his work and his standing, and civic honours drop on him. With women this is reversed, the heyday of youth and beauty has gone and carried with it their short-lived triumphs, their power is at an end, husbands sometimes neglect them, sons treat them with an affectionate condescension, daughters look jealously on any exercise of their fascinations or accomplishments, and the self-effacing retire into dull monotony and nonentity, while the vain make frantic endeavours to conceal the inroads of old age and become the laughing-stock of the sex, who, in its own wish for power, has no need of such endeavours.

We welcome, then, the kind intentions of the editor of the *Cambridge News*, and we so far agree with him as to say women must take life more seriously, and not look to a gilded cage for susten-

ance. They must resist being handicapped and underpaid, by combination, walk on their own feet, learn their part without needing a prompter, respect their own opinions, their own powers, and not seek aid and advice only from men; but that they must enter the ranks of the army and navy, build houses, make railways, mine, plough, sow and reap, we do not admit. This would not be good for themselves, because not good for the race; what coarsens them must tell against their work of civilising. The errand of woman is one of love and mercy; to become callous to suffering, or to inflict it, should not be the rôle of the feminine half of creation; and happy, indeed, is it in not having to do so on its dearest without thought or consideration, as is too often the case with men.

If we believed that political power, or the practice of professions, would have a debasing effect on women, we should be doubtful of claiming either for them, but we do not.

The elevation of responsibility is what women need to check the impulsiveness that produces results grievous to the world at large, and the superficiality of ignorance that equally ends in disaster. Experience shows us that women will have power and exercise influence, and it were wiser that they used both more advisedly. They are the best women who take up professions and claim loudest the vote; they are not the women who lead aimless lives of selfish indulgence, exist to pose as leaders of fashion, neglect homes and children for the sake of amusement, bring disgrace on themselves and families or ruin on their husbands. They are not the fast women who copy men's failings, live for sport, or swagger about in imitation of the worst types of the male species. They form the real basis of the "new woman," ennobling their smallest duties with understanding, calling nothing small, indeed, that can benefit in the slightest degree the individual or the race.

There may be an amiability and unselfishness in those women who allow themselves to lie under the domination of men as men, and appeal childishly to them on every possible occasion; but these are not the women to make the backbone of a nation, though men approve them, because, being in love, as all human nature is prone to be, with their own judgments and opinions, they prefer to live with those who allow them full scope. There is truth, however, in the saying that unselfish mothers make selfish children, and the same applies to unselfish wives; and anything that keeps up selfishness in human nature militates both against Christianity and the Utopia of the evolutionists. As long as in married life one does all the taking and the other all the giving, humanity will not progress. Happily for the race, men are better than their creed, and few have exacted the utmost letter of the law.

The higher woman's nature is, like the higher man's, a proud one; it scorns to do a mean thing, to take an unfair advantage, to play

the tyrant, and is consequently the one that more readily resents against itself meanness, injustice, and tyranny. It is the resentment such natures feel against sex usurpation that makes them termagants, while, had they been allowed the scope and play accorded to the other sex, they would have been amenable to sweet reason. Respect, confidence, consideration, can injure no characters but the worst; they have been even known to reclaim criminals, how much more to bring out the music of sensitive natures that reply to every note struck upon them! How little, alas! men realise the origin of many jarring discords in their married life, and how they, by upholding the traditions of the need, or the correctness, of repressing the other sex and asserting their own, lay up for themselves misery and disappointment. "As a man sows, so shall he reap."

Though Ihsen, by his own avowal, was no abettor of women's rights, no champion in any way consciously for their cause, in saying that women must influence the world "by their motherhood," he touched the problem that we hold, as scientific thinkers and as Christians, is before the peoples—as scientific thinkers, because in any well-grounded theory of evolution or betterment, of physical and moral development, women must be themselves considered. Men have too long spoken and thought of the other sex like Tennyson's fat-faced curate, as if it lived merely for the increase of the race, egotistic and evil-minded men, for worse ends. But philosophers, poets, moral teachers saw ever farther; they saw, and see still more, that depreciation of the woman is depreciation of the mother, and depreciation of the mother must lower the race. This depreciation of woman is at the root of the greater evils of every State, and it is only by putting her in her right place as companion, friend, and helpmeet, not making her the toy or drudge of man, that the race can be exalted.

Pagans admitted her into the ranks of their gods, the Egyptian mythology, that of a highly civilised period, included her in a divine triad of father, mother, son. Heathen philosophers, not knowing how to raise her, suggested her being trained as men were, not to be even trammelled in her higher form by motherhood (this, it appears to us, might be the logical outcome of the teaching of the editor of the *Cambrrian News*). Christians of later times, feeling the blank of the feminine in the aspect of God, have formed a reason for worshipping her as the mother of God, and seeking her merciful assistance; Positivists make her a priestess of humanity; yet none of these accord women in general a place as man's equal, and this illogicality has resulted in the annulment of their good endeavours.

Some students trace in the various names of the Deity one betokening a feminine element; as Christians, we may at all events say, that which brings our Saviour close to us is the human origin, the mother's nature, and whatever was the cause or the reason of

woman's subjugation, we hold that by that very giving of human form to God she redeemed woman from the curse, and in doing all we can to strike off her chains and enable her to express herself, we are fulfilling the will of God, which is worked out by human means with slow but strong insistency. Those who point to certain verses, doubtful at least in translation, and at best the utterance of men—men inspired doubtless, but no more to be in advance of their times than were the writers of the Old Testament—are unable to appreciate and understand that love of God which sets itself against all tyranny, all injustice, which makes for liberty, "an undoing of the heavy burdens, and letting the oppressed go free."

When women, untrammelled by unjust laws, with their intellects cultivated, their views enlarged by civic and political responsibility, are treated with respect *as women*, with their work, whatever it be, held in like esteem as that of men; when they are enfranchised, because either unmarried or as mothers, they, equally with men, support the State, or imperil their lives for its well-being, and because, though equally concerned in its prosperity, and affected by its laws, they hold views tinged by their own woman's nature, which are valuable and necessary of consideration, as long as humanity is made up of male and female, then we shall hear no more of women wishing to be men, or holding marriage and motherhood, as they are accused of doing, in contempt or abhorrence.

NAT ARLING.

## THE FIFTY-SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS IN LUNACY.

A PERUSAL of the latest report of the Commissioners in Lunacy leaves us with the impression that by a sum in compound proportion it is possible to foretell the time when England will be one vast madhouse. Report after report opens with the announcement that there is an increase in the number of lunatics over that of the preceding year. True, the Commissioners, with that obstinate insistency which has hitherto characterised their attitude on this point, assure us that there is no real increase-- that the whole thing is chimerical. The facts which they have formerly urged to prove their assertion no more appeal to our common sense now than in the past. Everywhere the word "overcrowding" catches our eye; and that notwithstanding the opening of four new asylums. Conclusive proof, is it not, of the decrease or stationary position of insanity? The total number of lunatics on January 1, 1898, is, the report goes on to state, 101,972, being an increase of 2607 over that of the preceding year. A glance at Tables 2 and 4 reveals only what has been stated over and over again by many, the Commissioners dissenting, that there is a decided increase in lunacy. From the year 1869 up to the present there has been not only a steady increase in the ratio of total lunatics to that of general population, but also of pauper lunatics to general and pauper populations. We can scarcely conceive that the greater tendency which now exists to send senile and imbecile cases to asylums accounts for this progressive increase, more especially when the ratio of total paupers to population has steadily diminished. We have not time to go into the number of patients discharged during this period, but it must be great, for in the past year it amounts to 9215.

The influence of heredity in the causation of insanity is too well known to require in an article of this description anything but the mere statement. This should be borne in mind when the question of an increase of insanity is considered, and we are of opinion that it has more to do with the increase than the flimsy causes which have on former occasions been gravely advanced. We recognise the impossibility of subjecting discharged patients to any kind of supervision, but a law dealing with the marriage or cohabitation of

epileptics (it has, we believe, been introduced in America) and a more prolonged control over pauper children and vagrants as possible progenitors of their species would tend, we think, to a decrease of the mentally unstable. Forty years ago, according to the report, one in every 536 was insane, now one in every 308 is mad.

The average recovery rate in the last two periods of five years, as contrasting with the three preceding similar periods, has declined, and this notwithstanding the enormous sums of money expended and our boasted advance in the scientific treatment of the insane. The Commissioners, however, explain this by referring to the increased number of mere senile cases sent to asylums. What a God-send the senile and imbecile are as a dernier resort in argument! Many of the tables serve, in our opinion, no useful purpose, but to the tables dealing with the conditions as to marriage we would refer youths and maidens as affording food for reflection.

Coming now to the average cost per head per week, we find it higher in borough than in county asylums. In this connection we note the great discrepancy that exists between individual institutions. We are prepared to admit that the cost, owing to various circumstances, cannot always be the same, but we are hardly prepared for such wide fluctuations as the table exhibits. The cost, for example, of keeping a patient at Chester Asylum is 6s. 6½d., and at Plymouth 11s. 2½d. Between these extremes the cost varies greatly. Let us take Monmouth Asylum as one where the cost is low, and see what the Commissioners say. "We saw," they state, "an ample dinner of boiled beef and pork with potatoes and pickles. The condition of the patients as regards personal cleanliness and neatness of dress was satisfactory." This is achieved at the cost of 7s. 0½d. per week; and if such a sum can secure comfort to the patients in Monmouth Asylum, we fail to see why at Plymouth it requires 11s. 2½d. to provide "an excellent dinner."

The Commissioners, however, appear at last to be dimly conscious of the burden imposed upon the ratepayer, and in a deprecating sort of way express regret, but at the same time their conviction that anything of the nature of delay in carrying out their recommendations is false economy. May we humbly be allowed to enter a protest against the tendency there is to extravagance? Viewing the report as a whole there are several points which are perhaps not unworthy of mention and deserving of consideration. First, as a monument of statistics it justifies the existence of the Commissioners. Second, as examples of sums in simple addition it is incorrect. Last and most important, that, notwithstanding the enormous increase in the number of the insane, from whatever cause arising, the number of Commissioners—three medical and three legal—remains the same.

In 1856 there were 21,954 lunatics, in 1898 there are 101,972.  
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These figures a tale unfold, and speak for themselves. With a prospective Lunacy Bill in the coming Session, it may therefore not be out of place to call attention to this disproportion, as the Commissioners themselves, if at all, have not given it the prominence it deserves. We admire the devotion to duty which has for nearly half a century enabled them to bear without a murmur their annually increasing burdens, and to perform their official inspections and investigations without asking for additional assistance. None the less do we think it imperative. Holding, as we do, that their department is one specially for experts, might we suggest that the Board be strengthened, if need be, at the sacrifice of a legal Commissioner, by the appointment of several Deputy-Commissioners, as obtains in Scotland?

We trust that some of our legislators who may be interested in the subject will give this their consideration.

HAGUCH.

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

### PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

MOST readers of Lady Macdonald's translation of Engène de la Gournerie's well-known work *Christian Rome*,<sup>1</sup> will agree with Cardinal Vaughan, who says, in his prefatory note, that "the spirit of the work is admirable and the narrative of the innumerable scenes and thrilling events, of which these volumes is made up, is pleasant and even exciting."

That the author was a better Catholic than a historian needs scarcely to be said, and legends, which form interesting reading, are scattered plentifully throughout his pages. It is not a book to be treated with critical severity; not but what there is plenty of history in it and good history too, but it is so mingled with tradition that it would be a useless labour to try to separate them; and to do so would destroy the charm of the work. Take, for instance, the story of St. Agnes. Agnes, a young girl, was led to the circus Agonalis, now Piazza Navona, to be menaced, insulted, outraged. The sweet girl was led thither by two soldiers. They tore off her clothes; but her hair grew miraculously, and concealed her body from the vulgar gaze. The son of the prefect of Rome, daring to look insolently at her, was immediately struck down dead. The prefect implored her to give him back his son, whereupon Agnes prayed and the youth was restored to life. This is not history, but with fuller details given in the text is sufficiently thrilling. The author defends his record of miracles by avowing that he has written in the strong simple faith of a Christian, and that we ought not to be surprised at miracles, as all within and around is miraculous, if by the word miracle we understand that which cannot be explained by reason alone. This is not exactly our definition of miracle, and the miracles which he relates are not things to be explained by reason, but to be substantiated by evidence, which of course they are not. However, the general reader will no doubt take such stories for what they are worth, and enjoy reading them all the same. It would be an injustice to the author if we conveyed the impression that there is nothing more substantial in the book than legends; there is much that is of real value, but always allowance must be made for the religious

<sup>1</sup> *Christian Rome. A Historical View of its Memories and Monuments 41-1867.* By Engène de la Gournerie. Translated and abridged by the Hon. Lady Macdonald. With a Preface by H. E. Cardinal Vaughan. Two vols. London: Rolande. 1898.

intentions of the writer, whose chief aim seems to be to glorify Roman Catholic Christianity. When he ventures into a higher domain his bias is no less apparent, as when he says that morality is a mere dream, a word without meaning, when separated from dogma. It is too large a subject to discuss in a short notice; we can only say we do not accept this proposition.

*The Lausiæ History of Palladius*<sup>1</sup> is one of the chief sources of our knowledge of early Christian monachism in Egypt. It has generally been accepted without question as authentic and veracious; but of late years it has been treated with a good deal of scepticism, of which Dr. Weingarten is the most thorough-going exponent. He regards the records of early monachism as the product of superstition, and such works as the *Lausiæ History* as pure invention. Mr. Butler comes to the defence well armed, it must be confessed, with learning, but with an unmistakable bias in favour of his subject. Not having Dr. Weingarten's *Ursprung des Monchtums* at hand to refer to, we shall have to leave the question of the truth of the contending critics undecided; but, judging by the evidence so carefully and lucidly presented by Mr. Butler, we have no difficulty in concluding that Dr. Weingarten goes much too far in treating the *Historia Lausiaca* and the *Historia Monachorum* as fairy tales. Dr. Zückler's position is much more tenable, that the biographies of the holy men contained in these works have an historical basis, but are highly coloured and enriched with wonders.

Palladius was born in Galatea in 367, and became a monk when about twenty years of age; he soon afterwards withdrew to the desert, where he lived for some years. He is said to have been consecrated by St. John Chrysostom as Bishop of Hellenopolis, in Bithynia. When he was rather over fifty years of age he wrote a series of biographical sketches of the monks whom he had known either personally or through reports of their disciples. This work became known as the *Historia Lausiaca*, as it was dedicated to Lausus, a chamberlain at the court of Theodosius II.

The first part of Dom Cuthbert Butler's elaborate work is devoted to a textual criticism of the documents, and the second part to an historical criticism of the work and its contents. The question of the documents is a complicated one, and Mr. Butler must have had no little difficulty in disentangling it, and in isolating the original text of Palladius from other matters which are fused with it in the Latin version generally known as the Long Recension. Having secured this original document, Mr. Butler unhesitatingly pronounces in favour of its authenticity and originality.

In the historical criticism Mr. Butler comes to close quarters with Dr. Weingarten, but we do not feel convinced that, if Palladius is

<sup>1</sup> *The Lausiæ History of Palladius. A Critical Discussion, together with Notes on Early Egyptian Monachism.* By Dom Cuthbert Butler. Cambridge: The University Press. 1898.

the author of the work, he is to be relied upon. His love of the marvellous destroys our confidence in him as a biographer.

A short sketch of the character of Egyptian monachism, which follows the discussion, is fresh and interesting, though it contains little that is new. It is amusing to learn that the monks called themselves "athletes," and that they loved to "make a record"—that is, to out-distance one another in austerities and compete in the practice of self-mortification. We should say that this book forms the first part of volume vi. of *Texts and Studies*, contributions to Biblical and patristic literature edited by Dr. J. Armitage Robinson.

Sermons as a rule are religious and practical, and not theological or controversial, and therefore call for little in the way of criticism only so far as they fail or succeed in fulfilling the preacher's intentions. Some are good and some bad, but the *Cambridge and other Sermons*,<sup>1</sup> by Dr. Hort, rank among the best. They are marked by a deep and serious piety, an elevated moral tone, and a forcible simplicity of expression.

#### VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

*On an Autocar through the Length and Breadth of the Land*,<sup>2</sup> by Mr. Henry Sturmeý, is capital reading for autocarists and cyclists. The style is wanting in polish and the English not always of the best, but the author's meaning is sufficiently clear for the purpose. Mr. Sturmeý made his start from John-o'-Groats, and ran thence by Inverness, Edinburgh and Carlisle, through the West of England to Land's End, returning to Coventry by the South Coast and London, covering in all 1600 miles. The tour was partly undertaken by the author to prove the practical utility of autocars in general, and to mitigate to some extent the existing prejudice against them<sup>3</sup> so largely held by the British public. The motor was an oil one, and nothing in the nature of a breakdown occurred throughout the journey. So far as "times" are concerned Mr. Sturmeý made no attempts at record-breaking, and his daily average of miles was scarcely greater, if as much, than that of the ordinary touring cyclist who carries his own luggage. Mr. Sturmeý's experience of the roads around Stonehenge was similiar to our own. His tyres were more injured there by the flints than by the whole of the rest of his tour. The book is well illustrated throughout from the author's camera.

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge and other Sermons*. By Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *On an Autocar through the Length and Breadth of the Land*. By Henry Sturmeý. London: Iliffe, Sons & Sturmeý, Ltd.

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

MUCH interest is attached to the career of Sir Henry Lawrence.<sup>1</sup> The life of this distinguished man has been told with great succinctness and clearness by Lieutenant-General M'Leod Innes. The book has the merit of avoiding unnecessary digressions.

*Camping and Tramping in Malaya*<sup>2</sup> is a very readable book. It gives some bright sketches of adventures with elephants and crocodiles.

*Richard the Third*,<sup>3</sup> by Dr. James Gairdner, is a work in which great erudition is displayed. The author's high reputation is a guarantee for the thoroughness of his researches. We have an admirable study of Perkin Warbeck, who is described as a "fair-haired youth." The story of this interesting impostor forms one of the most curious romances of history; and Dr. Gairdner has thrown some fresh light on the subject.

Leibnitz<sup>4</sup> is one of those great philosophers that require exceptionally close study. The Clarendon Press has brought out a neat volume giving selections from his works, and enabling the reader to form a fair estimate of Leibnitz's position in the domain of philosophy as compared with Descartes and Locke.

A good history of the Greco-Turkish War of 1897<sup>5</sup> has been published by Messrs. Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. The author of the work is a German staff-officer, who evidently has gathered his facts at first hand.

## BELLES LETTRES.

*The Fortunes of Nigel*<sup>6</sup> has been beautifully brought out by Mr. Fisher Unwin in the series entitled "The Century Scott." This is, in some respects, one of Scott's best historical novels, though it has many grave defects of structure and style. The edition will be found very attractive by all students of Scott.

*That Fascinating Widow and other Frivolous and Fantastic Tales for River, Road, and Rail*, is a very clever book of the frivolous order. The author, Mr. T. Adair Fitzgerald, knows how to handle

<sup>1</sup> *Sir Henry Lawrence the Pacificator*. By Lieutenant-General J. J. M'Leod Innes, R.E., V.C. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

<sup>2</sup> *Camping and Tramping in Malaya. Fifteen Years' Pioneering in the Native States of the Malay Peninsula*. By Ambrose D. Rathbone. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

<sup>3</sup> *Richard the Third*. By James Gairdner, LL.D. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

<sup>4</sup> *Leibnitz: The Monadology, &c.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

<sup>5</sup> *The Greco-Turkish War of 1897*. By a German Staff-Officer. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

<sup>6</sup> "The Century Scott" (*The Fortunes of Nigel*) London: T. Fisher Unwin

the frothy side of life effectively. Some of the tales are entirely unreal, but they are none the less entertaining.

*Hero and Heroine*<sup>1</sup> is a capital story of school life, by Mr. Ascot B. Hope. The incidents are exciting, but do not transcend the bounds of probability.

We have given below a full transcription of the title-page of Mr. Heron-Allen's book on the *Ruba'iyat of Omar Khayyām*<sup>2</sup> as the readiest method of conveying a correct idea of its contents. It may be said in a sentence to tell us all about it; but the thoroughness, completeness, and excellence of the work can only be seen by a perusal of it. The central feature is a beautiful photographic reproduction of the whole of the original manuscript. This is followed by a transcription in modern Persian characters, with a translation and notes, while another copy of the translation, unencumbered, is also printed earlier in the volume for the convenience of the reader. There is also a comprehensive bibliography of Omar. The introduction and the concluding essay on "Some Sidelights upon Edward Fitzgerald's Poems," are full of information, criticism, and biographical bits, which are instructive and entertaining. Mr. Heron-Allen is to be congratulated upon the success with which he has accomplished a task, which, though a labour of love, was a serious one to undertake; and all lovers of Fitzgerald and of Omar will be grateful to him. Everything about the book is of the best—paper, printing, and binding; and a word of praise must be given to the "decorations" by Ella Hallward. This is the second edition, but we do not suppose it will be the last; if it meets with its deserts it will be followed by many others.

*The Defeat of Avarice*<sup>3</sup> is a story which deals with the familiar theme of a young girl being deprived of her liberty by designing relatives, with a view to obtaining possession of her money. The treatment of the subject is exceedingly conventional, and the style shows a limited acquaintance with grammar and the ordinary rules of composition. In the end, of course, all ends happily, and herein conventionality triumphs just as it does in every chapter in the book.

The student of Italian literature will be deeply interested in the volume just published by Signor Antonio Zandonati.<sup>4</sup> The subject of Tridentine literature is full of material on which advanced criticism can exercise its powers. The analysis of the works of Girolamo Tartarotti is masterly. The quotations prove that Tartarotti

<sup>1</sup> *Hero and Heroine*. A Story of the First Year at School. By Ascot B. Hope. London: A. & C. Black.

<sup>2</sup> *The Ruba'iyat of Omar Khayyām*. Being a facsimile of the MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, with a Transcript into Modern Persian Characters. Translated, with an Introduction and Notes, and a Bibliography, and some sidelights upon Edward Fitzgerald's Poem, by Edward Heron-Allen. Second Edition, carefully revised and considerably enlarged. London: H. S. Nichols. 1898.

<sup>3</sup> *The Defeat of Avarice*. By Theresa Molyneux. London: Digby, Long & Co.

<sup>4</sup> *Litteratura Tridentina (Il Poeti)*. By Antonio Zandonati.

was at least a man of great culture, if not genius. Other poets dealt with are Valeriano Malfatti, Senor Battista Graser, and Bianca Laura Sailante. At the period when these poets flourished, the modern method of interpreting nature had not found its way into Italian literature, for the eighteenth century in Italy, as well as in France and England, was characterised by extreme artificiality. What, however, the century lacked in naturalness, it, to some extent, made up for in scholarship and a certain distinction of style, even in the case of inferior writers. Signor Zandonati's work is to be continued, and the sequel will, no doubt, be just as interesting as the volume we have noticed.

#### POETRY.

*The Shrine of Love and other Poems*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr. L. V. Rule, does not show much of the "divine afflatus." The verses are musical enough, but there is no inspiration in their composition. It would have been better if the author had written in prose.

Mr. J. Kent's volume of poems entitled *A Harvest Festival* is perhaps a little above the average. There are some neatly turned verses in the book, but there is no poetry in it of extraordinary merit.

<sup>1</sup> *The Shrine of Love and Other Poems*. By Lucien V. Rule. Chicago: Stone & Co.

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A LEADER WANTED.

THE Southport election, at which a so-called Liberal was returned on the platform of a Jingo foreign policy, has had its natural result. A Tory Ministry, accused of flabbiness in respect of its foreign policy, has found it necessary, or thought it necessary, to prove to the country that it is prepared to outbid the most jingoistic of Liberals, and to spend unlimited money in fortifying the mailed fist of the British Empire. Providence would seem to have intervened on behalf of Lord Salisbury. Hardly had the echoes of the Southport speeches died off into silence when the country was stirred first by the news of an immense slaughter of black men at the hands of a British force, and next by the appearance of an intruding French flag in a region believed to be subject to quasi-British control. Something new had once more come out of Africa. More than a dozen years ago, Wolseley had slain his thousands in the Nile Valley, to be rewarded with a title and a Parliamentary grant. Now, in this year of grace 1898, Kitchener has slain his ten thousands, a feat naturally deserving of a similar reward. The nation, regarding these rewards with the equanimity of resignation, congratulates itself upon this one fact at least—that the disproportioned bombast of the present Commander-in-Chief of the British army no longer remains the sole example of what a British soldier should be. Further, the nation finds some relief in the reflection that its latest military hero, albeit his antagonists were a crowd of half-armed barbarians, has proved himself to be, beyond everything else, an English gentleman.

The ten thousands whom Kitchener slew, however, would hardly in themselves have sufficed to meet the party necessities of Lord

Salisbury's Government. Something more was wanted if the effect of the open rebuff of the Southport election was to be done away with. Luckily for Lord Salisbury, a small French expedition, which had struggled across the African continent under immense difficulties, had located itself on the Nile at a point a good many leagues to the southward of the scene of Lord Kitchener's triumph. The thing, from a party point of view, was a providence. No reasonable person could suppose that so feeble an expedition, consisting of eight Europeans and a few score of African riflemen, could maintain itself in such a position in the face of what had occurred lower down the Nile. From the very first it was a foregone conclusion that such an expedition, except as a collection of private persons engaged in scientific research, was entirely out of place. It was plain from the very first that this fact was recognised both by French statesmen and the French Press. Being thus face to face with a certain opportunity of scoring, it naturally occurred to Lord Salisbury's Government—an entity which has to be distinguished from Lord Salisbury personally—to make the most of it. Mr. Chamberlain, whose influence so nearly wrecked the chance of a friendly settlement with France over the West African question, was, it is true, in America, delighting the public there with utterances that sent cold shivers down the backs of his colleagues in London. It may be taken for granted, however, that the cable was not idle, and that Lord Salisbury and the legitimate Conservatives were plainly warned of what the consequences would be if they failed to play up to the Birmingham ideal. Spurred on by such warnings, the attitude of Lord Salisbury's Government immediately became domineering and aggressive. It became clear from the most unprecedented—though, from a party-point of view, timely—publication of the first Foreign Office White Book, that the question of the presence of this French expedition at Fashoda was being pressed on the French Government in a manner quite out of keeping with the nature of the relations that should exist between friendly Governments. "Do not," pleaded M. Delcassé, "ask us for the impossible." What was the "impossible"? Clearly a friendly settlement under unfriendly pressure of the questions that had arisen. National feeling is a factor of the utmost importance in connection with all such controversies. National feeling in France was not warmly engaged on behalf of the Marchand expedition. That expedition was, in fact, one of those colonial exploits which France has learnt to beware of. If, however, by the attitude of the British Government, a national importance were given to the controversy, then national sentiment in France would have forbidden any surrender, and the conflict which both sides were most anxious to avoid would have followed.

There can be no doubt that up to the date of the meeting of the Cabinet Council in London, and prior to Mr. Chamberlain's return

from America, distinct and satisfactory progress had been made towards a friendly settlement—a settlement that would leave no inheritance of ill-feeling on either side. There can be no doubt, too, that this progress towards so satisfactory a settlement was materially helped forward by the action and utterances of Lord Kitchener—action and utterances equally creditable to him, whether they were based upon explicit instructions or upon his own conception of the situation. Practically it was decided, before the Cabinet Council met, that the Fashoda incident would be settled to the satisfaction of the British Government. When the Cabinet met, however, Lord Salisbury and the legitimate Conservatives were subjected to pressure which, if unexpected on their part, has had its very obvious result. It is a matter of public notoriety and public record that the French Ambassador, 'interviewing' Lord Salisbury immediately after the meeting of the Cabinet, found him in a much more dictatorial and unyielding state of mind than he had displayed in the earlier phases of negotiation. No one who is in any degree acquainted with the constitution of the present Ministry, and with the history of its relations with the French Government, can pretend to doubt whence the influence proceeded that brought about the change in Lord Salisbury's attitude. Mr. Chamberlain had old scores to pay off in connection with his West African adventures, and what more natural than that, apart from everything else, he should seek to pay them off in connection with another French controversy? Beyond this, it has long been evident that Mr. Chamberlain is playing for a premiership based on his reputation as the strong commercial man in the Unionist gang. The *role* is one which is eminently calculated to appeal to the feelings and interests of the financial and commercial classes, and we shall, no doubt, before long hear his praises sung as the man who stiffened the back of Lord Salisbury's Government against France.

Mr. Chamberlain has scored, there can be no doubt. But what has been the cost in respect of our relations with France and in respect of national expenditure? The Fashoda incident has been terminated, it is true; but instead of being terminated in a spirit conducive to the maintenance of cordial relations between the two leading Powers of Western Europe, it has been terminated in a manner which has left room for bitter controversy and ill-feeling. That is the view expressed unanimously by the French Press. To put it shortly, Mr. Chamberlain and his adherents in the Cabinet have secured a personal triumph at the expense of the maintenance of cordial relations between Great Britain and France. But they have done more than this. Having commenced on this course, they are bound to continue in it. To wound the national sensitiveness of France means to increase the dangers of England. Hence, in spite of the settlement of the Fashoda incident, naval and military

preparations have gone on, not only as before, but with increased activity, till even the most Jingo of evening journals has been constrained to ask what it all means. Rumours of war fly up to London from every naval station; Mr. Goschen makes a patriotic point of declining to attend a banquet at Sheffield; a minor member of the Government declares that he is so busy in looking after cordite and smokeless powder that he has no time for speech-making. This is partly a natural outcome of the policy forced on Lord Salisbury by the ambitious Liberal-Unionists in his Cabinet. But it is just as much a party manœuvre, a phase of a great intrigue, in which members of the Government and leading members of the Opposition are equally concerned. The aim and object of this intrigue is not hard to discern. The efforts of Liberal-Unionists in the Ministry to oust their Conservative colleagues have for a long time past been apparent, while equally apparent have been the efforts of so-called Liberal leaders to declare their adherence, in respect of foreign policy at least, to the creed of Jingoism. The roads followed by Mr. Chamberlain and by Lord Rosebery respectively are rapidly approaching the same goal. That goal is the establishment of a Coalition Ministry which, ignoring Tory traditions on the one hand and democratic claims on the other, will seek to dominate the country by pure force of money. What this projected Ministry may call itself, under what political flag it may profess to sail, is still an open question, and is really a matter of very little importance. But it is on behalf of this projected Ministry that a chronic disagreement has been established with France, and that contributions for special naval and military expenditure are levied upon the British taxpayer.

This is the danger, as we take the liberty to call it, with which the country is threatened—a Coalition Ministry founded on the mere power of money, and seeking to maintain itself in the public regard by an extravagant policy of national expansion and by extravagant expenditure on what will be made to appear as national defence. There can be no doubt that the policy of such a Ministry would have in it a large element of popularity. It would appeal strongly to the financial and commercial interests of the country, and all the more strongly if linked with false comparisons between the nineteenth century and the sixteenth, between the days of Victoria and the days of Elizabeth. It would appeal at one and the same time both to those who are tired of what they regard as a played-out aristocracy and to those who are perplexed with the problems of democracy. That it might involve the country in war, that it might expose it to the dangers of a hostile European combination, would at the outset, so far as the financial classes are concerned, form no bar to its acceptance. It would be essentially a policy of speculation, and in a game of speculation every one has a chance and every one believes in his chance. "The odds are," every man would

say who was warned of the probable ultimate consequences of such a policy, "that it will last my time." That such a policy would be acceptable to Lord Rosebery, who still seems to regard himself as the Liberal leader, there can be little doubt. Lord Rosebery, in spite of his personal intimacy with Mr. Gladstone—an intimacy most useful to his own ambitions—has never been a Liberal except in name. It seems more than possible that to a large number of moneyed Members of Parliament, who pass as Liberals, such a policy would be equally acceptable. On the other hand, there can be no question that to the great mass of the people of the country such a policy would be both distasteful and disastrous. Constant alarms of war; constant outlay on speculative expeditions; continually increasing naval and military expenditure to guard the country and its commerce against the aroused susceptibilities of other nations—these would inevitably be some of its results even in time of peace. As to its results in time of war, they would be terrible, no matter whether England were the victor or the vanquished. The social and commercial machinery of the world has grown far too complex to allow of its interruption by interludes of war. This was made sufficiently plain during the brief and one-sided conflict between Spain and the United States. What the consequences to civilisation would be of a naval war between more equally matched forces can only be dimly guessed at.

Are the masses in this country in favour of such a policy? The only possible answer to this question is an emphatic negative. The masses are composed of wage-earners and persons engaged in the minor operations of trade. With all these life is a hard struggle. At the best of times they gain little more than can give them a scanty subsistence, while in times which are not the best they are face to face with the possibilities of starvation or bankruptcy. They have no margin for indulgence in luxuries, still less for indulgence in speculation. Nor have they, from another point of view, room for indulgence in national enmities. Capable as they may be of being roused by stories of crimes against humanity, capable though they may be of protecting the national soil from invasion, they have no part in and no sympathy with the international rancours, whether real or pretended, that may supply the basis for diplomatic or military action. They bear no ill will towards the Frenchman, or the German, or the man of any other nationality. They perceive no reason why conflicts should arise for the possession of swamps in the African continent—swamps perfectly uninhabitable by average Europeans. Their enemies, indeed, are nearer home. They are to be found in the landowners who negative all legislation that makes for the bettering of the condition of the masses; in the great companies that deprive them of the most pressing necessities of existence; in the heads of industrial undertakings who compel them to labour under death-dealing conditions; in the ambitious and speculative politicians

who pile up public expenditure in the hope of purchasing a patriotic reputation. It is these masses, forming as they do the majority of the population, who have nothing whatever to gain and everything to lose from wars and warlike alarms. The economic conditions under which they live are so complex that even a slight disturbance from outside may altogether deprive them of the possibility of living. Very slight modifications in the demand for or the price of manufactures, very slight changes in the price of necessities, may eliminate their chances of even such a livelihood as they ordinarily strive to acquire. It is by the network of English commerce, extending as it does over all seas, that existence for the masses in the United Kingdom becomes possible. What must happen if this delicate and intricate network is disturbed by war? The mere dread of such disturbance is paralysing; what would the reality be? It is true that England possesses a powerful navy which may serve for the protection of her commerce. The responsibilities imposed on that navy, however, are enormous in proportion. Even if engaged in a purely defensive warfare it may be doubted if that navy would be more than adequate to the occasion; even then the disturbance to commercial operations under the British flag would be most formidable. If the country were engaged in an offensive war with any great naval Power, the effect upon the commerce whereby the masses exist would amount to something little short of complete paralysis.

The masses, then, in the country are distinctly favourable to peace—not to that “peace at any price” which would mean the humble acceptance of aggressive dictation, but certainly the peace that is to be gained from the avoidance of speculative enterprises and from the refusal to accept unnecessary responsibilities. If at this moment the masses, who constitute the great democratic party, could find a means for expressing themselves, they would express themselves unmistakably against the policy of unlimited responsibilities and reckless expenditure which so warmly recommends itself to the members of the coming Coalition Ministry. Unhappily, at this moment, the great democratic party has no means of expressing itself. The only voice that could once have given eloquent and powerful utterance to its convictions lies still in death, and up to the present moment no Elisha has been found to wear the mantle of the departed prophet. What calls itself the Liberal party is no longer the democratic party. Its professed leaders, its recognised organisation, are completely out of harmony with the democratic idea. The one thing that the democratic idea demands more than anything else is that democratic legislation shall be effective. To make it effective, it is absolutely necessary that the veto of the House of Lords should be abolished. Yet this is the one point which the so-called Liberal organisation and so-called Liberal leaders shirk. The National Liberal Federation will have none of it. Lord Rosebery, it is true, did once make a vague half-suggestion of

some reform in this direction, but he has been careful to forget all about it. Sir William Harcourt—who is, after all, little more than a retail opportunist—dare not tread on this hallowed ground. Mr. John Morley, balancing between conscientiousness and timidity, may murmur to himself his old motto of “Mend it or end it,” but he takes very good care not to be overheard. And as a result what have we? We have a decaying body of legitimate Conservatives, represented by Lord Salisbury. We have a small but vigorous body of commercial Imperialists, represented equally well by Mr. Chamberlain or Lord Rosebery. And we have a great, perplexed, silent democratic mass, represented by absolutely no one, inspired chiefly by negative convictions, undecided as to what means to adopt for the advancement of its own interests, feeling confidence in none of the political leaders at present above the horizon, and half doubting whether it is not fated to be practically thrust back again into that unrepresented condition which existed before the first Reform Act.

Surely here is an opportunity, an unrivalled opportunity, for a popular leader to make himself effective. Three things are needed in such a leader—viz. sincere convictions, moral courage, and the power of placing the position plainly and picturesquely before those whom he is to influence. Sincere convictions there must be; any suspicion of insincerity would be fatal. Moral courage, too, is indispensable, for whoever undertakes the task of bringing the democratic masses up to a recognition of their responsibilities and their powers will have to face unlimited obloquy from those whose sloth and insincerity his action condemns. The financialists, no matter what their professed political creed, will have none of him; the National Liberal Federation will cast him out of their synagogue. Nevertheless, be this as it may, his action, if he but exercised the power of speaking plainly and to the point, if he took care to rely upon principles rather than upon forms, would produce an effect which, however slight it might seem at the beginning, would quickly spread like a leaven through the whole democratic mass. That democratic mass, owing largely to the withdrawal of the influence that once appealed to them through Mr. Gladstone, are at present walking in darkness. Give them but a little light, enable them to realise what they want, and to realise the fact that they can get it if they try, and they will not be long in organising themselves for victory.

Is such a leader to be found? It is hardly possible to answer this question with certainty. All that can be said is this: There is something, there is much, in the influence of a great name; and if the present owner—in a Parliamentary sense—of a great name could make up his mind that, when a great cause is concerned, youth is no disability, and could also make up his mind to display the moral courage which should be a rich part of his inheritance, he might live to find his reward in a national reputation second only to that of his father.

## THE HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE SUNDAY SOCIETY.

*To the Editor of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW.*

SIR,—With the Sunday opening of National Museums and Art Galleries the work which the Sunday Society primarily set itself to do has been accomplished. That Society was founded by Mr. Mark H. Judge twenty-three years ago to obtain the opening of Museums on Sundays, and he has acted as its Honorary Secretary ever since. Mr. Judge has for thirty years in connection with the movement for Sunday opening displayed a singleness of purpose and an unrelenting and irresistible zeal which unquestionably have been among the chief factors in bringing about the success achieved.

Recognising these facts some time ago, a Committee was formed to give some tangible and effective expression to the respect and appreciation which Mr. Judge's work has inspired. To their application for subscriptions there was an immediate and satisfactory response from the Members and friends of the Society, but we, as members of the Testimonial Committee, feel that only by a public appeal through the press will it be possible to give the necessary opportunity to all who may be desirous of contributing, and we therefore venture to hope that you will give publicity to this letter.

The opening of Museums and Galleries on Sunday afternoons has by thousands been found to be an inestimable boon, and we invite the co-operation of all who believe that Mr. Judge deserves well of his countrymen, and that to him they are very largely indebted for a happy privilege and a great public good.

The fund will remain open until Christmas, and subscriptions may be forwarded to the Honorary Secretary of the Fund, Dr. Corfield, 19, Savile Row, W.

We are, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

WESTMINSTER.

SAMUEL A. BARNETT.

*November 28, 1898.*

[While printing the above letter from the Duke of Westminster and Canon Barnett we think it well to add the more complete statement made by Canon Barnett when the Testimonial was set on foot.

We are glad to know that the response has been thus far satisfactory, and we trust that all who appreciate the greater liberty they now enjoy on Sundays will join with the members of the Sunday Society in the recognition they are about to make of the great public services given gratuitously to the Sunday Reform Movement for so many years by Mr. Mark H. Judge.—Ed. W. R.]

*Testimonial to Mr. Mark H. Judge.*

The name of Mark Judge is associated with the Sunday Society. He has in a very true sense been the Society, the king behind the throne occupied by many distinguished Presidents. His activity, his energy, his courage, and his hope have never failed. Whenever an opportunity has offered he has been ready with a suggestion for its use, and often, through some narrow opening, he has pushed in the thin end of a large wedge. In times of depression, when votes have been adverse and the people indifferent, he has never failed to be ready with his President and the annual address to show the vigour of the Society; and if opponents have offered fight he has never hesitated at any sacrifice of time and trouble—in the press, in meetings, and in committee-rooms—to stand up and do battle.

Those who have had most experience of the movement know the dangers which have threatened its existence. It would have been so easy to do too much or too little, so easy to hesitate at the call of timid advisers, and so easy to be rash under the impulse of those indifferent to the national or conservative instincts of the people. The Sunday Society has steered a safe course—it has not offended the cautious, nor has it alienated enthusiasts—and Mr. Mark Judge is to be congratulated on the success.

The Society has finished its work; it will celebrate its triumph and die. It is right that the name associated with its struggles should be also associated with its victory. Every President who has worn its honours has expressed his pleasure at the chance of doing honour to the Hon. Sec., and a committee, of which they are members, has been formed with the view of getting up a Mark Judge Testimonial. And a Testimonial Committee was finally instituted on June 18, when they agreed to issue the following circular:

“Public Testimonial to Mr. Mark H. Judge, Founder and Honorary Secretary of the Sunday Society.

“Testimonial Committee (consisting of the President, Past Presidents, Chairman, Deputy-Chairman, and Treasurer of the Society): the Duke of Westminster, K.G., the Earl of Rosebery, K.G., the Earl of Carlisle, the Earl of Dunraven, K.P., Lord Brassey, K.C.B., Viscount Powerscourt, K.P., Sir John T. Brunner, Bart., M.P., Sir James D. Linton, P.R.I., Sir Henry E. Roscoe, F.R.S., Sir Henry Thompson, F.R.C.S., Rev. Canon Barnett, M.A., Mr. Thomas Burt, M.P.,

Mr. Wm. Holman Hunt, Professor Corfield, M.A., M.D. (Oxon),  
Mr. Henry Rutherford, Mr. Frederick Long.

“Chairman : Rev. Samuel A. Barnett, Canon of Bristol Cathedral.  
Honorary Secretary and Treasurer : Professor Corfield, 19, Savile  
Row, W. Cheques to be crossed ‘Messrs. Coutts & Co.’

“In view of the recent vote of the House of Commons, and the subsequent action of the Government in agreeing to the opening of the great national museums and art galleries on Sundays, a desire has been very generally expressed that some substantial token of recognition should be awarded to Mr. Mark H. Judge, to whom that success is very largely due.

“It is about thirty years since Mr. Judge became a member of an organisation, one of the objects of which was the Sunday opening of museums and art galleries; after a time, however, he and some others came to the conclusion that a large amount of support would be forthcoming for a Society having that object *alone* in view, which support was being withheld from the then existing Association; they therefore formed a new Society, called the ‘Sunday Society,’ of which the Very Rev. Dean Stanley was one of the early Presidents. Of this Society Mr. Judge was the leading spirit from the first, and was at once appointed Honorary Secretary, which position he has held to the present time. The duties (discharged for the greater part of the period without any paid assistance whatever) have been carried out by him with extraordinary zeal.

“The Honorary Secretary has shown great originating power in advancing the objects of the Society, as, for instance, by securing the co-operation of various Art Societies of a high class, and of noblemen and others in possession of valuable picture galleries and museums. He has been quick in the discovery of persons who, from their position, or known public spirit, would be likely to give personal assistance to the movement; this, without referring to present supporters, was conspicuously shown in the active co-operation of such men as the late Earl of Derby, Lord Bramwell, Lord Leighton, Sir Geo. A. MacFarren, Rev. Wm. Rogers, Rev. Septimus Hansard, Charles Darwin, Henry Fawcett, Thos. H. Huxley, John Arthur Roebuck, Geo. J. Romanes, William Spottiswoode, Peter A. Taylor, and John Tyndall—a series remarkable for the variety of classes and interests represented.

“The Society gradually increased in numbers, but was never affluent, yet, through the indefatigable zeal of the Honorary Secretary, it was early in touch with Societies of cognate character throughout the United Kingdom, and became a centre of information on the subject of Sunday Reform.

“Among other remarkable successes mention must be made of the Society’s petition to the Convocation of Canterbury to consider the question of museum opening on Sundays; a proceeding so judi-

ciously conducted that a Right Reverend Prelate moved for and obtained the appointment of a Committee, which eventually produced a Report highly advantageous to the Society. This Report was much used by all advocates of the movement, and is generally considered to have had much weight in the final decision of the House of Commons.

"Also Mr. Judge happily conceived the idea of 'Museum Sunday,' on which day sermons in favour of the movement have been annually preached in the course of the ordinary services of many churches and chapels, followed in the afternoon by the opening of many public and private institutions.

"The Honorary Secretary's action in regard to the Press has been constant throughout his tenure of office, by incessant watchfulness of the journals, both London and Provincial, by reports of proceedings, and by frequent correspondence, sometimes of an extended character, all tending to the education of public opinion on the subject.

"The largely personal services rendered by Mr. Judge should be specially borne in mind by the public in considering the appeal we make for their recognition. Obviously such a form of active work could not have been carried out for so many years without grave interference with the claims of a professional man; and on due attention to these his income necessarily depended.

"The Committee feel that the untiring devotion of Mr. Judge and his very arduous, and on many occasions excessive labour, on behalf of the Society and the public for nearly thirty years in succession ought, by that public who will benefit, and are already benefiting, by his work, to be widely, generally, and liberally recognised.

"The opening of museums and galleries on Sunday afternoons will by thousands upon thousands be deemed, and found to be, an inestimable boon; and without detracting from the claims of others, we invite the co-operation of all who believe that Mr. Judge deserves well of his countrymen, and that to him they are very largely indebted for a happy privilege and a great public good."

The proposal has been warmly received throughout the country, and sympathetic notices have appeared in the Press, from the *Times* downwards. One or two extracts from leading articles which have already appeared may be quoted in confirmation, from outside authority, of the estimate which the Testimonial Committee placed upon Mr. Judge's work.

The *Liverpool Daily Post* says: "Englishmen are always willing, if not eager, to commemorate the work of any person who has been the means of conferring benefits on the nation. Liverpool, as a community, has recently afforded good illustrations of this fact. An appeal for subscriptions towards presenting a public testimonial to

Mr. Mark H. Judge comes from London. But as the good results of Mr. Judge's work are not confined to the metropolis, the testimonial ought to be a national one. Mr. Judge was the founder of the Sunday Society. And ever since he has filled the position of Honorary Secretary to that Society, the objects of which he has greatly advanced. In doing so he has displayed a large fund of original power, and has gathered round himself many eminent supporters, after working for a time with a lack of sympathy and encouragement that would have defeated a weaker man. . . . To give an account of Mr. Judge's work would be to sketch the growth of the Society with which he is so honourably identified. Mr. Judge's claim to public recognition cannot be disputed."

The *Western Daily Mercury* says: "If there is one man more than another to whom is due the recent success in Parliament of the movement in favour of the Sunday opening of museums and art galleries, the man is Mr. Mark Judge, who for so many years has acted as Honorary Secretary of the Sunday Society. Mr. Judge has been the leading spirit in the Society from the first; and although the movement has had the warm support of many men in high position in the Legislature, in the Church, and in the world of art and science, it has been in many cases due largely to his personal influence that they have actively engaged in it. . . ."

The *Court Journal* says: "If ever a man deserved a testimonial Mr. Judge does. That gentleman is the founder and Honorary Secretary of the Sunday Society, and for thirty years he has been working for a rational Sunday, and fighting against intolerance and narrow-minded sectarians. It is due to the efforts of his lifetime that at last a Government of the country has been induced to understand that none can be harmed, and that thousands may be benefited—kept out of mischief, if that better expresses the fact—by being permitted to enjoy such recreation as can be had in a museum and picture gallery. . . . The recognition of this toiler for the good of his fellow-men will be a cordial and substantial one there is little doubt. . . ."

Victories demand memorials. It is good that those who have taken part in the fight, and those who are glad of the result, should unite in doing something to mark the occasion; and it is good also that the coming generations who will enjoy the privileges of a quiet Sunday in our national galleries should know that the man who worked for the object was recognised. The form of the testimonial must be matter for future thought, and it will be valuable in so far as it represents the widest gratitude.

SAMUEL A. BARNETT.

## HOW THE SUDAN WAS CONQUERED.

Now that the Khalifa has been successfully driven out of Omdurman, it may be interesting to consider how the Sudan was originally conquered by Egypt. The story is not without profit, for it not only sheds light on the revolt of the Mahdi, but teaches some lessons which should be borne in mind when deciding on the future of those provinces after the Mahdi's successor has been finally overthrown. When Speke and Baker discovered the great equatorial lakes which give birth to the Nile, Khartum had already been for some half century the capital of the Egyptian Sudan provinces. It was the ambitious Mehemet Ali Pasha who reduced to subjection this previously unknown region.

If you take an old atlas, published previous to the year 1820, and turn up the map of Africa, you will see that the course of the Nile presents a very different appearance from what it does on our maps of to-day. James Bruce had already discovered what he believed to be the source of the Nile in the highlands of Abyssinia, but the Bahr el Abiad, or White River, which we now know to be the main stream of the Nile, was then unexplored, and appeared on the maps with a varied and problematical course which had not been verified since the time of Ptolemy.

Our knowledge of the campaigns of Mehemet Ali is derived mainly from the "Journal" of two Englishmen, Messrs. Waddington and Hanbury, who accompanied the expedition of Ismail Pasha as far as Dongola, and the narratives of an anonymous American in the service of Mehemet Ali, and of a Frenchman, Frédéric Caillaud. A French writer, M. Henri Dehérain, has recently made a study of these and other writers bearing on the subject, and has published an interesting volume on *Le Soudan Égyptien sous Mehemet Ali*,<sup>1</sup> in which he traces the causes which led up to the conquest, the previous political state of the Sudan, the campaign of 1820-22, the exploitation of the Sudan, and the expeditions sent to discover the sources of the Nile. This work brings together in a way not otherwise available the early history of those southern possessions of Egypt, and shows up the gross injustice and corruption which accompanied the conquest, and which led ultimately to the overthrow of Egyptian rule.

We ought, perhaps, rather to say Turkish rule, for the invaders

<sup>1</sup> Paris : Georges Carré et C. Naud. 1898.

were known throughout the Sudan as Turks, and Egypt was merely a province or pashalik of Turkey. Mehemet Ali was not strictly entitled to be called "viceroy," though it became customary to so call him. It was, too, with Turkish soldiers that the Sudan was conquered—Turks, Albanians, Rumeliots, and mercenaries from other parts of the Ottoman Empire; and the results of such a conquest were only what was to be expected from the experience of Ottoman conquest and rule in other regions which till now the so-called "concert" of Christian nations has not had the humanity to allow an oppressed nationality to free itself from. "Can the leopard change his spots, or the Ethiopian his skin?" or, it may be added, the Turk his cruelty and fiendishness?

Mehemet Ali, though he figured in Europe as a pioneer of civilisation, was himself far from a model ruler, as the relentless massacre of the Mamelukes under his order testifies. Over his Oriental qualities he assumed a veneer of Western ways, drew around him numbers of Europeans to develop his pashalik, and, though thoroughly illiterate—he did not learn to read till he was about forty years old—obtained the reputation of an enlightened man. Yet for him the long-discussed question of the sources of the Nile had no interest; for science, as such, he had no taste; his only care was his own advancement, his own ambitious projects.

Why, then, did he seek to conquer the Sudan? M. Dehérain devotes a chapter to the elucidation of this question, and comes to the conclusion that the real motive was to get possession of the gold-mines which were heard of far to the south. His wars in Arabia, Morea, and Syria, the construction of an arsenal and a fleet, the engineering and other projects pressed on him by his European allies involved a considerable expenditure of money. He tried to get a European loan taken up, but the Western capitals would not then treat with him without the authorisation of his suzerain the Sultan. Caravans from the far interior brought, amongst their valuable articles of commerce, gold-dust, and the reputed wealth of the regions from which this was obtained was not probably diminished in transmission. These reports excited the cupidity of the Pasha of Egypt, and he became desirous of possessing the goose that laid the golden eggs. The Sudan also produced ivory; slaves, too, so much a part of Eastern life, were brought in large numbers from these regions; and these and other products of the Sudan determined Mehemet to endeavour to conquer the country.

The Egyptian boundary at this period did not extend much beyond the first cataract, though the tribes as far as the Isle of Say, south of Wadi Halfa, were more or less subjected to tribute. Mehemet Ali had firmly established his rule as far as this; but even then it became almost as difficult to get the tribute from his

governors as it had been before to get it from the semi-independent tribes, and in 1814 and 1815 he had to send troops to enforce his demands. South of this and inhabiting the country on both sides of the Nile between Dongola and Berber was the confederation of the Chaikiés or Shaikiyeh (the Sheygya Arabs of Burckhardt), intrepid horsemen and formidable robbers of the peaceful trading caravans from the south. Beyond them was the ancient kingdom of Sennar, to which they had formerly been subjected. This kingdom had existed for some three centuries, having been founded by the Fungi, immigrants from the Shilluk country to the south. This kingdom was now in a decadent state, and the feebleness of the king and the internecine troubles gave Mehemet an opportunity of which he was not slow to avail himself. To the west of Sennar were the groups of oases which constitute Kordofan and Darfur, under an independent Arab sultan.

The conquest of the Sudan was accomplished by two Egyptian armies, commanded one by Ismail Pasha, son of Mehemet Ali, and the other by his son-in-law, Mohammed Bey Defterdar, and comprising some 4000 men, with modern artillery, in each of the two forces, besides 3000 camels, and a train of boats to ascend the Nile. Ismail Pasha left Cairo in July 1820, and advanced against New Dongola, then held by some 300 Mamelukes who had succeeded in escaping from the massacre. They fled at his approach, and Dongola fell into his hands even more easily than it did into those of the force under Sir H. H. Kitchener three-quarters of a century later. Nor would he have had more trouble with the Shaikiyes, if he had contented himself with the imposition of a tribute. They naturally resisted the demand for their arms and horses, and two well-disputed engagements were necessary before the Egyptian arms won the day. The Arabs here acted as the Khalifa did in his fights, and placed in the forefront their vassals, the peasants of Dongola, who fought so bravely that they came right up to the cannons and wounded the gunners. But this brought on them the ferocity of the Egyptians; "pursued into the plain, mutilated, massacred those who lost only their ears were the privileged."

The dissensions in the kingdom of Sennar favoured Ismail's further advance. The Mek of Berber immediately submitted, and is suspected of having incited the Egyptian invasion. The Mek of Shendy, Nair Nimr, was less amenable. He gave Ismail presents of camels and horses, but did not conceal his ill-will, an enmity which was to have such tragic consequences. Ismail passed on; in May 1821 he reached the confluence of the two Niles at the peninsula then known as the Ras el Khartum, the site of the subsequent capital of the Sudan; and in the following month he entered the town of Sennar with the king under his protection. So easy and rapid was his advance that Ismail determined to push still farther to

the south. He received the submission of the Mek of Fazokl and reached Mount Singé, near Kamamyl, between 10° and 11° North. But his efforts to find the gold-mines were ineffectual; and the greater difficulties of fighting the negroes amongst the mountains, coupled with lack of provisions, decided him to turn back, after what can but be regarded as a remarkably successful expedition. By 1822 the Egyptians had thus got a footing in an immense part of the eastern Sudan; for, whilst Ismail ascended the Nile and penetrated Sennar, Mohammed Bey Defterdar was also conquering Kordofan.

The conquest was accompanied by great barbarities. Ismail had as little regard for human life as his father Mehemet, and his Turkish qualities found full scope for their indulgence in this campaign. During the contest with the Shaikiyeh he gave his soldiers a premium of twenty-five piastres for each pair of ears brought him, and he sent these fruits of his exploits to Mehemet Ali. He introduced into the Sudan the Turkish torture of impalement, with which we have been familiarised in Bulgaria and Armenia in recent years. Mohammed Bey showed even greater ingenuity of torture. One day, for instance, some horses or camels having strayed over cultivated ground, he called the keeper to him and said: "God has given the animals teeth to eat; to you he has given intelligence. But you have not used it to keep control of the animals; you are, then, inferior to them, and are not worthy to keep your teeth." And the poor man was not released until every tooth had been pulled out of his head. At Berber, we read, there was a regular fête of butchery; every one was pillaging, burning, violating, as they had done amongst the Shaikiyeh. From Dongola to Dar Bertat the Egyptian army left a long trail of burnt villages.

Such conduct naturally roused the hatred of the subjected peoples; and Mek Nimr and his tribe especially could ill brook the treatment to which they were subjected. Ismail seemed to delight in inflicting humiliations on the Mek of Shendy. On his return from Fazokl, he demanded as extra tribute the delivery within two days of 1000 slaves. Nimr represented the impossibility of complying with this unexpected demand, when Ismail abused him, struck him in the face with his pipe, and threatened to have him impaled if he did not do as he was told. Nimr well knew that Ismail would carry out his threat. He accordingly invited Ismail to take up his quarters in a house, around which he afterwards piled up a quantity of dhurra straw on the pretence that it was forage for the Pasha's horses. Then, when night had come and Ismail and his companions were half drunk, he set fire to the straw, and the Egyptians perished in the flames. Sir Samuel Baker tells the tale somewhat more fully than does M. Dehérain, in his *Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia*, and adds that the body of Ismail was afterwards found beneath those of some

of his women, all of whom that were within the enclosure, had perished.

Severe reprisals followed. Nimr tried in vain to resist Mohammed Bey, who at once marched from Kordofan, but he was defeated and had to seek safety in the mountains of Abyssinia. The Defterdar avenged the death of Ismail in an atrocious manner. All the people of Shendy he could capture were enclosed in great houses and burnt alive, without his troubling to learn whether they had been concerned in the crime. Burning, mutilation, and impalement had full sway. At Metemmeh thousands of women and children, who had been promised pardon, were pitilessly massacred. These massacres have not been forgotten in the Sudan, and it is not to be wondered at that the Egyptians and Turks have ever since been hated.

Several expeditions followed in the country of Taka, between the Atbara and the Red Sea, but the Hallenga, Haddenda and Beni Amer Arabs bravely defended their liberty, and it was not until 1810 that the Egyptians succeeded in submitting them to their rule. Sir S. Baker tells how the Egyptians cut off their water supply by building a great dam across the river Gash or Mareb; but according to Ferdinand Werne, who accompanied the Egyptian expedition, the Haddenda succeeded in destroying this work. But the sword and lance of the Arabs could not permanently prevail against the regular forces of Egypt. They submitted, and the fortified post of Kassala was constructed to keep them in awe. Then the customary exactions led to a revolt, which was savagely repressed by Achmed Pasha, or Ahmed "the Butcher" as he was called. Chiefs were decapitated or delivered into slavery, and the women were abandoned to the lust of the soldiers. This country was the scene of Sir S. W. Baker's explorations in 1861; he visited Mek Nimr, a son of the Mek who had caused the death of Ismail Pasha, and who was still in a state of guerilla warfare with the Egyptians. M. Dehérain has evidently not seen Baker's book, nor does he include in the useful bibliographical list at the end of his work the books of Gordon, Gessi, Felkin, Long, and Schweinfurth.

The Egyptians did not adopt one of the ancient towns of the Sudan—Berber, Sennar, or El Obeid—as the capital of the conquered provinces, but created a new one at the junction of the Blue and White Niles. Here, at the Ras el Khartum, where previously there had been only a small village of fishermen, they installed in 1822 a permanent military camp, and in 1830 Khartum was officially established as the capital of the Sudan. The position had considerable advantages, both rivers being navigable for a long distance, and it thus formed an excellent starting-point for pushing further into the interior. From a small native village it quickly became the

largest town in the Sudan, with a population estimated in 1856 at 50,000.

Mehemet Ali, however, thought rather of exploitation than of exploration. Nor did his Turkish functionaries interest themselves any more in the country and its people except as means of enriching themselves. The natives were soon familiarised with the exactions of the tax-gatherer; and these were enforced with rigour. If the chief of a tribe did not bring the right quantity of gold-dust he was flogged without mercy. Nor were the taxes reduced when a great drought cut off all the cattle—the sole wealth of the natives. In addition, raids were made in different directions, an army sometimes of several thousand men marching off to some remote region and bringing back oxen, sheep, camels—and, above all, slaves. These *razzias* became so regular an institution that the produce was recognised amongst the ordinary receipts of the Government, and the success of a raid proved for the officers a claim to advancement. In vain did the anti-slavery party in England try to oppose this traffic, and to put an end to the horrors and cruelties associated with it. It was a source of wealth, and what more cared Mehemet Ali and his "Turks"?

The country became depopulated; the natives fled from the exactions and cruelties of their new masters; cultivation was abandoned; opposition was manifested wherever the natives dared; but they more generally had no other course than to submit. Oppression is so ingrained in the Turkish character that the efforts of Baker, Gordon, Gessi, Emin, Slatin, and Lupton proved unable to counteract it. The Government became so hated that the people gladly seized the opportunity offered by the Madhi in 1881 to throw off the yoke. In the combats of 1881–85, writes M. Dehérain, the true conqueror was less the Khedive Ismail than his great-grandfather Mehemet Ali.

In the years 1839, 1840, and 1841, three expeditions were despatched from Khartum with the avowed intention of endeavouring to discover the source of the Nile, an aim which had been strongly urged and fostered by the learned societies of Western Europe. But, as before, the real motive was doubtless the wealth to be obtained from those remote countries, if the long-sought source of the gold supply was not to be at last discovered. These expeditions were all sent by the river. The first was accompanied by a Frenchman named Thibatt; the second by a Prussian, Ferdinand Werne, and a Frenchman, d'Arnaud; and the third, again, by d'Arnaud. These Europeans did their best to carry out the design of geographical exploration; but the Egyptian commanders no doubt better gauged the intentions of their master, Mehemet Ali, and went only so far as it seemed good and profitable to them. The first

expedition ascended the river to about  $6^{\circ} 10' N.$ , when the water became so low that the dahabiehs touched the bottom. The second pushed farther to the village of Gondokoro, which was afterwards to become the capital of the Equatorial Province. The third expedition hardly reached as far as this.

The presence of Europeans did not prevent the Egyptians from indulging in their usual practices. On the first voyage the natives were most friendly, and brought abundance of provisions to the vessels. Yet the Egyptians were ever ready to make use of their guns on the slightest pretext. "We must sow terror along the route," said the Kashef (commander) Soliman to Thibaut, "it will make it more easy for us." They pillaged the villages of the Keks, seized the miserable resources of the natives—crocodile flesh and dried fish—and burned their canoes. They also captured some women. Not unnaturally, on the second and third visits, the natives were full of mistrust. When the Egyptian vessels came in sight, they hid themselves in the bush. Food, which on the former expedition had been pressed on the Egyptians in such quantities that they had to refuse it, was now difficult to get. It was only the presence of the Frenchman, d'Arnaud, that did something to overcome this feeling of distrust; but he was powerless to restrain the Kashef from seizing a native woman for his harem.

These expeditions undoubtedly did much to advance geographical knowledge, and led up to the solution of the long-discussed mystery of the sources of the Nile. M. Dehérain discusses the results and bearings of the discoveries; but these had no interest for Mehemet Ali. He cared not for geographical research, and so far from encouraging it, he opposed a passive and even sometimes active opposition to any independent expeditions to open up the country. In vain did d'Arnaud endeavour to persuade him to send out a fresh expedition; he was only met with equivocations and delays. Mehemet even did what he could to keep European traders out of the country by making the trade in ivory and other products Government monopolies. Of the ivory which he drew from those countries no approximate estimate can be made, for there was no statistical bureau at that time, but the quantity must have been immense. Two of the White Nile expeditions alone are said to have taken back some 1200 tusks. The newly-discovered country became known as the ivory country, and year after year the dahabiehs descended the Nile with valuable loads of ivory. From Khartum vessels were despatched up the White Nile every year; but as no Europeans accompanied them, we have no accounts of these expeditions.

This depletion of the country of ivory was soon surpassed by the traffic in slaves. From the first expedition of 1839-40 the Upper Nile became regarded as a hunting-ground for human chattels, and

the agents of the Governor-General showed their activity in this commerce. The barques, when they were returning from the Dinka country in 1848, we are told, "amused themselves" with making a *razzia* on the inhabitants, and brought some 300 of them to Khartum. M. Brun Rôllet relates how the natives would be invited to voyage to Khartum with the prospect of trade, and on arrival there were guarded, and enrolled as soldiers or sold. We know how in later years Baker, Gordon, and others endeavoured to combat this detestable traffic; but it was in vain so long as the Sudan was under Turkish rule.

It is notorious that such practices were continued down to the time of the revolt of the Mahdi, and that they were in very large measure responsible for its success. It must not be forgotten that the ruling classes in Egypt are Turks, and that the Turks are essentially barbarians. Were the Sudan now again placed under their control it would be hopeless to expect any better result in the future than in the past. Generations of contact with Western civilisation have only covered their Oriental savagery with a veneer of culture, and the reimposition of Egyptian rule, uncontrolled by England, would immediately lead to a resuscitation of the slave-trade and general oppression of the subject peoples. The history of the conquest of the Sudan by Mehemet Ali is a strong argument why we should continue our good work in Egypt and the Sudan.

The beneficial results of British rule in Egypt are incontestable and most marked, and have at a recent period received striking testimony from one of the crowned heads of Europe in the proposal attributed to the sagacious Emperor of Austria that the unhappy island of Cuba should be placed in the same position towards Spain as that occupied by Egypt towards Turkey, the United States thus taking the benevolent *role* carried on by England in the case of Egypt.<sup>1</sup> The completion of the reconquest of the Sudan will make our withdrawal from Egypt as impossible and disastrous as would be our withdrawal from India.

The French are intensely jealous of our position in Egypt, and it is of the utmost importance that our statesmen should endeavour to find some satisfactory *modus vivendi* and the removal as far as possible of all causes of friction with our nearest European neighbours, with whom we have so much in common. They cannot wish that the Sudan should be again handed over to the misgovernment and cruel oppression to which it was subjected during the threescore years it was in the power of Egypt. To place it again under a corrupt Mahomedan Power would be a crime against civilisation of which no British Government could be guilty. Is there not, how-

<sup>1</sup> The Times, April 7. 1898. 3 a, 7 b.

ever, some way of meeting French susceptibilities and enlisting their co-operation and interest in the civilisation of this great region? If only the expeditions which France has despatched—not with friendly motives, it is true—to the Upper Nile could be made the means of some united policy, the gain to both countries and to European peace would be incalculable. Is such a *rapprochement* beyond the bounds of practical politics?

• FREDK. A. EDWARDS, F.R.G.S.

## OUR FALLING TRADE.

EVERY month we are startled by the returns of the Board of Trade showing us that, while other nations increase their trade by leaps and bounds, ours is rather on the decline; a year or two more of such falling trade and we shall have to change our place as that of the first and leading trading nation.

This prospect has naturally roused the attention of all those concerned—that is, traders, manufacturers, statesmen and politicians—and different causes and remedies have been suggested; but through all those searchings and proposals there run certain notions which, instead of leading us to find the true causes and thus suggest right remedies, rather tend to misleading us. It has long been suggested that the Germans and Americans in particular, through unfair competition, do us the harm, and some people have even the absurd notion that a protective duty would soon prove a remedy. The so-called Imperialists have the idea that we should establish a Customs Union with our colonies and would thus set matters right. Others ascribe the unfortunate fall of trade to strikes, which, as a matter of fact, have very little to do with it.

It is time that attention should be called to some causes of this sad state of our trade which are much more likely to be the true causes; and if remedy there be, it must be sought in quite a different direction from those hitherto recommended. All inquirers have started with the proposition that English-made goods are once for all the best, the foreigner—be he German, American, or Swiss—only imitating them and producing inferior imitations. Here is the first fundamental error; if those busy inquirers would put every prejudice aside and look a little deeper, they would find: (1) that in very few instances England furnishes the *best* goods; and (2) that foreign goods are of an entirely different make throughout, and where there is a similarity it originates in the foreigner endeavouring to suit his makes to the English market. Hundreds of instances could be given to prove this; but as far as imitations go in order to palm them off as of English make, they really never existed except in the imagination of interested persons. If the truth must be told, imitations have been rather the other way about; it was the English who were the imitators.

Where, then, has the erroneous idea arisen that English goods must needs be the best? We must look to history for an explana-

tion. It needs scarcely be mentioned, but it certainly will not be disputed, that at the end of last century England was, strictly speaking, an agricultural country; of manufacture for export there was very little indeed; what there existed of it was either Irish or Scotch: the industries of the former were, as is well known, intentionally ruined, while the latter up to this day maintain the high quality of certain goods and have a reputation for them all the world over. But it was otherwise with England proper: the great manufacturing centres of the present day, such as Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Bradford, &c., were then only comparatively small places. The great manufacturing centres for the then known trading world were France, Austria, Flanders, Saxony, Thuringia, and Lombardy. The goods made there were sent everywhere. America, Australia, South Africa, China, and Japan did, of course, not count much in trade, for they were either not known or not populated.

The principal trade was done amongst the European nations with each other, and with the East, as Turkey, Persia, Asia Minor, &c.; also with Northern Africa and South America; trade with the last mentioned was almost exclusively in the hands of the French.

But the Napoleonic wars altered all this: the Continental nations, having war brought into their own countries, had perforce to think of nothing else than fighting in their defence, and trade and manufacture went to the wall, and amongst them became almost extinct. The peace of 1815 did not mend matters much, for, seeing their countries desolated, the people had to give all their attention to the restoration of their home and lands; and as for manufacture, a dead silence reigned over it.

That was the time for England. Not having had any war within the country itself, she gave her attention to making all that other countries had formerly supplied, but could not now supply under the circumstances. Several things combined to help: first, it was the time when steam and machinery began to be utilised; and as to workers, these were found amongst the agricultural population, who were glad enough to change the thralldom of landlords and farmers for town life.

Being thus the only manufacturers left, the English had it all their own way, Continental nations being glad enough to get their wants supplied from them.

But here comes in a curious anomaly: the English being the manufacturers were by no means the merchants to distribute their goods; that, curiously enough, was left to the foreigner and principally to the German. It arose in this wise:

It coming to the knowledge of some Hamburg merchants that certain useful goods were at the time made in England, they came over as buyers, and, finding that the articles were right and supplied

a want, they established houses of their own in Manchester, Nottingham, &c., for purchase only. The trade was, in the first instance, only done with Hamburg as the centre for German commerce, but was soon extended to other European countries by sending out travellers, these being mostly also Germans. Thus an extensive trade was established emanating from English centres, though done entirely by Germans, intermingled with a few Danes and Greeks. This may seem odd, but it is easily verified: by looking at the names of the older export firms, we shall meet with such as Goldschmidt, Berens, Schuster, Mendel, Nathan, Melchior, Heymann, Jacobi, &c. &c., but we shall look in vain for English names (well understood amongst the older houses). It will thus be seen that the much-execrated Germans and other foreigners have also some merits on their side as far as English trade goes.

But an alteration took place in this state of things in the Sixties. Continental countries had recovered and taken up manufacturing again; they did not at once understand the altered state of things brought about by the supersession of human labour by machinery, of which they were not possessed. But time brought changes, and as particularly Germany had employed the intermediate time in thorough education of her people, her manufacturers soon made up the way. Naturally they brought their goods into the only market then known to them—that is, to England; but to their astonishment they were received with derision. How could a foreigner, and of all things a German, presume to offer anything in the English market? all he made, it was declared, was rubbish—it could not approach by miles English make!

But the foreigner was not so easily done with. Nothing daunted, he persevered, adapted his goods more to the market, and, where he could not induce wholesale houses to enter into relations, went to the retailers and shippers.

Thus a larger trade was established by France, Switzerland, Belgium, and particularly Germany; the latter especially did almost all their foreign trade through the medium of England. If the latter had no more a monopoly in production, it had it at least in trade. But somehow after a time a cry was raised against foreign, and particularly German, goods and competition. The Fair-Trade movement was started with a demand for a protective tariff, and, when that did not succeed, the enormous blunder of passing the Merchandise Marks Act was committed. It was argued that, if people once knew that goods were of foreign make, they would at once condemn and not buy them, but prefer goods of genuine English make.

This presupposed, of course, that all English goods were better than any foreign; but we know by this time the result of that argument.

By the action of the Merchandise Marks Act it was proclaimed to all the world that the goods bought so long as of English make were really nothing of the kind, and instead of, as expected, demanding other goods of English make, people rather took care that they got again what they always had and appreciated—that is, foreign makes. It was but a natural consequence that the export trade suffered greatly; for, once people abroad got to know where the goods were really made, they applied direct to the place of origin. Of course, once the foreigner perceived the real state of affairs, he was not slow in following it up by sending travellers and agents all over the world to open direct trade connections. It seems that he succeeded but too well, for, according to consular reports, the Englishman has been ousted in many places. Here, then, is the secret: *as much as the foreigner gains in export England loses: hence our falling returns!*

But the mischief goes further. It not only affects our exports, but also our imports and the profits of trade generally.

Naturally we must get for the goods we send away something in return, and in the case of trans-oceanic countries this something generally consists in raw material, such as wool, silk, cotton, drugs, &c.; but, since other countries send their goods direct, instead of, as formerly, by way of England, the return goods go to those other countries direct, and thus we lose not only profit on freights, interchange trade, &c., but also the exclusive market. It is in this wise that we have lost the command of the silk, wool, and coffee markets. We certainly have a great deal of all that yet, but we have lost the exclusive trade, and may lose more of it from year to year. The returns of German, Belgian, and Dutch trade, compared with our own, greatly point that way.

But what is it all coming to? it will be asked. If we lose in export, shipping, and exchange trade we shall presently be in a very bad condition indeed, and the navy, on which we are constantly spending so much of our substance for protection of our trade, will have little to protect!

Not so fast! There is a remedy at hand, if we will only look the right way.

It has become the fashion lately to ascribe the unfortunate changes in our trade to lack of commercial education for our youths, and movements are in the air to provide a remedy. A good first-class education is, of course, a necessity nowadays in every walk of life; but, when any amount of money has been spent, it will be found that little progress has been and will be made towards the improvement of trade. What we want is to see our factories continually well employed and doing away with the unemployed problem.

Some people will have it that strikes have done all the mischief;

but here again it will be found, if strictly looked at, that the assertion is groundless and a general exaggeration of small facts.

The truth seems to lay in quite a different direction, and it is well worth while to consider it.

It has been our policy these many years to open up new markets. We have roamed and do yet roam about the globe looking for those new markets; we have all sorts of little wars continually on our hands with the same purpose in view; we have annexed thousands of square miles more or less peopled, and are still about doing it; and when it is asked why we go to the expense and other sacrifices, the same reply comes: We must find new markets for our manufactures. As a consequence we increase our navy and army; but do we ever ask ourselves the question: Is the game worth the candle? What trade have we gained by our wars and annexations? And such gain as we have really added by them, how much has it and does it benefit the nation at large and our manufacturing population in particular? Have the number of unemployed and poverty in general decreased, or have both not rather increased? If we set about inquiring into it for the purpose of getting an answer to the question proposed, the result will utterly astound us.

We shall find in the first place that the people of those countries about the possession of which we have fought have certainly to give us a deal of raw produce, but what have we to give them in return? Very little indeed by which our manufacturing population would profit. They do not want our cloths, nor our boots, nor our machinery; we have to fall back on furnishing them with beads, toys, and guns (the first two we do not even make), and perhaps some printing in the shape of Bibles and tracts, not to forget bad spirits.

But, it will be answered, we get the produce all the same, be it even by imposing taxes, the result of which is sent home in the shape of produce. True, and no doubt some merchants and others will profit, possibly amass fortunes; but where do the manufacturer and his workpeople come in? Of course we shall bring what we are pleased to call civilisation, and in its train a demand for all sorts of manufactures. Yes, maybe, in fifty years or so such a thing *may* happen; but what advantage is that to the manufacturer in the meantime?

Ah! but there are other countries which we must open: we have already opened Burma and Siam, and now will come the turn of Japan and China, with their beehives of inhabitants. No doubt those countries, particularly the latter, will be opened to commerce more and more; we are not the only nation in the field, still we shall gather our share. But at what cost? We have some examples, in the past to show how it has paid us to gain in those countries such commerce as we have got with them. We have had at least two

important and very expensive wars with China, in consequence of which treaty ports have been opened, Hong Kong as a settlement, and other advantages acquired; we have cultivated trade with those ports in all directions during more than thirty years; we have maintained a fleet in the Eastern Seas for the protection of our commerce all the time at considerable cost, and what has been the result? Our exports amount:

To Hong Kong . . . . .	£2,000,000
To China proper . . . . .	£5,000,000
Together . . . . .	£7,000,000

Reckoning the return trade at an equal sum, and as great a profit on it as we reasonably can, it becomes a question whether all the profit has equalled our expenses.

With Japan it stands similar:

Exports, about . . . . .	£2,500,000
Imports, „ . . . .	£1,000,000
Together . . . . .	£3,500,000

All other Eastern countries tell the same tale, as also do Africa and South America. We consider our colonies of the highest importance, and so they are as far Empire goes; but what about trade? What about our export to them and the advantage it brings to our manufacturing interests?

The amount of goods sent to all British possessions is given at about £85,000,000, of which Canada takes about £9,000,000. Reckon the cost of maintaining that trade, and we shall arrive at a startling result.

On the other side, we do our largest export trade with the much-abused Continental countries and the United States. Germany and France together take as much of our manufactures as all the British colonies and possessions together; Russia, Belgium, and Holland are each larger customers than half-a-dozen Eastern countries taken together; even Austria is a good customer. Altogether Europe takes from us £126,000,000 and the United States take £40,000,000 worth of our goods out of a total export of £270,000,000—that is, about two-thirds—and all this without a penny of expense to the country at large exclusive of the consular service.

The above in itself shows that it would pay us much better to cultivate trade with Europe and the States than rushing about the new markets which have first to be created.

In the din of struggling for new markets it appears entirely to be forgotten that there is such a thing as a *home market* to be created, augmented, and cultivated. If we look at the census we find that

in England a very small percentage of the people live by the cultivation of the soil: more than ninety out of every hundred live in the towns, or in districts where manufacturing provides them with their daily bread; only about 6 per cent. live by actually cultivating the land.

If we look at foreign countries, every one has a large agricultural population cultivating the soil, providing not only enough food for the country concerned, but generally some to spare for exports.

We need but take as an example two of our more important neighbours—viz., France and Germany: in both from 40 to 50 per cent. of the people live not only on but by the land, and as a consequence the pressure into the towns and the resulting phenomenon of the unemployed is infinitesimal in comparison with what it is with us.

Now let us assume that we could by some means induce an equal percentage to go on to the land again and live by its cultivation, we should, as a consequence, at 40 per cent., have a country population of about 13,000,000 out of 32,000,000, instead of as at present scarcely 2,000,000. This would give a further country population of about 11,000,000, taken out of the towns, and that of the most congested districts; all these people would want to exchange their produce for additional clothing and other commodities which they cannot at present afford; and reckoning their increased needs at, say, £10 per head (and we think this a very moderate estimate), we should have at once a new market of the value of over £100,000,000, which would keep the rest of the population busy from year's end to year's end.

It is a moot point to calculate how much we should save the country's expenses in this wise by a reduced army, navy, and a host of officials; and what is of the greatest importance is that we should grow our own corn and other eatables, instead of fetching and accumulating them from all the world over. All the talk of continually increasing our navy with a view to prevent famine in case of war, all the talk about State granaries, &c., would at once fall to the ground.

This land question is, of course, too vast to be dealt with properly in this connection, but it will not be denied that, given the premisses, the conclusions, as given, hold good. Anyhow, we should in a few years, instead of the land lying idle as at present, see the country dotted with flourishing farms; the saying that cultivation does not pay would soon disappear with the exit of the landlord, who is at present a dead weight on the farmer's back. Of course, we should still have to look to foreign trade for many reasons, amongst them the disposal of surplus manufacture; but it would be found a somewhat different business to what it is under present conditions.

A great deal is made of the necessity for commercial education;

this necessity nobody will deny, just as little as that of general education; but if anybody thinks that by itself it will do much to maintain or increase our trade, he will find himself grievously mistaken. Other factors will have to come into play for that end. We have to meet the competition of countries who have not only long ago paid attention to education, but who are one and all in great part agricultural, grow their own food, and can leisurely think of increasing trade for surplus products; and we shall find we have to meet them on even ground.

We think, then, that all those who are so much concerned about our falling trade, and point to one reason and another for it, are on the wrong tack, and if some of them could be induced to weigh what we have said and look the facts as pointed out straight in the face, we feel sure better remedies will be proposed than heretofore, and we should feel gratified at not having written in vain.

A. G. HERZFELD.

## NAPOLEON'S ISLAND.

### IMPRESSIONS OF CORSICA.

OF all the departments of France Corsica is perhaps the least known to the outside world. The "Continental," as the Corsicans somewhat scornfully denominate their French fellow-citizens, rarely visit the island which gave birth to the great French Emperor, except in the character of officials; while, in spite of the existence of excellent hotels at Ajaccio and the attractions of great natural scenery and tolerable sport in the interior, the number of British visitors has diminished of late. No doubt the principal cause of this neglect is the extremely bad service of steamers which plies between Nice and the island. In winter these vessels, ancient in build and narrow in the beam, decline to stop at Calvi or Ile Rousse, and so the seasick traveller has a twelve hours' passage to Ajaccio, sometimes under circumstances which do not allow him to admire the bold, rocky scenery of the Corsican coast. On the other side of the island, from Livorno to Bastia, the "modern boat of small tonnage" to which the tourist confides his fortunes performs the journey with much greater celerity; but then Livorno is a long way round from the Riviera, whence most of our hibernating fellow-countrymen would naturally start on a trip to Corsica. It is said that the Fraissinet Company is no longer to enjoy a monopoly of the Corsican service, and that a new arrangement is to be made with another line. But, in the meanwhile, the Corsicans are inclined to re-echo the cry of the clever Deputy for Ajaccio, M. Emanuel Arène, who exclaimed one day in the French Chamber: "Give us trains; give us boats. That is all our farmers ask. Elsewhere, it is said, *l'agriculture manque de bras. Chez nous, elle ne manque que de jambes.*"<sup>1</sup> As a Corsican judge said to me, if the French Government had spent in that island a fifth of what it has spent during the last seventeen years in Tunis, the islanders would have been satisfied. As it is, the mines are undeveloped, the railway system incomplete—for the whole south corner of the island has still no line connecting it with the capital; a large part of the surface is uncultivated, and the talents of the natives themselves find a greater scope in place-hunting on the Continent—it is said that 23 per cent. are engaged in the French

<sup>1</sup> *Journal de la Corse*, Feb. 27, 1898.

public service—than in tilling the soil. Some time ago the Corsicans asked for the establishment of a school of viticulture, for the wines of the island only need more scientific preparation to be excellent. Their petition was submitted to the Circumlocution Office in Paris, and, after suitable delay, a reply was forwarded to the effect that the Government would build for them—a model dairy! This was not in the least what they wanted, but they resolved to accept it rather than nothing, and accordingly the site for the dairy-farm was selected, and an official sent from Paris to superintend its construction. The gentleman from the capital was a charming companion, a Parisian to his finger-tips, and an accomplished musician. He spent a whole summer at Vizzavona, a delightful spot among the mountains, whither the citizens of Ajaccio escape from the heat, and was the life of the place. Between one musical *soirée* and another the official wrote reports to his chief in Paris, who was so pleased with his work that he appointed him the first director of the future dairy-farm. But the prospect of a solitary winter among the Corsican mountains proved more than the *boulevardier* could bear. When the summer season drew to a close, he wrote a confidential report to Paris, explaining that the plan was impracticable, and thus ended the whole scheme. A similar misadventure also befell the plan for draining the east coast of the island, where a vast expanse of marsh still awaits the day when it shall be converted from fever-breeding fen into fertile pasturage. The work is a Herculean one, and therefore the sum of 1000 francs which the Chamber voted for the purpose was a mere drop in the bucket. But, by way of giving a further earnest of its interest in the drainage scheme, the Government sent a sanitary inspector to the spot. Unfortunately it was a case of “physician, heal thyself.” Instead of removing the cause of the fever, the luckless inspector caught the fever himself, and was invalided home, a striking testimony to the virulence of the malady, of which the Corsicans had complained, and for which they still seek a remedy.

The above illustrations will show that the mother country has not always been either wise or generous in her treatment of an island which, under a more liberal rule, might have been worth many Madagascars. The sad truth is that, just as Italy has starved Sicily and Sardinia and wasted blood and treasure on Eritrea, so France has squandered the lives and the savings of her sons on Tonquin and Madagascar, while Corsica, a fine island within sight of her coast, has been comparatively neglected.

Under the circumstances, and bearing in mind the historical fact that the island has only belonged to France for 130 years, from which must be deducted the two brief years of British occupation, it would be unnatural to expect any great enthusiasm for the French Republic in Corsica. The natives have nothing French about them,

and their dialect, which is extremely difficult to understand, is said to resemble Basque more than any other language. Playgoers will remember that Napoleon relapses into Corsican in one scene of *Madame Sans-Gêne*. In the village inns you will find almost exclusively the portraits and names of the great Corsican heroes, Sambucuccio, who first organised the country on the communal system; Sampiero, the valiant opponent of Genoa; Paoli, the leader of the last war of independence; Pozzo di Borgo, the famous diplomatist, whose family still resides in the hideous mansion, composed out of the ruins of the Tuilerie, which stands out on the mountain-side far above Ajaccio; and, above all, Napoleon Bonaparte. There is no getting away from this greatest of Corsican heroes at Ajaccio. Almost every street bears one or other of the designations which he bore during his extraordinary career. You have the *Avenue du Premier Consul*, the *Cours Napoléon*, the *Quai Napoléon*, the *Rue Bonaparte* and the *Place Bonaparte*; two statues of him adorn the two principal squares of the town, and a third monument is to be erected in his honour. His house is, of course, the chief "lion" of Ajaccio; the quaint Italian document which contains the register of his baptism on July 21, 1771, is the object of every pilgrim's devotion in the Hôtel de Ville. This entry in the baptismal register is remarkable in several ways. In the first place, it shows a frank disregard for orthography, which cannot but scandalise scholars. For in the margin, the future Emperor's Christian name is written "Neapoleone," while in the text his family name is spelt in the French style "Bonaparte" and not "Buonaparte," a fact, which proves that, even at that early date, barely two years after the union of Corsica with France, the family had adopted the French spelling. The house of the Bonapartes is in itself of no great interest; at St. Helena Napoleon said to his gaoler, Hudson Lowe, "You, who have been in Corsica, know how small my home was." Besides, the present building was restored by the great man's orders after the original edifice had been destroyed by the partisans of Paoli. But, in spite of that, a deep sentiment must always attach to the room where the young Napoleon—"Nabulione," as he was then known to his playmates—slept, to the sedan-chair in which his mother was transported in the pangs of childbirth from the cathedral to her room, and to the couch on which she brought forth the future Emperor. One sees, too, the trap-door through which he escaped from the clutches of Paoli's myrmidons; had it not been for that unassuming piece of woodwork the history of Europe would have been altered and the whole subsequent course of its destinies changed. Napoleon III. with his usual astuteness managed to graft his own legend on to that of his famous uncle, and his visit to Corsica with the Empress Eugénie has left many traces behind it. Opposite the house of the Bonapartes in the *Place Letizia* I noticed a wall covered with ivy,

which some Corsican admirer had brought from the grave of the third Napoleon at Chislehurst in 1874. Even now, after the lapse of more than a quarter of a century since the downfall of the Second Empire, there is a strong Bonapartist feeling in the island. There is a paper, *Le Drapeau*, devoted to the Bonapartist cause, and directed by M. Cuneo d'Ornano, the well-known Bonapartist Deputy, who comes of an old Corsican family. At the present moment Corsicans are subscribing liberally for the purchase of a gold wreath to be placed in the house of the Bonapartes as a memorial of the centenary of the First Consulate. On the other hand, the Republican Government is none too popular at present, owing to its action in the eternal liquor question, which in Corsica, as elsewhere, is an all-important factor in practical politics. This, again, like all the other modern institutions of the island, dates from the first Napoleon. That ruler, anxious to show his regard for his native place, not only made Ajaccio the capital, and corrected with his own hand the plan for its reconstruction on a grand scale—the new town hall is to be built from a newly discovered plan of his—but sent one of his most trusted counsellors, Miot, to administer the island. This administrator secured the passing of a law, which still bears his name, by which alcohol and tobacco were allowed to be imported into Corsica at a much lower figure than into the rest of France. This privilege, which has been of very doubtful benefit to the natives—for it is cheaper to get drunk in Corsica than almost anywhere else—is now threatened by the French Government, which wants money for its armaments, and sees no reason why Corsica should any longer enjoy this practical immunity from duty on liquor and tobacco. But the islanders do not see it in that light, and the familiar cry of “depriving the poor man of his drink” is being raised by the local press. Meanwhile, the Bonapartes retain an affectionate interest in the island. The ex-Empress Eugénie has christened her new villa on Cap Martin near Mentone “Villa Cynos,” the old name of Corsica, and is believed to preserve a liking for *broccio*, the delightful Corsican cheese, which, eaten with sugar, used to form one of the daily delicacies of the Tuileries in her time, just as Corsican black-birds were one of the constant *plats* at the first Napoleon's table. By way of keeping the memory of their greatest compatriot green, the conscript fathers of Corsica have just bought an immense number of copies of a new work on the infancy and early manhood of Napoleon I., and distributed one copy to every school in the island. Another act of hero-worship which might be commended to them is the cleansing of the famous but, alas! unhistoric, “grotto of Napoleon,” from the thousands of commonplace names and scrawls which have been allowed to disfigure it. Some persons have even brought paint pots and brushes for the purpose of immortalising their insignificant personalities on these rocks.

Persons, who derive their ideas of Corsica as it is to-day from Prosper Mérimée's novel, *Colomba*, will be doomed to some disappointment. Manners and customs have changed a great deal in the island since the date, shortly after the Battle of Waterloo, when the gallant British officer and his daughter visited Colomba in her ancestral castle at Pietranera. The *vendetta*, which is the theme of that thrilling story, has greatly diminished. During the Carnival we fancied that we had come upon a real instance of this picturesque barbarism. One workman killed another in a *café*, and then, in the expressive Corsican phrase, "took to the *maquis*," or brushwood, which covers a large portion of the island, and has, from time immemorial, been the refuge of outlaws and bandits. This legend subsisted for some days, and excited a new interest in life in Corsica, and quite a large demand for copies of *Colomba*. But a conversation, which I had with the *jugé d'instruction* who had investigated the case, proved that it was, after all, as he expressed it, a *crime vulgaire*, and not, as we had hoped, a *crime corse*. We afterwards had the satisfaction of seeing the malefactor led in chains between two mounted policemen on his way into Ajaccio, whereas the traditional bandit would have been fed and supplied with powder and shot by the country people, who would have rather gone to the stake than betrayed his hiding-place to the authorities. Here and there *vendetta* may still linger in the island; but it has now become a means of attracting the tourist, who is invited to buy bloodthirsty-looking knives and daggers, bearing such choice inscriptions as: *Vendetta Corsa; morte al nemico* ("death to the enemy"); or, even still more gruesome: *Va diritto al cuore del nemico* ("Go straight to the heart of the enemy"). These choice weapons form, together with gourds engraved with portraits of Napoleon, or the negro's head, which is the Corsican crest, the staple industry of Ajaccio. Mine, which lies before me as I write, I employ for the pacific purpose of cutting slices of lemon for my tea, just as Miss Lydia in Mérimée's story used hers for cutting the pages of a novel. For the blood-feud in full force one must nowadays go to Albania. Like the *vendetta*, the *voceri*, or funeral dirges, for which the island was once so famous, are becoming a show for the antiquary and the tourist, instead of being a real living custom which appeals to the inhabitants. A short time ago the learned custodian of the library at Ajaccio, who has made and published a collection of these songs, organised a performance of *voceri* in the towns, which was very successful. In the mountain pastures of the Niolo district, towards the centre of the island, women are still found who can chant these gloomy melodies; but the race of these native singers is dying out, and, indeed, could hardly be expected to survive the *vendetta*, which was the theme of these bloodthirsty songs.

In Corsica, therefore, the traveller has nothing to fear from the

bandit, who, even in his best, or worst, days, respected the stranger. On a long excursion which we made through the interior of the island, we found every one with whom we had to deal unfailingly courteous and obliging, and the accommodation distinctly superior to what one has to put up with in Greece, or even in some places nearer home. The average Corsican is not a very loquacious person, and the curious custom of wearing deep mourning for three years for the loss of a relative makes a Corsican town somewhat sombre, for nearly all the natives are related to each other, and therefore almost every family is in mourning for some one. Indeed, funerals appear to be the favourite amusement of the natives, for it is the custom to place a table, pen, ink, and paper outside the dead man's house, where the ceremony is about to take place, and all the friends of the deceased hasten to inscribe their names as they pass in token of respect to his memory. Outside Ajaccio, too, as at Pompeii and in Athens, you may see a whole street of tombs, where each great family has its mausoleum. But the grand mountain scenery of the island will soon divert the mind of the traveller from this somewhat lugubrious custom. The snow-covered giants of Corsica derive additional beauty from the deep blue sky which surrounds them in fine weather, and the excursion from Ajaccio to Evisa by way of Vico, and back by Piana and Cargèse, will compare with some of the best bits of the Tyrol. We easily accomplished this charming drive of 110 miles with two horses in four days, although the ascents were very steep at times. But the Corsican horses, poor though they look—Dumas thought that they fed on nothing—are able to get through an amount of fatigue which is perfectly astonishing, and on the present occasion their labours were shared by our driver's little black dog, "Negro," who accompanied us all the way, and never gave in. For a lady who has reached a certain period of life a drive through Corsica has, indeed, this inconvenience, that the police insist on the exact ages of every visitor, together with other details of his or her career, being filled in at every place where he or she may stop the night. One is thus able to track one's friends and acquaintances through the Corsican highlands, for these interesting if sometimes embarrassing facts are preserved in the visitors' books, which, by an old law of 1794, innkeepers are still compelled to keep. The reason is that the French authorities are afraid of spies, in the guise of commercial travellers or simple tourists, who might come to Corsica for the purpose of sketching the defences of the island. One landlord, an Italian, complained to me that he was liable to a fine of 50 francs if his register were not properly filled up, and added that a translator ought to be provided to transcribe the various details from the language of the traveller into that of the authorities. Some of the entries are curious. One facetious gentleman, asked to describe his "habitual habitation," puts down "*the maquis*"—a remark which somehow

escaped the vigilance of the police. Except as an abode, indeed, the *maquis* is most charming. Composed of aromatic shrubs, which give the Corsican blackbirds their delicious flavour and perfume the whole island, this vast mass of brushwood is the most characteristic feature of the country. Napoleon at St. Helena told his Corsican physician that he could tell Corsica with his eyes shut from its scent alone, and more than once alluded to the delightful odours which it exhaled. To discover a bandit in the *maquis* would indeed be difficult, and it will be long before it has all been reduced to the dull uniformity of arable or pasture land. The road winds alternately through these brakes and through fine chestnut forests, which, unfortunately, when we saw them were still destitute of leaves. The real difficulty, indeed, about seeing Corsica is that the island has two entirely different climates, owing to the great altitude of the interior. So, when it is agreeably warm on the coast, it is too early to see the forests at their best, while, when it is pleasant summer weather in the uplands, it is roasting at Ajaccio. But nothing can detract from the magnificence of the red rocks which tower high above the road as it winds down from Evisa to the beautiful harbour of Porto, whose Genoese tower still stands, like many another along the Corsican coast, to testify to the descent of the Barbary corsairs upon the island in bygone days. This part of the country might furnish a painter with the idea for an entry into the infernal regions, so weird and gaunt and terribly majestic are the purple cliffs. Farther on, between Porto and Piana, one enters the regions of the Calanche—dolomitic rocks, which have assumed, under the influence of the weather, the most fantastic shapes. One, well called *Le Chien*, bears an exact resemblance to a French poodle: another, appropriately named *L'Evêque*, is a striking likeness of a mitred bishop bending forward with his pastoral staff in his hand. Seen by moonlight, nothing can be stranger than these extraordinary freaks of nature, to which the Dolomites alone in Europe can provide a parallel. And then, as we go farther, the little village at which we stop for the night presents us with the most curious vagary of ethnology. At Cargèse we have the remarkable spectacle of a Greek population, with its own church, settled down on the coast of Corsica. Our inn is kept by a Greek from Corfu, as his name, Corfiotti, tells us, and as the loquacity of his wife would lead us to infer—for at Cargèse the Corsican taciturnity has given place to the Hellenic love of talk. Rather more than two centuries ago a Greek settlement was founded in Corsica under the auspices of the Genoese Republic, to which the island at that time belonged; and, when the French came into possession of the country, they established the Hellenic exiles, who had meanwhile founded the *Chapelle des Grecs* just outside Ajaccio, at Cargèse, and built them the church, which they have ever since cherished. \*Intermarriages between the colonists and the natives, at first rare, have now become frequent, and it is to be feared that

the Greek language will soon become as extinct there as the *fustanella*. But, with that wonderful tenacity which it shows in modern Greece, in spite of centuries of barbarian inroads and Turkish oppression, the Greek type is sure to remain at Cargèse to remind the traveller of its eternal youth and its unfailing characteristics.

The brief British occupation of the island has left very few traces behind it, for in two years little could be done, especially as those two years coincided with the tremendous events which followed the French Revolution. But Corsica is interesting to Englishmen as the place where Nelson lost his eye, and as the happy hunting-ground of Boswell, the biographer of Dr. Johnson, whose *Account* appeared the year before the French conquest of the island. By a curious coincidence Mr. Knight, the English chaplain at Ajaccio this year, was the energetic rector of Nelson's birthplace, whose labours on behalf of the great Admiral's memory are well known in England. He remarked, with some amusement, that the island which witnessed the birth of Nelson's greatest adversary was hardly the most appropriate place for Nelson's warmest admirer; but his admiration for the latter did not prevent him from doing justice to the genius of the great Corsican, whose fame has of late years been revived by writers alike in France and in England, and whose native island deserves to be visited by our countrymen alike for its natural beauties and for its historical associations.

W. MILLER.

## CONCERNING THEATRICAL CRITICISM.

THERE exists a notion that critics, as a general rule, are ill-natured persons, fond of imagining faults, and that

“They who write ill, and they who ne’er durst write,  
Turn critics out of mere revenge and spite.”

Into the truth of this assumption it is not our present purpose to enter; but the character of the several matters touched upon by critics is, perhaps, a more interesting theme. For the present we shall confine our attention to dramatic or theatrical criticism.

Dramatic criticism is one of those arts that have no recognised position nor principles, but plenty of professors. They swarm into every theatre, and the “free list” is never suspended as far as they are concerned. Anything that bears the shape and impress of a newspaper “order,” any one who represents, or is supposed to represent, a newspaper, however obscure, is admitted free at all times to our theatres and places of amusement. It has been well said that a dead newspaper is treated with more respect by a theatre manager than a live public. Poor, meek, patient public, how easily they are imposed upon! They see a close column of type in their daily or weekly journal and think they are well served by their favourite critic—the taster sent in advance to report upon some new theatrical production. They take it for granted that their arbiter of taste has been faithful. The manager sees it also and is satisfied. In nine cases out of twelve it is nothing but a wordy narrative of the plot of the play or opera (if the play or opera *had* a plot), a well-known device of some critics who have forgotten the truism contained in Pope’s lines:

“Words are like leaves; and where they most abound,  
Much fruit of sense beneath is rarely found.”

The aim of all criticism, we take it, should be to solve the equation of merit, and to find what is of real value. It is the pursuit and study of high thought and adequate execution, and as such should take an exalted rank. Playgoers need guidance as well as novel readers. Not many of either class can trust their own judgments. And it is easy to conceive old and young hopelessly bewildered and dazed at the conflicting opinions that are thrust upon

them from all directions as to what is vicious and ephemeral, or what is useful and permanent, in modern stage literature. A good critic, therefore, serves a most useful purpose in our modern life.

Of the intelligence and wisdom, the delicacy of perception, and liberalism of thought, that should be the dowry of such a writer, it would be difficult to speak with exaggeration. Very great issues are at stake.

Now, were we asked what ought a theatrical notice to be, we should reply thus: A theatrical critique should be a clear, plain exposition of the writer's opinions upon the play; the subject of his commentary—its plot, action, characters, and situations, its language, and morality or immorality. This should be accompanied by an *impartial* and sound examination of the performers' respective capacity and power to conceive and impersonate the parts entrusted to their skill and care. The critic should have the moral courage to point out what, in his judgment, he considered defects, whether of the drama or of those engaged in its representation; at the same time awarding commendation and approval wherever and by whomsoever deserved; and, beyond all, giving also his *reasons* for his expression of opinion. To do this correctly, judiciously, and truthfully, requires ability of a superior—we might add, a peculiar—order, and also experience in the investigation of such matters.

Critics of acting wield much more immediate if not much greater power than critics of the other arts. The sculptor's, the painter's, and the author's work remains to give the lie to an unjust judgment. Time is *their* court of last resort which must sustain or reverse the verdict of the passing hour. But often in the theatre there is no appeal. Here judgment and execution go hand in hand. A piece of acting is too ephemeral to make a successful struggle against injustice. Of course there are unjust leniencies as well as unjust severities; the latter is probably the least hurtful of the two. And there are also compensations in the case. Many an actor enjoys a great traditional reputation which would not stand the test of a new trial; many a play has met with a favourable judgment which a less summary method of procedure would certainly have reversed.

All things considered, it may be safely said that there are few more responsible positions than that of a dramatic critic on an influential journal. To do his duty correctly and truthfully, we have said, requires abilities of a superior order. We assume that the possession of such ability will not be denied by that class of writers to whom the duty of furnishing theatrical notices to the Press is usually entrusted, however much other persons might be disposed to question their claim to such possession. The newspaper proprietors by whom those writers are commissioned to "do" the theatres either presuppose their talents are equal to their tasks, and so doing never read their lucubrations, or they hold the office in such

low estimate that the notices are not really worth attention or revision. The latter-day slopshop dramatic "literature" is mainly responsible for the slopshop style of criticism now so much in vogue. What was formerly treated as an Art by actors, upheld as an Art by managers, and jealously preserved as an Art by critics like Charles Lamb and William Hazlitt, is now chiefly watched over by penny-a-line reporters and "general writers." The literature of the stage is now "noticed," not criticised. In many of our literary journals the record of its productions is usually relegated to an obscure corner for paragraphs. Newspaper editors and proprietors do not, as a rule, care a straw about it; they devote their attention to universal politics, sporting telegrams, and the money market.

We are led into this train of thought in consequence of the manner in which the drama, and all matters connected with the theatre, is treated nowadays by those writers who favour the public with their notions on histrionism and its varied professors.

Conceding scholarship to any one of the class of writers to which we more particularly allude, we are prepared to uphold that that accomplishment is not of *itself* sufficient to enable him to judge truly of a drama, whether lyric, tragic, or otherwise. He must have the discrimination and knowledge to decide, frequently on a first hearing, if the composition fulfil all the essential requirements that constitute a work of the class to which it aspires to belong. That discriminating power can only be acquired by extensive reading, accompanied by a quick discernment and faithful memory to detect plagiarisms, if they exist—and this in itself presupposes intimacy with the works of dramatic authors in general. He should be prepared to point out beauties that are perhaps parallel with passages upon the same theme in other pages, yet could not be decried as mere imitation, and to pronounce upon the style, intention, and effect of the entire composition.

The judgment necessary to form a sound opinion upon the *acting* of a play cannot be gained by reading, it must be acquired by seeing, and seeing with attention and for considerable periods, the best performers in the various departments of their art. For we need hardly say that constant attendance at the performance of a tragedian will not fit a person to decide the proper powers of a comedian, high or low. This attendance at theatres may impart to some a means of testing truly the capacity of actors and actresses in their several embodiments of similar or identical parts. We say may; because unless, as we have observed before, the mind be given to the acting, the desirable result will not follow.

Acting is a great art when made manifest by its most eminent professors; yet, we think, few critics so regard it. But if some little consideration be given to the manifold requirements that are

indispensable to a great actor or actress, the art, where and when it is properly exemplified, would rank degrees beyond that in which it is held at present. Like all great artists, a great actor must have a natural taste for his calling. He must have education sufficiently liberal to enable him to understand his author; apprehension to catch at and discover small meanings that might escape the notice of the general reader; comprehension to take in and analyse all the bearings, features, intentions, and actions of the character he studies; perception acute and true enough to see into and simplify readings hitherto, perhaps, perplexing or ambiguous; his enunciation must be clear; his pronunciation unexceptionable; his elocution elegant; his movements graceful and appropriate to every action—and all these must be accompanied by a voice of more than average power, modulation, and sweetness; his judgment always on the alert, and correct, lest he should lapse into a false reading, or let his passion degenerate into rant in the one extreme, or into apathy in the other. These accomplishments and natural gifts are, in our opinion, quite essential to a great actor or actress. Now, if our estimate of the constituents of such an artist be not overdrawn, is it too much to assume that a dramatic critic, not possessed of what we consider *his* constituents, is unfit to pronounce an authoritative opinion upon the qualifications of that artist to conceive and impersonate any given part or parts? We fear, then, it is to the want of the requisite ability to write otherwise that we must attribute the continuous commonplace and *ad nauseam* doses of flattery dispensed by certain critics to some prominent players of the day, but especially towards opera artists—provided only he or she be foreign, or is known to the public by some Continental sounding patronymic.

The more one examines the current dramatic critiques the more we find how largely it is eaten up by the dry-rot of insincerity and commonplace. It would be easy to prove this assertion by reference to files of papers in which theatrical notices have appeared for the past year—one unvarying style of ever-recurring epithets and platitudes—nothing defined clearly or precisely. What reader of these “notices” has not long since grown tired of the innumerable pillages from the French language in order to enrich the writer’s vocabulary? The word “song” is quite below adoption by some of these grandiloquent writers, but we find in its stead vocal *morceau*; the plain, intelligible shake is *floriture*; the voice is seldom named but as an organ; the singing itself is made rendering; and the general effect is shadowed forth as the *tout ensemble*. Then, again, a dashing style of performance is dubbed *abandon* and possibly created a *furor*. If the performer, in response to applause, appears before the curtain, he is reported to have been “honoured with calls.” The other pet phrases of our theatrical notices are *aplomb*, *ensemble*, *ingénue*, *soubrette*, *jeune premier*, *lever de rideau*, *mise en scène*, *succès*

*d'estime, pièce de circonstance, dénouement.* The use and abuse of such terms is clearly a much easier way of writing a so-called critique than that plain English and common-sense *reasons* should be given for the opinions so oracularly propounded and published.

We feel sure that every one agrees with Mr. Andrew Lang when he says that a book critic ought to be able to correct an author where his author is wrong, and to add, if only a little, to the information. So, too, should a dramatic critic be able to correct the actor in any wrong reading of his author, or misconception of the character he impersonates. Should want of ability of the performer be advanced as the cause of indiscriminate praise, it might be some excuse for the writer, but none at all for the journal which allows its publication. If, on the other hand, ability be conceded to them, how does it happen that nearly all newcomers appear, in their judgment, equally great? Or, if comparison be instituted, it is for the purpose of still exalting the present (for the time being) recipients of their laudations above those immediately preceding them; they having previously received the same unqualified approval, supposing no comparisons had been made in their case. In fact, that system reduces critique-writing to a very simple one indeed—namely, praise, praise, praise.

What has originated such a vicious mode of writing, should neither of our assumptions be accepted as the true one? Have the managers anything to do with it? We should like not to think so; though, to be sure, a manager is open to praise and is flattered like other men in position. Have the artists? We should hope not, for that supposition would compromise the dignity and independence of the Press. Still, from whatever cause arising, it should cease. It is calculated to impede the upward, onward course of our players, who are, after all, not so wholly blinded by vanity as to suppose that *every* part they play, *every* song they sing, is in itself perfect and complete.

Again, why need they trouble their brains as to exact readings and careful scholarly interpretations of the text, when they are tolerably certain that no fault of theirs will be pointed out for correction by those over-indulgent critics?

Another very objectionable practice of some present-day writers of theatrical gossip is the "puff preliminary." This is a feature of journalism that should be wholly disallowed by honest editors. If the object of the puff be clever, or, as the advertisement would probably tell us, "eminent," the eminent clearly does not require the introductory adulation. If, on the other hand, the eminent one be undeserving of the epithet, then the puff is "a delusion, a mockery, and a snare." Yet, as a rule, the journals in which the "puff preliminary" is allowed to appear—be it in the form of an "interview" with the "star" at his (or her) hotel, or the hundred and one other ways "our special reporter" has of getting the desired "copy"

—seldom are the writers sharp enough to detect the total want of eminence in the eminent, or, being sharp, have firmness sufficient to proclaim it to the public.

How gratifying it must be to some admittedly great artist to find that he (or she) is possessed of an immortality of power, whether for song or recitation; and that the voice which twenty-one years ago enraptured (without flattery) all its hearers, has still (with gross flattery) the same "register," the same *calibre*, *timbre*, and sweetness; that it can still pour forth the same "unimpaired volume" of sound, whether in the *cantabile*, the *bravura*, the *fioriture*, or the *ensemble*! What is the aim of such misrepresentation, may one seriously ask? If the compounders of adulation of that sort do it to please the artist so written of, we think they often miss their mark; for the artist now old cannot but regard with suspicion that flattery which twenty years ago had truth for its foundation, and was no more *then* than well deserved. In addition, take the case of a student in music, fully competent to judge of the merits of a great singer, but to whom no opportunity had previously presented itself of hearing the *once* unrivalled. Well, he goes to the theatre, or concert-hall, to hear the still "unimpaired one," as he is told, and having heard, would he not naturally enough think—"If you are as great *now* as you ever were, your greatness appears to me incomprehensible"? The injudiciousness of such overstrained and untrue commendation is the more apparent when it shall be known that, perhaps, a few days before a youthful *prima donna* had been characterised by the very same writer as literally and actually without parallel on the lyric stage. Truly, if those "critics" had better memories their statements would be a little less extravagant, and their authority stand in less fear of question.

We have selected the musical department of the drama as that in which the greatest quantity of undeserved hyperbolic eulogy is most liberally administered, and also as the one in which it should be more strongly condemned than any other, for the reason that music, artistically considered, is less generally understood by the many than other entertainments connected with theatres, consequently the greater the necessity of informing the public truly upon the subject, instead of misleading them by wholesale commendation of each and every succeeding artist, and, in addition, mystifying them with a polyglot admixture of words and quotations sufficient to bewilder a professor of languages.

We have, it must be admitted, a great deal of negative criticism nowadays. It is generally of the hyperæmic school. The hyperæmic critic is always young, inexperienced, sanguine, self-reliant. He does not understand the solemn weight and meaning of words. He is as irresponsible with his pen as a boy with a new revolver. He feels it his duty to kill or maim something. To praise a play or

player means weakness or want of knowledge. To find fault presupposes wisdom and superiority.

Critics, we must admit, are human like other people, and have their likes and their dislikes, their whims and their prejudices. One hates Shakespeare on the stage; another dislikes slopsshop French adaptations and translations; another hates the public for their coarse and idiotic tastes; one detests burlesque and all its attendant glitter and folly; another detests "realistic effects"—real cabs, real water, real blood; one will admire beautiful scenery, dresses, and stage upholstery; another likes the pauper simplicity of the old "legitimate" school: but one and all should strive to do *justice* to authors, actors, and managers; and as theatres may now be regarded as institutions, it is the more imperative that certain matters connected with them should be treated of truly and impartially.

R. M. SILLARD.

## BANKING REVOLUTION.

THERE is an important movement going on just now amongst the bankers and banking companies, which by some parties has been called a revolution in banking, because it is tending to overturn the old-fashioned manner of banking in London in particular, and amalgamating the London banks with the country banks. The amalgamation of a large London bank with a large country banking company has just been completed. The City Bank of London has agreed to join the London and Midland Bank of Birmingham. The shareholders of these two companies held meetings in London on October 18, and there and then unanimously agreed to form an united bank to be called "The London City and Midland Bank, Limited." Mr. W. G. Bradshaw, deputy chairman, presided at the Midland meeting, and gave an interesting statement of the reasons which led the directors of the two banks to come to the conclusion that an amalgamation would be very beneficial for both banks, as it would increase their united business and widen their connection in the City and the country. He said—

"The London and Midland Bank was already a large bank in Birmingham and the Midlands. It has 220 branches. The City Bank of London has also a number of branches and a large bank office in Threadneedle Street, London, which will be quite sufficient for the amalgamated bank for years to come. The City Bank business in London is much larger than ours, but our country business is altogether out of proportion to our Metropolitan business, and so the one bank will help the other, and the combined resources will be greatly augmented. The City Bank has been paying 10 per cent. dividend, while the Midland has been paying 17 per cent. per annum. The amount of deposits in the amalgamated bank will be £32,000,000; that will make us, in point of size, the fourth bank in the United Kingdom."

At the meeting of the City Bank shareholders, Mr. James E. Vanner, the senior director, presided, and stated his views of the amalgamation. He gave some interesting information about banking business as conducted in the City and in the country towns. He said: "from a thirty years' connection with banking, he thought the banking system of this country was a credit to it. It is an absolute necessity to commercial and social life. Only think of it," said he: "bank cheques are now the currency of this country to a very large extent. Our conviction is that we have not nearly

reached the limit of bank development. With that conviction we wish to be well in the running, to take full advantage of every new development; therefore he highly approved of the amalgamation with the Midland Bank. Those who have kept their eyes open must have seen that the banks that are doing a country business, as well as a London business, have an immense advantage over purely London banks, both for development and for profit making." Mr. Vanner showed how this was the case — "it was because the country banks were worked more economically and more advantageously, both for the banks and for their customers, as the country bankers came into near contact with their customers and knew their affairs confidentially, and therefore could and did give them more accommodation than is given by the large banks in London in general." Mr. Vanner said "he had been into the country and made inquiries, and been astonished to find what good terms the banks are giving to men in these towns."

This testimony by a leading London banker is surely strong enough to convince any commercial man that the London system of banking is far too contracted, and not adapted to the new developments in banking and money matters of the present day. If banking reforms have to be made, they will most likely be proposed and carried by country people and commercial men.

For instance, I remember that the Associated Chambers of Commerce some years ago sent a deputation (of which the writer was one) to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Northcote, asking the Government to appoint a committee to inquire into the working of the Bank Act, with a view to the *improvement* of the banking and currency system. A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed for that purpose, but the London bankers opposed any reform of their system, and so it remains as confined and contracted as ever since the Bank Act of 1844 was passed, which has so often brought on monetary panics and depressions of trade.

The present banking system "burkes" free trade. We ought to have a free banking system and an expansive currency to give free trade fair play, which it has never yet got, and will not get until the restrictions enacted by the Bank Act are repealed, and a new and more generally useful system of banking developed, such as Mr. Vanner looks forward for. But the new system must be somewhat better than the mere amalgamation of old banks. The country requires a number of new banking companies in every town in the country. There is no particular advantage in very large banks, as any bank can make connections with larger banks to suit themselves. Smaller banks, well managed, can serve country places far better to take in deposits and lend out that money again than larger banks can do, as has been admitted.

The first and most necessary improvement required in banking is

to allow other banks besides the Bank of England to issue notes on security lodged with the Treasury, or, better still, the Treasury may be authorised by Parliament to issue a certain amount of notes for *ten shillings, one pound, and upwards* to take the place of gold coin gradually, and this would be a great saving to this nation, besides being a great boon and advantage to the trade and commerce of the country, as it would provide plenty of "ready money" for circulation at home. There need be no fear of being an over-issue, for if too many notes were issued they would soon come back to the issuers "like doves to their windows." It was a great mistake to restrict the issue of notes so much as was done—of course it was part of the old selfish system of trade protection, as it was called. It was done to *protect* the Bank of England monopoly, and gave that Bank the control of the money market, so that it can put up the rate of discount or interest when the directors think fit for *their own interests*, without regard to commercial interests. By that means the Bank has frequently made money *scarcer and dearer* than it might have been had there been other banks to compete with the Bank of England. Now it may be asked: Does the Bank of England do any good to trade and commerce, that it should be so highly favoured as it is? The truth is, the Bank of England does no good but a great deal of harm to the trade and commerce of this country, and the sooner it gets notice that its monopoly must be brought to a close the better, and free trade in banking allowed to all banks on the same conditions. If it had not been for the happy discovery and general use of "bank cheques," as pointed out by Mr. Vanner, the country might have stuck for want of paper money: good sound legal notes, as Mr. Pitt found, are really the best and cheapest currency this country can have. Our present restrictive banking system is most unsuitable.

There is an idea propagated by the protectionist bankers, that it is a good thing for this country to have a gold currency: the fact is the gold currency has been a curse since ever it was put in force in 1821—it has caused most of the money panics since then, and it has hindered the carrying out of Cobden's free trade principles, because whenever foreigners can buy our gold *cheaper* than our goods they will take our gold in exchange for their *produce*—corn, cotton, wine, sugar, &c.—and refuse to take our goods, or let them into their markets without exacting a most exorbitant tariff or duty thereon, while we allow their exports to come into our own country *duty free*. Thus we have laid ourselves open to imposition!

There are some parties (they call themselves "fair traders") who say they would mend matters by laying on countervailing duties upon their exports to us; but that would be worse and worse for us: the real, honest, and straightforward way for us to take would be to put a premium upon our gold to bring its price as high

as the price of our goods, or even higher, and then, if they still excluded our goods from their markets and demanded gold, good and well, they would just have to pay a *fair price* for it. This is just what other nations are doing to Britain, as stated by the *Telegraph*, October 21 :

"The rise of the Banks of France rate from 2 per cent. to 3 per cent. was made, as we are assured, simply to retain French capital in the country apart from the question of gold; the Bank having the means of protecting the stock of *gold metal* by imposing a premium upon its withdrawal for export."

The Imperial Bank of Germany acts in like manner: it always keeps its price for gold to a pretty high premium, or to a higher price than the Bank of England charges. Our Bank makes the great mistake of adhering to the price fixed by the Bank Act of always giving £3 17s. 9d. per ounce for gold, and selling it at £3 17s. 10½d., which is a shocking suicidal trade for Britain, is it not?

The London bankers have been making great complaints lately about other bankers coming into the London money market, and cutting them out by discounting and lending money below the Lombard Street rates. One of the London financial papers makes a long complaint against the Germans for their competition. But such complaints are uncalled for as the Germans are doing a favour to the merchants of this country by lending money cheap. It would be ridiculous for our bankers to try to prevent foreign competition in banking. The Bank of England ought to raise its price for *gold* when a run takes place for its export, and that would soon stop the demand, but it would, on the other hand, create a direct demand for *British goods* to balance the heavy contra account which the Americans in particular have thrown upon Britain this year by making us pay them about one hundred million pounds sterling in bullion and suchlike remittances, instead of taking the balance from us in our goods, &c. This is the outcome of our anti-free trade gold business; whereas if we had free trade in gold bullion as in other metals, gold would just rise and fall according to supply and demand, without the necessity of altering the rate of discount. That would, without a doubt, compel all nations that deal with us to adopt free trade as we have done. But so long as gold continues to be bought and sold at the Bank of England at the fixed prices, the foreigners will get the better of us in the exchanges and in trade, in spite of us. It is remarkable that the United States, France, Germany, and Russia have far more gold bullion in their banks and treasury than they require; yet these countries continue to draw gold from Britain, and Britain continues to sell it to them too cheap! This leads up to the question—What has the value of gold to do with the value of loans of money? As money matters now stand in London—the

influx and efflux of gold to the Bank is made by the Bank Act to regulate the Bank rate. Now it is strongly suspected that the inflow and outflow of gold to the Bank may be increased or decreased by large capitalists, to raise or depress the Bank rate for their own profit. They can withdraw, and hide in their cellars, a million or so of gold, at a critical time, then up goes the Bank rate *one* per cent., and down goes trade and the prices of our goods, with the rise of interest. The only and the right way to prevent this sliding scale imposition is to separate the gold bullion market from the bank business entirely, and let there be free trade in gold as in every other metal, and then British goods and manufactures would keep their regular prices, and not be affected by the gold market at all; neither would the home trade be affected or depressed in the least by the gold market or by the plentifulness or scarcity of that metal. This leads to the conclusion that there is a great reason at the present time for a great reform in our banking and currency system. At length, after endless writing and discussion of this important subject, there are several movements making for bringing about some of these required reforms. New banking companies are proposed, large and small, and there is a wide field open for the establishment of new banks in the City and the country. There is great inducement to start new banks, as they pay better dividends than most other companies, and they are essentially necessary.

Joint stock banks are ably conducted and profitable to the shareholders, but banks should be made more serviceable than they are, to the public. Banks could be started and carried on by the mercantile and manufacturing public on a *mutual banking system* for the benefit of the customers themselves. That is to say, local banks with local directors and managers could be got up to do their banking business for themselves, just like our ordinary banks to take in deposits and savings, and lend out that money again on the usual securities and credits, and divide the profits amongst those concerned according to their respective contribution of capital, and the amount of business done by each customer and contributor. This would bring the old-fashioned monopolist bankers to see the necessity of serving the public better than they do.

There is a most extraordinary new system of banking going to be started in Glasgow, by the municipality of the "Second City" in the Empire, which may probably set an example to other cities and towns to take advantage of banking to benefit the communities. The Finance Committee of the Glasgow Corporation have resolved to recommend the establishment of a bank for borrowing and lending money, and for issuing of notes payable on demand, to an amount not exceeding £500,000, upon the security of the Corporation property; and to apply immediately to Parliament for powers to do so. This application will have the effect of raising a fresh

discussion in Parliament of the whole banking and currency questions, which is certainly ripe for being again dealt with; as the existing system is seemingly altogether conducted for the advantage of the favoured banking companies, rather than for the general public, as the banks should be. The present banks really lock up lots of money in useless "reserves" rather than lend out that money (which has been deposited by the public) to give accommodation to the public to carry on their business with, at reasonable rates of interest. Here it is necessary to remember it is not *gold* that is loaned or advanced, it is only *credit* in the account with the bank, and that costs the banks next to nothing, as the banks give little or nothing for deposits, and if they have a note issue, they make as much by lending out these notes as by their capital.

Let any person look at the abstract of the banks as published in the *Economist*, and it will be seen that the amount of deposits, with the amount of the notes issued (which is the same as capital), and the amount of accumulated profits undivided, is about double the amount of money actually lent out for real banking business; it will be seen that the banks have really been keeping back so much of the people's money which they ought to have had the use of for their own several trades, and lent it to dealers on the Stock Exchange, and out-siders to invest in speculative stocks rather than in encouraging trade. This withholding "more than is mete" of the people's money is very detrimental to this country. The big banks seem to be more accommodating to large speculators than to ordinary traders. This is not as it should be; traders should get the preference from the banks; but it is well known that the big banks, in many cases, rather hoard their money than lend it out at reasonable rates, hence it is that foreign banks are offering money cheaper than the London banks are doing. The Banks of France and Germany are bound by their charter to give the public accommodation at the fixed rates of interest to small customers, as well as to large ones. The Bank of England does nothing so liberal, or so beneficial to the general public. Why not?

[Since writing the above article, a remarkable report of the New York stock markets appeared on November 15, which bears strongly on this subject. It states "The exports for ten months were £92,000,000 in excess of the imports, the trade balance steadily growing in favour of the United States," the quantity of gold in the Treasury is excessive, and call money is only 2½ per cent. in New York. In contrast to this, the Bank of England has put up its rate to 4 per cent.; the monetary system of this country is so much under Bank control that trade is hampered at home, and commerce is checked in foreign markets by the way the exchanges are turned against this country, because we have not got free trade in *gold* as well as in corn. If we had free trade in gold and free trade in banking, Britain could defy all the Protectionists in the world!]

ROBERT EWEN.

## THE ATLAS LEGEND :

### PRECESSION OF THE EQUINOXES BEFORE HIPPARCHUS.

THE vernal equinox and the autumnal equinox, being those two points in the circle of the year where the day and night are equal, occur, as we know, where the circle of the sun's path (*i.e.* in another aspect the earth's orbit) crosses the plane of the earth's equator. These points, however, do not preserve a constant place among the stars, but shift their position slowly backwards along the ecliptic (the sun's path), thus causing the equinox to recur before the circle has been quite completed. The difference in time is about one-third of an hour annually, and amounts to a day in the course of 72 years, and to a full year in the course of 25,868 years. The precession of the equinoxes, thus conceived, consists in a real but very slow motion of the pole of the heavens among the stars, in a small circle round the pole of the ecliptic. The pole of the heavens is the vanishing-point of the earth's axis; and, as this point has such a motion as just described, it follows that the earth's axis has a conical motion, in virtue of which it points successively to every part of the small circle in question. Sir John Herschel suggests that we may form the best idea of such a motion by noticing a child's peg-top when it spins not upright, or that amusing toy the tee-to-tum, which, when delicately executed and nicely balanced, becomes an elegant philosophical instrument, and exhibits in the most beautiful manner the whole phenomenon in a way calculated to give at once a clear conception of it as a fact, and a considerable insight into its physical cause as a dynamical effect. The whole earth participates in the motion, and goes along with the axis as if the axis were really a bar of iron driven through it. As one result of this motion we have a succession of pole-stars, as the axis moves away from one star and is directed to points farther on round the circle. The bright star of the Lesser Bear, which we call the pole-star, has not always been our cynosure, for at the time of the earliest catalogues it was  $12^{\circ}$  from the pole; and although it is now only  $1^{\circ} 24'$  distant, and will approach to within half a degree, it will afterwards again recede, and slowly give place to others.

About 12,000 years ago the star Vega in the constellation Lyrae, the brightest in the northern hemisphere, must have been the pole-star, and in another 12,000 or 13,000 years will become so again. The shifting of the equinoxes keeps pace with the movement of the pole, and the circle is of course completed in the same length of time.

Text-books of astronomy generally say that the precession of the equinoxes was discovered by Hipparchus, a Greek astronomer, about 130 or 125 B.C., and that he arrived at it by a comparison of his own observations with those of Timocharis made 170 years earlier. The disposition to take this as a full account of the matter is hardly yet relinquished. A writer in the *Quarterly Review*, treating of the astronomy of Dante, and speaking of the imperfect means possessed by the ancients for recording the lapse of time, says it seems incredible that such a minute inequality as the precession of the equinoxes should have been detected in the third century before Christ.<sup>1</sup> In attributing the discovery to Hipparchus this writer is only following the commonly accepted teaching, and could justify himself by reference to the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (art. "Astronomia"), to Sir G. Cornewell Lewis (*Astronomy of the Ancients*, pp. 150, 213), Grant's *History of Physical Astronomy* (p. 138), Mrs. Somerville (*Connexion of the Physical Sciences*, Section xi.), Mr. G. F. Chambers' (*Descriptive and Practical Astronomy*, 1889, vol. i. p. 377), &c. But the movement must certainly have been observed at a more ancient period; for a phenomenon which produces a uniform increase of longitude in all the heavenly bodies could not continue to escape attention by the Egyptians and Chaldeans. Seeing that in the 2000 years since the days of Hipparchus the equinox has retrograded about 30°, it must have done the like in the 2000 years before Hipparchus. At or near the beginning of spring in the present day the sun is entering the constellation Pisces; but in the time of Hipparchus (about 125 B.C.) the sun entered the constellation Aries at the beginning of spring. Through the operation of the same movement the spring sun of some 2000 years earlier must have been near the first point of Taurus. Traditionally, as was natural, it continued to be so—and there are well-known lines of Virgil which imply as distinctly as possible that the year began (*i.e.* that the vernal equinox occurred) when the sun was on the Bull's horns.<sup>2</sup> But in Virgil's time, as pointed out by the late Mr. R. A. Proctor, the sun was not in the constellation of the Bull at all when the year began (in the old sense of the words).<sup>3</sup> The point where he crosses the equator had passed out of Taurus, over Aries, and had already entered Pisces at that time. It is not likely that so

<sup>1</sup> *Quarterly Review*, April 1898, pp. 494, 520.

<sup>2</sup> *Candidus auratis aperit quum cornibus annum Taurus* ("The constellation of the white bull with the golden horns opens the year").

<sup>3</sup> *Knowledge*, May 1888.

great a change would escape notice, even though this slowly brought about; and it is inherently improbable that Hipparchus should have been the first to observe it. The lines in Virgil are at all events an incidental record of an earlier state of things. It is also shown by Robert Brown, junior, F.S.A., that the poet Aratos, writing in Greece *cir.* 270 B.C., and describing the skies, records some observations of an archaic character corresponding to the equinox of 2084 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Scattered here and there through the fragments of early Hellenic literature are references to stars and constellations, which it might be useful for some student to bring together.

Not much of plain statement may survive in the writings of the poets or the works of astronomers; and yet it may be that even the prehistoric past has left its record in astronomy as well as in archæology and geology. Flint instruments found in river drifts, and bone needles in caves, reveal to us the conditions of life of primitive man. Earlier still is the record of the rocks, which furnishes unquestionable knowledge of forms of life and phases of geography preceding man's creation. Astronomical change is not without its natural record either; and the eccentricity of the earth's orbit, for times before man, may be made the foundation for theories of climate. The causes which govern the recurrence of eclipses are so well known that a calculation backwards has sometimes corrected an historical date. The known rate of the revolution of the pole of the heavens round the pole of the ecliptic has enabled Sir John Herschel to declare that the star *Vega* in the constellation *Lyra*, though more than  $40^\circ$  from the present pole-star, was our cynosure 12,000 or 13,000 years ago, and will become so again.<sup>2</sup> The past fact is implied by the present position, and we are not limited to the times of historical record, nor dependent upon written history for our knowledge. May there not be other ways also in which past phases of astronomy have left an unconscious record? Calculations like those of Mr. Croll, and inquiries like those of Professor G. H. Darwin, are comparable to geological investigations among tertiary, secondary, and primary strata. Is there nothing in the department of astronomy which corresponds to prehistoric archæology, and may serve like megalithic structures and cave remains to bridge over the gulf between the commencement of history and the ages before man?

There may be more than one sort of material of the class we are seeking. First let me speak of the constellation figures which survive on our celestial globes, but whose origin is forgotten and obscure. Single stars, and very close groups, as the Pleiades, were named in the time of Homer and Hesiod, and several are mentioned

<sup>1</sup> *The Phaenomena: or, "Heavenly Display" of Aratos.* By Robert Brown, junr., F.S.A. Longmans, 1885, pp. 81, 90.

<sup>2</sup> *A Treatise on Astronomy.* Sir John F. W. Herschel, p. 172.

in the Book of Job. Dr. Whewell remarks that it is very difficult to determine how men were led to the fanciful system of names which from of old have designated the groups.

"Two remarkable circumstances with respect to the constellations are, first, that they appear in most cases to be arbitrary combinations, the artificial figures which are made to include the stars not having any resemblance to their obvious configurations; and second, that these figures, in different countries, are so far similar as to imply some communication. The arbitrary nature of these figures" (Dr. Whewell thinks) "shows that they were rather the work of the imaginative and mythological tendencies of man than of mere convenience and love of arrangement."<sup>1</sup>

He quotes Sir J. Herschel as saying that the constellations seem to have been almost purposely named and delineated to cause as much confusion and inconvenience as possible. "Innumerable snakes twine through long and contorted areas of the heavens, where no memory can follow them; bears, lions, and fishes, large and small, northern and southern, confuse all nomenclature." Here, then, we have a curious deposit, the origin of which is unknown, and the signification of which has yet to be investigated, though it clearly belongs to the human era. Nor is it altogether the first of its kind, or merely local in its occurrence. The figures on the charts have sometimes been wiped out, wholly or partially, and been replaced by others. Where we now have the Scales in the zodiac there used formerly to be the Claws of the Scorpion, and the earlier Greek astronomers called the constellation  $\chi\eta\lambda\alpha\iota$  (Arat. 89).<sup>2</sup> And it was reasonably argued by the late R. A. Proctor that the ancient constellation of the Dragon included some stars now belonging to Ursa Minor.<sup>3</sup> These are but instances of evolutionary changes which have been numerous. And besides the modifications of constellations that have been effected in the same country, we have sometimes the existence of parallel series in different countries. The Egyptian northern constellations, as figured on the ceiling of the great temple at Denderah, include the Thigh, the Hippopotamus, and the Jackal, which appear to represent the Great Bear, the Dragon, and the Little Bear. It is often true, nevertheless, as remarked by Whewell, that the constellations recognised in different countries have a resemblance which cannot be overlooked.

As an example of the resemblance we may compare several of the signs in the circular zodiac of Denderah with those of the Rasi Chakra given in Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*. (Reproductions of these and other zodiacs are furnished in Sir W. Drummond's *Edipus Judaicus*.) Nor is it unfair to compare the Hercules of our celestial

<sup>1</sup> Whewell's *History of the Inductive Sciences*, book iii. sect. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiqs.*, art. "Astronomia"; Massey, *Nat. Gen.*, ii. 196; *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vol. iii. p. 163; *Knowledge*, May 1888.

<sup>3</sup> *Knowledge*, April and June, 1888.

globe with the figures of Shu, the god who in various Egyptian pictures upholds the starry heavens with his two hands. In the description of the skies given by the Greek poet Aratos, the figure of Hercules is referred to mysteriously as the Kneeler, of name unknown, but having his right foot planted on the head of the coiled dragon, while his hands are high uplifted and outspread. On the Farnese globe this form is represented kneeling on the right knee upon a sphere, while with both hands he upholds an arc of larger circumference. In this form the picture of Hercules is more exactly comparable with that of Shu as drawn by Faucher-Gudin from a painting on the mummy-case of Bûtehamon in the Turin Museum.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hilton Price, who possesses a collection of objects found at Tel Basta, finds Shu always represented as a man kneeling on the right knee and elevating on his head the disk of the sun. In case it should be objected that Shu is not found as a constellation figure on the charts, like the Greek Kneeler, it is necessary to emphasise the fact that the function of each is the same, the hands being uplifted to sustain the starry vault.

But is it possible that the constellation figures can contain any meaning for the student of astronomy, or cover any latent history which they may be made to yield up? Are they not rather, as Whewell suggests, the work of the imaginative and mythological tendencies of man? Perhaps we might think so, were it not for their very remarkable resemblance in different countries, and the great importance attached to them in early times. Or perhaps the "mythological tendency" had method in it. If the constellation Hercules had stood alone, we might accept the idea that he was simply a hero, of superhuman strength and power, who was worshipped after his death, and assigned a place among the stars in token of his apotheosis. But when we have a parallel personage in the Egyptian divinity Shu, not to travel farther, we may suspect that some celestial fact or truth was symbolised by the figure, and not that a human hero was immortalised in a star-group. I suspect that the secret fact recorded by the figure was an astronomical reform, which had for its cardinal feature the rectification of the pole of the heavens after it had become palpably displaced from an earlier recognised position. The new place of the pole would, of course, carry with it a new place for the equinox, the two displacements being parallel on different circles, as correlated aspects of the one movement called the "precession of the equinoxes."

The idea that the phenomena of precession were first discovered by Hipparchus is, as we have said, inherently improbable. It is, moreover, in process of being given up by investigators in this field. The rate of recession of the points on the ecliptic—which has been nicely

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Robert Brown's *Aratos*, p. 17, and Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, 129; 169, the small figure above.

measured to be 50".10 per annum, or about 20 minutes of time—amounts to one degree in seventy-two years, and corresponds nearly to one day. If it were one day exactly, it would carry the equinoctial point all round the circle in 25,920 years; and this calculation, as the length of the great cycle or Year of God, Sir Wm. Jones assures us, was known to many ancient nations.<sup>1</sup> Sir William's statement is supported by many additional facts in R. J. Haliburton's tracts on the Festival of the Dead. Sir Norman Lockyer admits it to be extremely probable that the Egyptians, 3000 years B.C., had been rendered practically conversant with the result of the precession, by the fact that they had to rebuild and alter their temples from time to time, because the stars changed their declination; and he says it looks as if the precession of the equinoxes was probably published by Hipparchus as a result of an examination of the untold wealth of Egyptian astronomical observations which has been unfortunately lost to the world.<sup>2</sup> Sir Le P. Renouf also, in his commentary on the *Book of the Dead* conceives that the Egyptians were acquainted with precession when chapter cxv. was written, and that chapter is at least as old as the eighteenth dynasty. After all, it is not very surprising that the Egyptians should have discovered the precession movement and calculated the length of the Great Year. Marking the years from longest day to longest day, as it was not difficult to do, and noting the corresponding culmination of particular stars, they would find that the stars advanced by one degree, or by one day, in about seventy-two years. They then had only to multiply 72 by 360—the number of days in their year—to obtain 25,920, a near approximation to the grand cycle. But although such knowledge is not surprising, whether among Egyptians or Hindoos or Greeks, it seems necessary to recall the grounds of it, because of the persistent tradition of the text-books that the precession was first discovered by Hipparchus about the year 125 B.C.

Our minds being prepared to believe that the knowledge may have existed very early, we return to the consideration of the constellation figure of Hercules, which I have suggested may be a record, in its way, of the shifting of the pole. Mr. R. A. Proctor pointed out that the shield of Hercules as described by Homer (or some early Greek poet at least) displays at its centre the polar constellation the Dragon. He conceives that the original description related to one of those zodiac temples whose remains are still found in Egypt. Engonasin (or the Kneeler) must have been an important figure, he thinks, on such temples, "and not improbably his presence there as one of the largest and highest of the human figures may have caused a zodiac-dome to be named after Hercules." Then the

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Jones' *Works*, iv. 6; apud R. G. Haliburton's *Festival of the Dead*, 71; *Astronomical Features in the Mosaic Cosmogony*, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Lockyer, in *Nature*, July 1891, and *Nineteenth Century*, July 1893, p. 35.

Dome of Hercules would come near enough to the title, "The Shield of Hercules," borne by the fragmentary poem.<sup>1</sup> The boss of the shield, the centre of the dome, would not unlikely correspond to the pole of the heavens; and thus we have it suggested to us that Hercules is somehow associated with a former position of the pole in Draco.

If ever in human history the traditional position of the pole was discarded, and a new position recognised, because precession had wrought a change, it seems matter for regret that we should have no record of it. But what if the constellation itself is some sort of record; and if the constellations are difficult hieroglyphics to decipher, what if the mythical legends connected with them convey or cover the desired information? Strabo says that the ancients expressed enigmatically their physical notions concerning the nature of things;<sup>2</sup> and Plutarch was convinced that the myths had important meanings.<sup>3</sup>

The history of Hercules brings him at one point into relation with Atlas, whose function it was to bear up heaven on his head and hands. We may discard at once the euhemeristic notion that the story relates to Mount Atlas, and was invented because that lofty peak seemed to support the sky. On the contrary, we must believe that the mountain received its name because there was already a legend of Atlas. Atlas as a strong man with the terrestrial globe on his shoulders is another distortion of the original idea. In the museum at Naples the sphere borne by Atlas has starry constellations on it, and must be the sphere of the heavens. This I have seen. In Rome also, in the Villa Albani, is a disk of the zodiac borne by Atlas.<sup>4</sup> Aristotle—to quote Lord Bacon—elegantly expounds the ancient fable of Atlas (that he stood fixed and bare up the heavens from falling) to be meant of the poles or axle-tree of heaven. In Æschylus, in Homer, and elsewhere it is heaven that is borne up; and the uplifted hands remind us of the Egyptian god Shu. The description given by Hesiod is that "Atlas upholds broad Heaven by strong necessity, before the clear-voiced Hesperides, standing on earth's verge, with head and unwearied hands."<sup>5</sup> Æschylus, in making Atlas sustain "the pillar of heaven and of earth," seems to bring us still nearer to an axle or a column conceived of as terminating in the pole of the heavens. And when tradition connects Atlas with the growth of nautical science, we cannot but remember the importance of the pole-star to the early navigator. Assuming, then, that Atlas was figured in ancient charts as an axis or a pillar upholding the heavens at the pole, the pole must have been given a

<sup>1</sup> R. A. Proctor, *Myths and Marvels of Astronomy*, p. 352.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, X. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris*.

<sup>3</sup> In the Canopo Gallery, No. 684.

<sup>4</sup> Hesiod, *Theog.*, 517; Homer, *Od.* I. 52; Æsch., *Prom.*, 347, 430; Aristot. *de Mot. Animal.*, 3; Sir G. C. Lewis, 72 note; *Works of Hesiod*, *Bhm*, p. 28.

definite place in the charts, and might retain it traditionally for too long a period.

The legend which tells us that Atlas at length forsook his post, relates that he was relieved of his duty by Hercules. Viewed in relation to this event, Hercules is a second Atlas; and may it not be a way of telling us that a new position of the pole was recognised? In that case the labours of Hercules, instead of being either pure fancy or literal fact, may perhaps contain an allegorical account of the recovery of the displaced equinoxes, and of rectifications rendered necessary in all parts of the charts. Even the Dictionaries of Classical Biography and Mythology, though willing to regard Hercules as a purely human hero, perceive that he "is connected in a variety of ways with astronomical phenomena."

If the story of this hero really records an astronomical reform which included a rectification of the pole, a recovery of the true equinoxes, and a consequent amendment of the calendar, with a new beginning for the year, it is not so surprising that its impress should be left upon the constellations, and should be found in more nations than one. In the parallel legend of Egypt, although we have not two personages of different name sustaining the weight of heaven successively, we have the god Shu performing the task twice over. At the beginning of the reign of Ra he lifts the sky and creates the firmament; and at the end of the same reign he is called in a second time to raise the heavens afresh and complete the work of creation.<sup>1</sup> In the Egyptian pictures the starry heavens of the first period are represented by the arched body of the goddess Neith, while those of the second era are portrayed as a divine cow.<sup>2</sup> The two occasions should not be confounded.

It is not my purpose now to attempt to measure the interval, nor yet to pretend to fix any definite date. I shall be satisfied if I have gained attention for the idea that, although we have no historical record of the observation or calculation of precessional change before Hipparchus, the change itself had been observed from more ancient time, and there may perhaps be traces of it in the constellation figures and in the legends handed down in connection with them. In that case also it will be conceded that the text-books which date precession from Hipparchus, and credit him with its first discovery, ought to be amended.

GEORGE ST. CLAIR.

<sup>1</sup> *Book of the Dead*, Naville's ed., pl. xxiii., ch. xvii., 1, 3 *et seq.*; Maspero's *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 146 note; and the Legend of the Destruction of Mankind, Records of the Past, vi., *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, March 1885.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 129, with p. 169.

## THE RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

THE probable influence of Egyptian thought on the development of Christian dogma by the early Fathers of the Church, no less than its undoubted influence, in an earlier age, on the teaching of Moses, renders the subject of interest to all, though its importance is not yet generally recognised. It will therefore be admitted that we can no longer ignore, or esteem of no consequence to ourselves, the religious ideas which prevailed in the ancient civilisation of Egypt for millenniums before the Christian era.

When the facts are few it is comparatively easy to construct a religion of the remote past. It is not difficult to make a theory which shall take all the facts into account, and be contradicted by none of them.

But, if the material to be constructed into a theological system resembles the vast number of pieces which it is required to work up into an elaborate pattern in mosaic, the task is a much more difficult one; and so we find with the religious ideas of the ancient Egyptians, the mass of material is so great and our ways of thinking so different, that it is by no means easy for us to reconstruct their system of theology.

Specialists, however, have devoted themselves with such enthusiasm and perseverance to the study of those papyri, monumental and other inscriptions, which the time-defying climate of Egypt has preserved, that now it is interesting and profitable for us to enter upon the results of their labours, though any day discoveries may be made which will again modify the views which the ablest of Egyptologists have as yet been able to give us. Professor Petrie says:

"The discordances and contradictions in any religion are one of the most important evidences of its history. The ruling idea of most religious beliefs is the need of accounting for something and of explaining the mysteries of life. Hence, beliefs which explain the unseen in a totally different way and with different ideals will not be needlessly produced at a single source. Some new influence must be at work to cause diversity; and when two views live on side by side with partial fusion, it is (like instances of two mythologies) an evidence of a mixture of peoples who had held varying opinions."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt*. Prof. Petrie, p. 48.

To understand, then, the complexity and contradiction of religious thought in Egypt at the dawn of history,<sup>1</sup> it is necessary to look for the origin or origins of the earliest inhabitants of the country.<sup>2</sup> The earliest monumental evidence points to three distinct races; and a fourth, the 'negro race, is known to have mixed with the Egyptian. The negroes came from the south; those races indicated by the monuments are a Libyan people from the west, Mesopotamian from Asia, and a race of Punites<sup>3</sup> probably from Arabia and the African shore of the Red Sea. Whether we can adopt Professor Petrie's theory that the negroes were the earliest immigrants, and that in course of time they and the Libyans fought for supremacy, to be followed by the Mesopotamians, and lastly by the Punite race, to whom he attributes the founding of dynastic rule in Egypt; or whether we find the evidence insufficient to prove this, it is certain that all these elements *were* in the country in what to us are, as yet, prehistoric times, and it is likely, moreover, that in some districts one race would predominate over the others.

From remote antiquity the country has been known as the "two lands," or, as it is still called, "Upper and Lower Egypt." Since the earliest times its main characteristics have scarcely changed—Lower Egypt has been, and is, the country in and around the Delta of the Nile; Upper Egypt, the Nile Valley to the north of the First Cataract.<sup>4</sup> The whole country was divided into districts which the Greeks called nomes, of which there were forty-two in number. Though occasionally two districts might become one for a time, they were usually divided again, so that, on the whole, this number may be taken as constant. There is good reason to suppose that, before there were kings in Egypt, each district was ruled over by a nomarch; and, even after the kings arose, each nome had its little system of government, its chief god and the temple in the capital. The king was the supreme ruler, and, as in the time of our so-called heptarchy, the ruling dynasty sometimes came from one district, sometimes from another.

History shows that mixture of race inevitably results in fusion of religion, and that the religion of one age is the superstition of the next.

Even the Israelites, so remarkable for their monotheism, when they mixed with other races embraced their gods also; and polytheism was only finally arrested among the chosen people by the most rigid racial separation instituted by Ezra, since when the Jews have been the most distinct and exclusive race in the civilised world.

In our own country and at the present day we find superstitions—the fossilised religious beliefs of our ancestors—still powerful.

<sup>1</sup> The first historical king in Egypt was Mena, B.C. 4400.—Budge, *The Nile*, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Petrie, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. chap. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The Phœnicians were another branch of the Punites.—Petrie, *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt*, p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> The Nile Valley in Upper Egypt is over 500 miles long and varies in width from 15 to 30 miles.

Some very intelligent people are unhappy if the sun does not shine on a bride; others think that rain falling at a funeral somehow adds to the happiness of the dead, and to how many more is it not much more disturbing to their equanimity to sit down thirteen at dinner, than is a breach of the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount to a tender conscience?

The races that came into Egypt brought their religion with them. The origin of a few of the deities known at the beginning of history can be traced to one or other of these races, but of the source of many of them we are at present ignorant.

We find in Egypt traces of tree-worship<sup>1</sup> and stone-worship, both said to be very primitive forms of religion and found in many parts of the world. Whether this was the survival of the religious beliefs of the aboriginal inhabitants which remained to be more or less incorporated into the religions of the immigrants, or whether the survivals of this earlier form of worship were already found in some or all of the religions brought into Egypt, we cannot tell. We must remember that the Egyptians were the most conservative of peoples, and that for fear of losing any truth, they embodied in their religion doctrines which to a logical mind would exclude one another—doctrines which even in the state of knowledge of that time must have appeared contradictory to a thoughtful Egyptian; but his mystic tendencies enabled him to get over the difficulties and to rest in the hope that all would be made clear and brought into harmony in the future world, to which every pious Egyptian looked forward as the sequence of the life on earth.

We must remember, too, that there were at least four systems of religion brought into the country and more or less amalgamated even before history begins,<sup>2</sup> so that we shall be more inclined to have patience with the manifest contradictions in their religious ideas, and not expect to fully understand what the Egyptians *themselves* could not have comprehended in any real meaning of the word.

We find each nome has its chief god, whom the people of that district designate the Creator, and to whom they owe chief allegiance, although they are quite willing to associate with him, as lesser deities, the gods of the neighbouring districts: so that the chief god of one district may reappear as an inferior god of another.

Attached to the temple of the god in the capital was the college of priests appointed to minister in it. It might number only five, or, as in the case of the larger colleges, many hundreds. Priestesses were also sometimes associated with priests in the sacred office. If a wealthy man settled in a new nome he might build a temple to his god, and in time, owing to the wealth and power of

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 155-9; Mrs. Isabel Philpot, *The Sacred Tree*, pp. 9, 10, 25, 45; Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, Second Series, pp. 63, 83.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* Before B.C. 4400, shown by pyramid inscriptions of 3rd and 4th dynasties.

its adherents, the new cult might supersede the old, or exist beside it.

Or in the case of war, as all wars were looked upon as religious and under the direct influence of the gods, the gods of the conquering people would have proved themselves the stronger, therefore the better gods, and worthy of supreme worship: so that the chief gods might be changed, the deposed deities being still retained as lesser gods.

This would explain the widespread influence of some of the cults and the almost local influence of others.

"The Egyptian Temple was dedicated, as a rule, to a single deity, who inhabited the sanctuary in corporate form; to him the chief offerings were made, and in his honour the great local festivals were celebrated."<sup>1</sup>

This is shown by inscriptions on the walls of the temples, and from them also we learn that the chief god was not generally regarded as standing alone. Generally there were three, standing in the relation to one another of the chief god, his wife and son.

According to the Egyptians, though the gods lived longer than men, death was ultimately their destiny, and when in old age he died, the god was succeeded by his son, who in his turn became the "husband of his mother" (a phrase often met with on the monuments), and the father of the new divine son who should one day in his turn replace him. Thus, to quote Professor Wiedemann,

"the son became the father, and the Egyptian texts could speak of the gods as eternal; for so soon as the elder god vanished he would be succeeded by a divine personality precisely similar. In this sense also the god was self-begotten, being father to the son who was as himself."<sup>2</sup>

To carry out the idea properly the goddess should in turn have become old and died; but she is so evidently introduced only for the purpose of being the wife of the existing and the mother of the coming god that the Egyptians did not seem to think it necessary to account further for her.

With this chief cycle or triad of deities were generally associated enneads of lesser gods; though supposed to number nine or multiples of nine, the actual number did not always correspond to that ideal. At the Cataract the triad consisted of two goddesses associated with the chief deity, they were goddesses worshipped in the neighbourhood, and for this reason probably brought into the triad. For the sake of simplicity, it is perhaps best to consider only the two most important cults at any length—the sun-gods and the Osirian cycle. The first, Professor Petrie attributes to the Asiatic immigrants, and the Osirian gods to the Libyan peoples. Besides these, he attributes animal-worship to the negro race, which worship became modified in

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Wiedemann. *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 104.

course of time when the gods were supposed to become incarnate in their favourite animals. Professor Wiedemann, on the other hand, holds that animals were held sacred and worshipped *only* on account of their being the living habitation of the god; and though the god would only reside in one animal at a time, others of the like kind were still held sacred, in case the animal should be killed at a time when it was pleasing the god to dwell in it.

The Egyptian mind was intensely realistic. The Egyptians could not conceive of the existence of an immaterial soul or spirit; they thought it could only live by means of a body, so that it was quite in accord with their ideas that the god could only come and dwell with and hold communion with men by becoming incarnate in some animal; and Professor Wiedemann points out that it was this animal in whom the deity was supposed to dwell who occupied the sanctuary in the temple dedicated to the god, and who by his movements answered the questions put to it by the king or priests. The god in his corporeal form could, of course, only exist at one place; if there were other temples dedicated to him, the place in the sanctuary would be occupied by his statue.

Professor Petrie also points out that gods and goddesses whose sole motive of existence would seem to be the embodiment of abstract ideas, and who have no family history, are due to the latest prehistoric immigration—the Punite race; of these, Maat, the goddess of truth, law, and order, is a very good example.

Of the sun-gods, RA is the chief. He was the self-begotten, self-existent one—the creator. Thus he was regarded at Heliopolis, the great centre of his worship; though another legend states that he was begotten of NU, the primeval waters. (Some texts associate a goddess with NU, and others associate a goddess with RA, but in both cases the name is merely a feminine form of the god's name, NU-T RA-T.) According to the Heliopolis legend, RA first existed alone, then he became the father of the twins, SHU and TEFNUT, who were somehow identified with the constellation, “the twins” in the Zodiac. SHU married his twin sister and they became the parents of SET, the earth, and NUT, the sky.<sup>1</sup>

The earth and sky were at first united. SHU, or space, is in some texts represented as forcibly separating SEB and NUT to make a path for the sun, and in the pictures which graphically illustrate this event he is seen lifting up NUT, who is represented as a woman, her body studded with stars forming the heavens, with her hands and feet extended to the earth to support her and form the four pillars of the sky. The idea of the four pillars of the sky runs through many legends, of several of which M. Maspero gives an account in his *Dawn of Civilisation*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Greek idea that Time (Kronos) was the child of Earth and Heaven, they themselves being the children of Chaos.

SEB is seen lying on the ground in ineffectual protest at this separation, and the inequalities of the earth's surface have been ascribed to his writhings and contortions.

Except for their co-operation in the work of creation, these deities, with the exception of RA, are comparatively insignificant; though in the legend which makes SEB and NUT the parents of OSIRIS, ISIS, NEPHTHYS, and SET, we see an attempt to blend the two religious cults. Of the various legends relating to the creation of man, perhaps the most interesting is that of KHNUM, the chief god of the cataracts, who is represented with a potter's wheel, modelling man out of clay.<sup>1</sup>

He, too, in some texts is set forth as "he who created all that is, who formed that which is existent, the father of fathers, the mother of mothers;" . . . "he who constructed men, who made the gods, who was father in the beginning"; . . . "the creator of the heaven, the earth, the underworld, the water, the hills"; . . . "he who formed fowl, fish, wild animals, and all creeping things, in pairs, male and female."

Sun-worship existed in Egypt from prehistoric times, and it held its place in popular favour until the latest period of Egyptian history. The obelisks which stood at the entrance to the temples were dedicated to the sun.

It was believed the god RA, in his boat, sailed round the world, appearing in the east in the morning, and that in the evening he sailed behind the western hills, through the underworld, emerging again in the east. That would seem to have been the reason why, with two exceptions, the great burial-grounds of ancient Egypt are on the western side of the Nile, for they hoped that the dead might go with RA into the other world.

At Heliopolis two embodiments of the sun-god were worshipped: the obelisk, which may be traced to Asiatic influence; and the phoenix, which was a purely Egyptian idea. The phoenix was the symbol of resurrection, and the sun may be held to have died daily at evening, the resurrection taking place every morning.

Professor Wiedemann points out that the fact that two embodiments of the sun were worshipped at Heliopolis

"shows that this deity was not considered as one and indivisible, but could be resolved into separate parts, to each of which an independent existence might be ascribed. Originally each form of the deity would have its own separate sphere of activity, but gradually one encroached upon the domain of the other to such an extent that, though the ideal significance of each was still radically different, in other respects their natures and functions were almost identical."<sup>2</sup>

The more important of these forms are: RA himself, who is generally represented as a man with a hawk's head, over which is the solar disk, enclosed in the coil of the uræus, that serpent being

<sup>1</sup> Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 25.

symbolic of power over life and death. All hawk-headed deities are solar deities.

HORUS, next in importance, is the name by which originally two entirely distinct deities were signified, HORUS the sun-god, and HORUS the son of OSIRIS and ISIS; "the attempted blending of the two deities was a subsequent development." HORUS, the sun-god, the Greeks identified with their APOLLO; the son of OSIRIS and ISIS is the HARPOCRATES of the Greeks.

HORUS was worshipped in different forms in different cities or nomes; but, in course of time, these forms were worshipped as distinct divinities. There was "HORUS the elder," worshipped at Letopolis; "HORUS of the two eyes"—i.e., the sun and moon; in later times he was changed from a solar to a lunar deity; HORUS, lord of not seeing, he was supposed to be blind and to symbolise solar eclipse.

HORUS of the two horizons (i.e., of the east and of the west) is the HARMACHIS of the Greeks; he was easily and frequently blended with RA, and was then entitled "The great God, the Lord of Heaven, RA HARMACHIS."

Then there was the golden HORUS, primarily the god of the morning sun, showing himself in the glorious dawn, so that, in some sense, he may be considered the counterpart of the Golden HATHÔR,

"the goddess of the western sky, which received the dying sun in the glow of sunset, and hence was supposed likewise to receive the dead on their decease. In the latter capacity she was usually represented as emerging from the mountain of the west."

"HORUS, the bull, is the planet Saturn; the Red HORUS is the planet Mars; HORUS, the opener of that which is secret, is the planet Jupiter." . . . "Hence it would seem that the three planets were regarded as emanations of the sun."<sup>1</sup>

Besides these there were some other forms of HORUS.

There was also KHEPERA, he who is (in process of) becoming, strictly speaking, god of the rising sun; the scarabæus beetle was his symbol and usually formed his head (the beetle was also the hieroglyphic ideogram for the word kheper—to become).

TUM, the TOMOS of the Greeks, was, properly speaking, the evening sun. The ATEN or sun's disk worship found favour for a short period, but more generally it was associated with the worship of RA, RA in his ATEN. Khuenaten, one of the Egyptian kings, attempted, and for a time succeeded in a measure, in establishing the worship of the sun's disk as the religion of the State, but later its adherents were persecuted and it was regarded as a heresy.<sup>2</sup>

The winged sun disk was supposed to protect from harm, and especially from destruction; hence it may be seen carved over the doorways of the temples, sometimes also over entrances to tombs and

<sup>1</sup> Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 28 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 77.

on various stelæ; one of the latter has three winged sun disks placed one beneath the other, as if to be trebly sure of safety.

The legend of the winged sun disk states that one of the gods took this form, and fought with and conquered the enemies of RA.

The Sphinx is also supposed to have the same protecting power. The god who acted as guardian to RA during the hours of the night and who is represented as going forth against the enemies of RA, is generally shown as a sphinx with the body of a lion; hence the avenues of sphinxes or the single sphinx set before to guard the temple and the god from the approach of any enemy. In tombs sphinxes were placed in the capacity of guardians, especially in later times. The sphinx was one of those imaginary animals the Egyptian dearly loved to picture as inhabiting the desert, and in whose real existence either in this world or the next he devoutly believed. It had the body of a quadruped with a human head, and was supposed to be a favourite incarnation of RA when he wanted to protect his friends. This is the idea embodied in the gigantic sphinx at Gizeh, one of the oldest monuments in Egypt, having been repaired by the builders of the second Pyramid; and there it still stands as guardian to the Pyramid necropolis. It faces the east or rising sun, and was itself supposed to be the incarnation of the rising sun, indicated by its name—RA HARMACHIS; also it bears the name KHEPERA. The avenue of the so-called ram-headed sphinxes at Karnak are not true sphinxes. The ram was the animal in whom the god AMEN RA of Karnak was supposed to incarnate himself, and the avenue is really a series of rams' statues of the god, who would possibly perform the same protective office for the temple as the true sphinxes.<sup>1</sup>

RA, besides being the sun-god, was regarded by the Egyptians as having been the first king of Egypt, but in times so remote that the phrase "the like has not happened since the time of RA" was used to denote anything not known in the memory of man. The kings of Egypt traced their descent to the divine RA, and always designate themselves "Son of the Sun." The *people* held with such tenacity to the real existence of RA as the first king, that the priests were unable to eradicate the belief, though in later times the favour given to OSIRIS, as the archetype of kings, caused the honour to be shared, for "though OSIRIS was supposed to have ruled as a man over men only, the dominion of RA was relegated to a time when gods still sojourned among men and RA bore rule over both"<sup>2</sup>

The fullest account of the Osirian legend is given by Plutarch in his *Isis and Osiris*.

Put briefly, the story is that RA fancied the sky (NÜT) was his wife, and when he found she had married the earth (SET) without

<sup>1</sup> Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

his consent, he was very angry, and punished her by refusing to allow her to give birth to her children on any day in the year.

The year then consisted of twelve months of thirty days—i.e., 360 days. THOTH, the moon-god and measurer of time, took pity on NÜT, and playing draughts with the goddess SELENE: he won from her one-seventieth of every day in the year, with which he made five new days, over which RA had no power, and on these five days OSIRIS, ISIS, NEPHTHYS, SET, and HORUS were born, thus accounting simultaneously for the origin of these deities, and the readjustment of the nominal to the actual year, so important in an agricultural country.<sup>1</sup>

OSIRIS and SET were enemies and had frequent quarrels. At last SET vanquished his foe by trickery. Having caused the measurements of OSIRIS to be taken exactly, he had a very beautiful coffin made according to these measurements, and at a great banquet which he gave, and at which OSIRIS was an invited guest, he offered the coffin as a prize to the one whom it would fit. When OSIRIS stepped in, SET quickly fastened down the lid and cast the coffin into the Nile, whence it was borne to the sea.

Some time after the coffin was washed up on the shore, and, after various adventures too long to relate here, it was found by ISIS, who opened it; SET, in his hunting, then came upon it, tore the body into fourteen pieces and scattered them over the country; this accounts for the many shrines erected to OSIRIS, each one of which is supposed to denote the burial-place of one of these parts, but at least two of these shrines profess to mark the burial-place of the head, and there are legs enough to supply several men.<sup>2</sup> ISIS, with the aid of HORUS, collected the parts, and OSIRIS eventually became the god of the Dead.

We see here an allegory of the warfare between good and evil, OSIRIS representing good, his name being UNNEFER—the good being—and SET symbolising evil; evil constantly triumphs, but good wins in the long run. Here we see too a blending of two myths, for HORUS, the sun-god, is light, eventually triumphing over SET, darkness, though the warfare involves a daily conquest of light by darkness and *vice versa*.<sup>3</sup> The quarrel between OSIRIS and SET has also been held to symbolise the encroachment of the desert upon the fertility of the Nile, and here again the good god is eventually successful in holding his country against the desert.

Professor Petrie<sup>4</sup> suggests that these deities were the gods of different tribes of Libyans, who fought against each other. Is it not likely, then, that in still earlier times, before they became gods, they really lived; that OSIRIS was originally a king, or ruler

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Norman Lockyer, *Dawn of Astronomy*, chap. 24.

<sup>2</sup> There were thirty-six shrines dedicated to the remains of OSIRIS.

<sup>3</sup> Again we see a fusion of myths in the legend to account for an eclipse, i.e., that SET tore out and swallowed the eye of HORUS, but was ultimately compelled by RA to give it up again.

<sup>4</sup> *Religion and Conscience of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 57, 77.

of a tribe, and that SET, possibly the chief of another tribe, was his enemy?

The Libyans were a white race, and the followers of SET were especially indicated by the possession of red hair, which was obnoxious to the Egyptians.

The name of OSIRIS—the good being—indicated his character and the benefits conferred by him on his country.

The real existence of OSIRIS is also indicated by Professor Wiedemann. He says: "The original OSIRIS was the ideal man, or rather king, whose life was the pattern life, whose death showed how all, even the best, must die, and whose life beyond death showed, too, how by the exercise of virtue all might attain to a like continuance of a personal identity.

"Although of divine descent, OSIRIS was not supposed to have been a god while he lived,"<sup>1</sup> though in an inscription of the eighteenth dynasty he is called the creator; here probably is an evidence of his having been merged with the god RA.

A most remarkable proof of the existence of OSIRIS in this world was brought to light on the first day of this year, when M. Amélineau discovered the tomb and mummy of "UNNEFER, the Good Being," at Abydos, one of the centres of the Osirian cult. I quote some extracts from the discoverer's own notes published in an American periodical.<sup>2</sup> He says:

"Everybody who has had a little education, or has read a little, knows, or at least has heard of, the legend of OSIRIS.

"The benevolent god, benignant and charming, to whom is generally attributed the progress of civilisation in the Nile Valley, who taught his contemporaries how to cultivate the earth, to enjoy their rural pleasures, to charm their leisure and to forget their fatigues with the help of simple and touching songs, has been considered up to the present time more as a creation of the imagination than as a real mortal being."

"The part which, in the succession of centuries, the religious traditions of humanity made him play some ten thousand years ago was not calculated to increase the belief in his reality. But hereafter it will be difficult to doubt that OSIRIS, ISIS, his sister-wife, and HORUS, their son, lived in reality, and played, at least partially, the parts with which legends and traditions have credited them."

"The Egyptian texts speak very often of OSIRIS' tomb, which is designated under the name of 'staircase of the great god.' They add that the high officials that lived a short time after that epoch desired greatly to be buried near OSIRIS, who had preceded them in life and death. I discovered, on the first of January of this year, this famous staircase, and the next day I struck a monument which cannot leave any doubt as to the destination of the tomb which my excavations brought to light. This unique monument was a granite monolith in the shape of a bed, decorated with the head and legs of a lion. On this bed was lying a mummy, bearing what is known as the white crown, holding in his hands, which came out of the case, a flagellum and a pastoral cane. Near the head were two hawks, and two more were at the feet. The dead was designated by

<sup>1</sup> *Religion of Ancient Egyptians*, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> *Biblia*, April 1898.

the inscription: 'OSIRIS, the Good Being.' The hawks were labelled: 'HORUS, avenger of his father,' and the goddess ISIS is also designated by her name.

"This monument is 1·70 metres in length, and about one metre in width and height. The tomb itself has the shape of a dwelling, with a courtyard in front. It contained fourteen rooms and the staircase: five rooms to the north, five to the south, and four to the east. The western face was open. The two extremities, north and south, were closed by a wall on the east side.

"On the four sides of this were a series of tombs which would number about two hundred. Moreover the necropolis, known in the country under the name of Om-el-Gaab-el-Gharby, contained the sepulchres of persons of very high rank, among them kings;"

the stela of which M. Amélineau discovered two years ago.

Unfortunately much of the labour of the discoverer is rendered comparatively useless, for he found "indisputable proof of the work of spoliators," and evidences of fire were not wanting; and this fact of destruction by fire has rendered sterile a great part of his labour.

During the historic period the deities of some of the foreign conquerors or settlers in Egypt were magnanimously added to the Egyptian Pantheon, such as the Asiatic gods BAAL and ASTARTE.

The main worship of the Egyptians during the Roman and Greek occupations was that of ISIS and HORUS, the worship of the former being continued at Philæ as late as the middle of the fifth century A.D., though during the Roman period the Egyptians may be said to have been a HORUS-worshipping people, regarding ISIS with veneration chiefly on account of being the mother of HORUS; "and the influence that this had on the development of Christianity was profound. We may even say that but for her presence in Egypt we should never have seen a Madonna."<sup>1</sup>

There are several ancient Egyptian books which treat of different systems of belief about the life of man after death.

The *Book of the Dead* is the oldest and best known. Some papyri state that the 64th chapter was written in the time of a king who lived B.C. 4266, and the ideas contained in it were of course generally accepted much earlier than that.<sup>2</sup>

In the *Book of the Dead*, the text-book of the Osirian faith, we are continually beset by passages and allusions which, strictly speaking, have nothing to do with the fundamental cult, and are, indeed, often in direct contradiction to its dogmas; these are in many instances taken from texts relating to the passage of the sun through the underworld.

The two chief works which relate to this passage of the sun are (1) *The Book of Knowing Duât*—i.e., the underworld—and (2) *The Book of the Gates*.

<sup>1</sup> Petrie, *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt*, p. 46. Cf. Norman Lockyer, *Dawn of Astronomy*, p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 101.

In both it is supposed that Hades is divided into twelve parts, separated from each other by twelve doors or gates, which correspond to the twelve hours during which the sun is supposed to be occupied in going through the underworld. Both texts state that a river flows through the country, on it RA in his bark floats along, the demons to be combated being stationed on either bank, and becoming more terrible as the journey advances; and in the twelve divisions are fields, which are cultivated by the pious dead, who thus are able to supply themselves with food. In Duât they are also expected to assist RA in fighting the demons who oppose him in his passage through the division in which their fields lie.

In these two books we have two distinct superstructures on the same foundation.

The idea common to both is the twelve hours' solar passage in Hades, but the separation of the hours is in the one case merely by a simple door; in the other it is a veritable fortification, through which RA himself can only pass by means of a magic formula; the demons to be vanquished and the scenes through which the solar bark passes are different in the two books.

In both texts the dwellers in the underworld are represented as in darkness, except for the one hour during which the sun passes through their division. In Duât this darkness was "only lightened by fire-spitting serpents, or by the sea of flame in which the enemies of RA were consumed."

There seems to be an indication in *The Book of Knowing Duât* that those whose knowledge of magic words was very considerable might make the passage with RA in the sun bark, and so remain ever with him, inseparable from him, and yet without loss of individuality.<sup>1</sup>

The doctrine of immortality for all men was plainly taught, but as plainly it was shown that only the friend of RA could hope for fields in Duât.

There are allusions in both texts to the Osirian doctrine, and in the *Book of the Gates* we have the judgment of OSIRIS introduced between the fifth and sixth hours. It differs in many respects from that given in the *Book of the Dead*, which we shall speak of presently. Here the man himself is being weighed against his deeds in the presence of OSIRIS, attended by the nine gods of his cycle.

The accompanying text declares that the enemies of OSIRIS are overthrown, and this is pictorially illustrated by THOTH in the form of a dog-headed ape, armed with a whip, driving out from the company of the blessed a hog, which stands for SET, the enemy of OSIRIS.

In the sixth hour is represented what takes place after the judgment. The righteous are seen at work in their fields, while, bound to stakes, the wicked are awaiting a punishment by fire and water which follows partially in the eighth hour.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 96.

The Egyptians found it so difficult to choose between these two conceptions of the next world that both were sometimes represented in the same tomb,<sup>1</sup> though these "Books" were not so widely used as the *Book of the Dead*.

Of the *Book of the Dead* over two hundred chapters are known to exist, but no one manuscript contains them all. Certain chapters were chosen at the discretion of the man on whose tomb or on whose mummy they were to be inscribed.<sup>2</sup> Certain chapters, too, would be chosen for the papyrus roll which was to be laid beside his mummy, so that in the other world he might refresh his memory with the words of power to overthrow his foes, if he should be so unfortunate as to forget them, or if he had unwisely not duly prepared himself for the life to come by learning them in this world.

He also prepared for his amusement in the other world by having models of his favourite games, draughts and a kind of chess being among the number; and stories, such as delighted him in this life,<sup>3</sup> written on papyrus rolls, buried with him to beguile his leisure; models of furniture that he would be likely to require were also often placed with him, that he might be spared the trouble of making them; for the Egyptians seemed to think that whatever in material form was placed beside the mummy would go with the spiritualised mummy into the other world.

But perhaps the most interesting of all were the little Ushabtî figures, who were supposed to till the fields of Aalu for the deceased, so that each little figure is represented with his hoe on his shoulder and his seed-basket slung across his back.

Probably in the earliest times, when a great or rich man died, his slaves were slain so that they might go with him and continue to work for him. As time went on more humane ideas prevailed, and the model of the servant was placed by the mummy instead. Later on it was evidently considered that in death all are equal, and that, though a slave in this life, a man might be equal with the rich in the world to come, so that even a poor man had these little figures buried with him. Many amulets and charms decorated the mummy, so that if one failed to avert evil others might succeed.

Unlike the Fields of Duât, the Elysian fields were flooded with light. At death the Egyptians held that the various parts of a man that make up his soul left the body, which it was the duty of the survivors to preserve as a mummy. The brain and various parts of the body were removed and placed in jars under the guardianship of the four children of HORUS, and the process of embalming began. There was an appointed ritual and prayers for every proceeding; also for bandaging and decorating the mummy and placing it in the coffin, after which it was solemnly carried across the river to the tomb, or, if

<sup>1</sup> Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, 1st and 2nd Series.

there was no river to cross, it was symbolised by the lake attached to the temples over which the boat containing the coffin was rowed. Further ritual was observed and prayers recited, the main idea being to restore to the mummy—which they seemed to believe in some way to be spiritualised in the other world—all the senses of which death had temporarily deprived the deceased.

As long as the man was alive the various parts of his soul were united in his body, but at death they separately flew away. There was his KA—*i.e.*, his personality or spiritual double; his AB, heart; his BA, or soul; his intelligence, his name, the personification of his strength, and so on, which might again become united after the acquittal of the deceased in the Judgment Hall of OSIRIS, when the united soul again took up its abode in the glorified body, which was thenceforward called *an* OSIRIS.

The ritual of the heart is very remarkable; though removed from the body and placed in one of the canopic jars, no remains have ever been found, and this is probably due to the fact that the heart was supposed to be restored to the deceased.<sup>1</sup>

The Egyptians, who apparently did not conceive of the existence of any animal without a heart, placed a scarab, made of stone or porcelain and duly inscribed, or a vase-shaped conventional heart, in the body to prevent annihilation; if after the judgment the deceased was acquitted, the natural heart was supposed to be given back to the mummy. In some texts there is a form of prayer in which the deceased is supposed to supplicate the god to take away the heart of stone and give him back his heart of flesh.

In the well-known judgment of OSIRIS it is shown that when a man died his heart was weighed in the Hall of Justice before many witnesses, and that according to the deeds of his life he would be condemned or acquitted. There is some doubt as to what happened if the heart was found wanting—too light; some have thought it was devoured by the monster Ammit, annihilation resulting.

But if the deceased was able in the so-called “negative confession” to satisfy the forty-two assessors of the dead<sup>2</sup> he was led into the presence of OSIRIS himself, and thenceforward lived a happy life in the fields of the blessed by the banks of the celestial Nile, his life in heaven being a glorified repetition of his earthly life, than which he could conceive nothing better.

The negative confession gives us a very good idea of the high standard of morality possessed by the Egyptians. Besides the sins forbidden in the Decalogue, we find that a deceased scribe of about the time of Moses denies that he has done any wrong, and further particularises that—

“He has never eaten his heart (*i.e.*, lied) nor spoken falsehood;

<sup>1</sup> To carry out this idea it is probable the priests made away with the heart.

<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested that the number 42 corresponds to the 42 nomes.

never filched from the measures of corn, never stolen food to eat, never caused terror, never made an attack upon any man.\*

"He has never thought, spoken, nor done evil, never committed fraud, never blasphemed God; he has never spoken in hot anger, nor caused any to weep tears of sadness, and he has never made his ear deaf to the words of truth."<sup>1</sup>

In funerary inscriptions, too, the dead often plead their good deeds:

"I did that which was right," says one Egyptian. "I hated evil; I gave bread to the hungry and water to the thirsty, clothing to the naked, succour to him that was in need. I harmed not a child; I injured not a widow; there was neither beggar nor needy in my time; none were an-hungered; widows were cared for as though their husbands were alive."<sup>2</sup>

In spite of their mixed and contradictory theological beliefs, one cannot help admiring the moral ideal of the Egyptians.

One of the maxims of PTAH-HETER (B.C. 3366) found in the Prisse Papyrus reminds us of the fifth commandment—"The son who hearkens to the word of his father he shall grow old thereby"—and one cannot do better than conclude with some extracts from the good advice that ANI, an Egyptian scribe, gave to his son in the thirteenth century B.C., expressing sentiments that would do honour to any father of the nineteenth century of our era:

"If a man cometh to thee for counsel, let this drive thee to books for information."

"Consider what hath been; set before thee a correct rule of life as an example to follow. The messenger of death will come to thee as to all others to carry thee away: yea, he standeth ready."

"Take heed with all diligence that thou woundest no man with thy words."

"The man who, having received much, giveth little is as one who committeth an injury."

"Whosoever speaketh evil receiveth no good."

"When thou hast arrived at years of maturity and art married and hast a house, forget never the pains which thou hast cost thy mother, nor the care which she hath bestowed upon thee. Never give her cause to complain of thee, lest she lift up her hands to God in heaven, and He listen to her complaint."

"Be watchful to keep silence."<sup>3</sup>

JOSEPHINE WILLIAMS.

<sup>1</sup> Budge, *The Nile*, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> Budge, *The Nile*, p. 191.

# A PLEA FOR A FREE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE NEW CENTURY.

\*THE Church of England stands to-day (in its capacity as an Establishment) exactly as it did at its origin, and the origin of the Establishment was "papal."

The political alliance with the State to-day is the same as it was when Henry VIII. was the reigning monarch. The Establishment was created by a papal policy, and brought up in its pervading superstitions. When Henry VIII. presented benefices to the then "reformed preachers" (which had previously been in the possession of the Roman clergy only), history tells us there was no essential change effected in the political constitution of the Church of England, the supremacy being simply transferred from the pope to the monarch.

It is true that the Church was altered, but the Establishment was *not*. Thus the origin of the Establishment is clearly seen to be papal, and no reverence therefore can fairly be said to be due by us to the Establishment as such, on account of its parentage. The Church is the offspring of the Reformation, the Church Establishment is not, and remains a descendant of Popery, and no relation of Protestantism at all, the same Establishment having simply been brought into a fresh alliance *with another faith*.

*The standard of Anglican doctrines* was fixed by Act of Parliament in thirty-nine Articles of Religion in 1571, and also in the Book of Common Prayer in 1552, nor was any dissent permitted by law from the Establishment until the present century.

*The Articles of Religion in force to-day* are in the main a reproduction of, and almost exactly identical with, the original ones which were drawn up in 1553, and which were the creation of a "Commission" appointed by the King, and composed of the following, viz., eight bishops, eight divines, eight civilians, and eight lawyers.

These Articles are acknowledged by the Church to contain "a fair scriptural account of the leading doctrines of Christianity" (together with a condemnation of what she considers to be the principal errors of the Church of Rome and of certain Protestant sects), and are regarded by her as the "legal definition" of her doctrines.

The Creeds of the Established Church are described as being "the authorised expressions of the doctrines of the Church at large," though in reality they would better be described as being "a compendium of the results of the different disputings at various times in the history of the Church relative to the real doctrines taught by Christ;" and, although they have been allowed to do duty as the *original* doctrines of Christ, they simply represent "the varying expressions of the different Christian communities in their efforts to try and understand more intellectually the original simple truths of Scripture as taught by Christ." And so these Creeds of Christendom have grown more and more complex and elaborate and difficult to understand, and more moulded in accordance with the wishes and ideas and policy of the Government of the day, and more inventive of strange doctrines (some of them absolutely contradictory of the doctrines of Christ), as they have receded further and further from the original simple truths of Scripture.

*Take first the so-called Apostles' Creed.* About the origin of this Creed there is a great variety of opinion. Some have attributed it to the Apostles direct; and Rufinus, who gives us the earliest description of it, tells us that "it was composed by the Apostles, who each contributed a portion of the composition, which they were to teach and preach and give out as a rule of Faith." This definition, however, of its origin cannot be taken as proof positive at all, as even the most learned Roman Catholics put no faith in the story, which they regard as merely a legend, for Rufinus was acknowledged to be no great historian. And so the general consensus of opinion appears to regard this Creed as simply the Roman or Latin form of the Creed which prevailed in all the early Churches, and not strictly "Apostolic" at all.

*Next the Nicene Creed.* This sprang out of a conflict which, begun in the second century as to the dignity and character of our Lord, was continued throughout the third century, until, in the fourth century, "Arius" denied that Christ was "of the same substance as God" or "without beginning," and gave out as his opinion that "He was only the greatest of created beings, though in a sense divine, but not the same in substance with the Father, nor equal with Him in power." Thus it came about that the "Council of Nice" was summoned in the year 325 by Constantine to settle the controversy, and the result was the *Nicene Creed*, a creation of a committee of men of the fourth century, and which is still adhered to by the Church of England as one of her cardinal creeds of faith.

And here it may be noted that the Council who drew up this Creed, were by no means unanimous as regards the truths contained in it, for it was composed of a body of men belonging to three distinct parties or sects, who had been in dispute themselves about these very things, and who one and all firmly believed that their own

opinions were the right ones. The Council or Committee was composed of three parties, (1) the Athanasians (who were the orthodox or strong party), (2) the Eusebians or "middle" party, and (3) the Arians or "heretical party." The orthodox or Athanasian party however, had a majority on the council, with the result that Christ was declared to be "not merely of like substance with the Father," but of the "same substance." And thus to this very day, solely on the evidence of this one party or group of differing religious sects of the fourth century, we find the Established Church adhering strictly to the truth of this Creed, and ordering her ministers to do the same. Then at a later Council held by Constantine in 381, the additional tenet of faith in the "Divinity of the Holy Ghost" was added, and the Creed was thus completed as at present in use, with hardly the most trifling alteration.\*

*Next the Athanasian Creed.*—This Creed was most probably produced in the fifth century (that is much later than the time of St. Athanasius himself), though representing his doctrine of the Trinity as apprehended by the Western Churches. It is known, too, also as the *Quicumque Vult*, and contains a detailed exposition of the "Trinity" and of the "Incarnation;" and appears to have been spoken of and known by the name of "Athanasius' Tract of the Trinity" as early as the sixth century, and is supposed to have been alluded to in the Council of Autun about A.D., 670, as the "Faith of the holy prelate Athanasius." This Creed is perhaps the most rigid and impossible of all the three Catholic creeds, and has given rise to much controversy; and though adhered to by Protestants and Roman Catholics alike, many attacks have been made on it of late years.

The Protestant Episcopal Church of America gives it no place in the Prayer-book, the Protestant Church of Ireland has ceased to recite it, and it appears indeed a marvellous thing how men of sound reasoning powers can still be found to subscribe to it in its entirety, contradictory as it is to our ideas of a just and merciful God.

Thus were the Articles of Religion and Creeds of Faith of the Established Church of England duly declared and directed to be taken and interpreted in their literal sense. Some of the Articles of Religion, notably Nos. 1, 2, 9, 16, 26, and 31, are said to agree with the "Confession of Augsburg," the aim of which was simply to give forth the "collected views of belief of the Lutheran Protestants," and to lay a foundation for measures of reconciliation; the Protestant doctrines being stated in a form coinciding as near as possible with the Catholic views, and their agreement with the Church Fathers being carefully emphasised. Some of them appear to be in the identical words, others in almost the same words as the "Confession of Augsburg." This "Confession of Augsburg," though still adhered to by the Protestant Church of Germany, is confessedly no longer the

expression of the belief of the majority of the members, for great advances made since have altered public opinion and feeling.

And so we see in all these cases that the Articles of Religion and Faith on which the Establishment rests and places her belief are in reality nothing but a collection of *compromises* made at different times in the history of the world between the different warring sects of Christendom, and that they were moulded in accordance with the ignorant (if devout) ideas of the early Christian Churches, and that they were drawn up by a body of men who one and all devoutly believed that the sun went round the earth. And it must appear clear to all who examine these Articles of Religion and Creeds of Faith and compare them with the New Testament teachings of our Lord, that not only are they, in many instances, not in conformity with His teachings, but that they are, in many cases, in the most direct antagonism with His life and doctrines. Number 33 (for instance) enjoins the excommunication from the Church of all those who may differ from the Articles as drawn up, ordering all such to be treated as heretics. But how does the Church explain the non-agreement of this with our Lord's words:—*I am not come to call the righteous but sinners to repentance*; and again, *I am not come but unto the lost sheep of the House of Israel*; or, (when asked by His Disciples how many times they were to forgive men their trespasses, He said,) *But I say unto you not unto seven times, but unto seventy times seven*. Moreover, He was called *the Friend of sinners*. Again, Article 37 tells us that "the Church may punish with death," and that it "is lawful to wear weapons and to serve in the wars." But how does she explain the discrepancy of this with our Lord's *But I say unto you that ye resist not Evil*, and again, *He that useth the sword shall perish by the sword*? It must be patent to all unprejudiced minds that these things are in the most direct contradiction of His teachings.

Again, Article 39 says "Christian men may swear at the command of the magistrate," whereas our Lord said in the most unmistakable language, *But I say unto you, swear not at all*. Does this mean that the Church of England knows better than Christ did what He Himself wanted to teach! or in the name of all reason what can she mean by teaching the exact opposite of all He taught and said?

Or is it perhaps that she finds the doctrines contained in the Articles of Religion to suit the exigencies of the State better than Christ's plain and unmistakable teaching? If the change is made because it is considered to be better adapted to the needs and wants of the State, that is of course quite another question; but that they bear the smallest resemblance to Christ's teachings is at least open to very grave doubt.

This is how Bishop Watson described the Athanasian Creed (which many believe to have made more infidels than anything else): *A motley mass of bigotry and superstition, a scarecrow of shreds and*

*patches dressed up of old philosophers and popes, to amuse the speculative, and to affright the ignorant, a butt of scorn, against which every fledgling of the age essays his wanton efforts, and is fixed an infidel for life before he has learnt his catechism.* . . . These are strong words from a bishop, but if true then, how much more so now when men are beginning to perceive that practical Christianity, if it is ever to accomplish the regeneration of the world, must be a thing of the heart, and not a thing of antiquated creeds and ancient doctrines alone, or as these may have appeared to have been necessary in the ignorant and prejudiced minds of men in the early centuries; or in the warped, if devout, minds of the different warring sects of Christendom, and of those who drew up the original forty-two Articles of Faith.

Thoughts such as these begin to engage the minds of thinking men and women in these latter days of the nineteenth century, who are beginning to fear that the whole system of the Establishment has become so permeated with false doctrines, and so saturated with its worldly alliance with the State, that the question of Reform or Disestablishment is fast becoming one of the most vital importance; for in every branch of it we see our Lord's plain and simple Gospel used in its literal sense alone, while the spiritual meaning is almost entirely ignored. As at present constituted, the Church of England appears to many to be a huge system devised primarily in the interests of a large clerical livelihood, and her service to be looked upon in the light of a profession which in many ways pays better than many other worldly professions do; and one in which, though the pay be small, there remains always the chance of some of the "big prizes" coming the way of an intending candidate for holy orders, these consisting of "wealthy family livings," "easy livings," and "comfortable livings," which carry good pay along with them, and eventually, if lucky, a "future bishopric and a seat in the House of Lords." And having elected to choose the Church as a profession, the further progress of the candidate for holy orders is perhaps best told in the words of one of the ministers of the Church himself. He says:

"The career once decided on, he (the candidate) goes, if funds permit, to the University, if not, then he must be reared in the less wholesome atmosphere of a theological college." "We all know the Universities turn out many brilliant scholars, and give them to the Church; but we are not speaking of them, but of the average pass-man, who becomes the average parson. This man with infinite labour translates a book or two of Aristotle, hardly able to construe the Greek, much less understand the matter. Of modern questions he knows nothing at all. He takes the established religion as he would a top-hat or a white tie." "This sort of man generally fails to pass his examination, which is really child's play, several times. At length he goes to a coach who makes him learn his books by heart." "Finally he scrapes through by the skin of his teeth, and the University, in consideration of his having replenished her coffers, confers on him the

much-coveted B.A. degree." "Very often a year at a theological college is added to the three years or more at the University, and the head, into which not a modern idea has penetrated, is now to be stuffed with mediæval ideas on which the world has turned its back. Here he is fully armed and equipped with all the fallacies which theologians have mistaken for facts. Views will be presented to him as ultimate truths, which germinated in the brains of men who devoutly believed that the sun went round the earth, and disputed as to how many angels could stand on the point of a needle. Men utterly out of touch with the age will now make our embryo friend ditto. He will learn and easily believe (because it adds to his importance) that "dissent is the deadly sin of schism," and that for English people there is no safety outside England's Church (though he can never be reminded of the fact, which most sane men believe, that this Church of England is herself a schism of an older Church still)." "And, thus manufactured, out he goes to teach his fellows. He will claim for himself supernatural powers, and state the most preposterous theories as absolute truths, defy logic, and travesty history, and this only because the more ignorant a man is the more sure he is of his position. . . ."

And, indeed, to all of us it would appear that the clergy might be better educated in the right sense of the word if they were compelled to undergo a severe course of "philosophy and history," which would certainly lessen the dogma now taught in our schools and pulpits (and which appear now to be the chief things taught by the clergy). Moreover, it would have the further effect of expunging from the ranks of intending candidates for holy orders all those who sought to enter the service of the Church from any motive other than a divinely appointed one, for it is true now as ever that "*It does not necessarily follow that a man is ordained of God because he has received ordination at the hands of a bishop.*" Our old Church of the beginning of the century was loved and respected by all because it was a witness of the fact that this country had cast off for ever the superstitions and priestcraft of Rome, and that we as a nation were determined not to permit our consciences and those of our children to be interfered with by prelate or priest. But then came the "High Church" movement in 1833, when Oxford men managed to invent a new religion. Priestly claims, already abandoned by England, were again put forward by these, and declared to be part of the Faith. These theories (congenial as they naturally were to clerical pride) spread like wildfire, and the latest joined curates, who had managed to scrape through Oxford with a pass-degree, suddenly discovered that they were *Successors of the Apostles*, and endued with their mystic powers. And to this movement may be attributed all the ritualistic ideas of the present so-called "High Church" clergy, whose practices in some of our London Churches are now causing such widespread scandal. To this movement also may be traced the present *Catholic Revival* movement, which is making the Church of England ridiculous in the eyes of all devout men and women, when they see "Popery without a Pope, and Catholicism without a Catholic Church."

It is, of course, quite true that our Lord *did* lay hands on certain of His Disciples, but it was only on those who were in spiritual union with Him, and not on those who wanted a profession in which the pleasures of the world might be enjoyed while serving Him at the same time. And, moreover, our Lord was divine, whereas the bishops by whom our clergy are ordained (excellent men though they may be in themselves) are in no sense "divine," and so the two cases are in no way analogous. And again, our Lord's words, "*Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world,*" and which have been made to serve as His order on which is based the claim for "Apostolic Successorship," were surely never meant by Him to be confined to any Order, but were clearly meant to refer to "individuals and evangelists" who were to carry on the *mission work* which He Himself commenced. The word Apostle, too, at that time would appear to have been understood to mean "one sent as a missionary"; and we have good reason to believe that the words "Whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted, and whosoever sins ye retain they are retained," and the "binding" and "loosing" therein enjoined (and which are made to carry such importance in the Ordination service), were meant in quite a different sense to that presupposed in the Ordination service, and that they were meant most probably to express, in a way common to the Talmud literature, "the power of declaring what was allowable under the law," and were therefore simply meant to give the Apostles authority to say which things were allowable under the law, and which not.

And, as the result of all this false teaching, we are now told by these clergy of the more advanced school that it is still necessary to keep up the worship of the Sacrifice in our churches; and these justify themselves by telling us that it *must* be right, because "Sacrifice was ordained by God." But surely they might, with equal reason and truth, tell us "that men should be hung for stealing sheep because it was undoubtedly the custom to do so in the Middle Ages"; or again, with equal reason, that "it is right and necessary for adult men and women to repeat their alphabets daily, because it was right and necessary for them to do so in their infancy." There is as much reason in the one as there is in the other, for it must be plain to all men whose judgment is unwarped by prejudice and superstition that the whole history of God's dealing with men in the Bible is nothing but the gradual unfolding of His plans for human government, as *they were able by degrees to take it in and understand it*. At each new stage in the progress of his education some new truths are made clear to him, which until then he was totally unable to grasp or understand. But is this any reason why men should go back to the earliest ages to find a code of morals for present-day needs and requirements? Ritualism and all need for "sacrificing priests" may be said to have passed away with the Jewish Dispensa-

tion. "*I will have mercy and not sacrifice*" said Christ, and it is surely the greatest mistake to suppose that "*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus, creditum est,*" or that what was right once must always be right.

They next go on to tell us that "intonings," "solemn services," and "grand music" must go hand in hand with proper worship in our churches, and that "grand and impressive ceremonies, with brilliant lights and splendid vestments, together with costly decorations, are essentials to proper worship." But are *they* right, or was Christ. Who said in the most clear and unmistakable language: "*But I say unto you, that ye do not your alms before men to be seen of them,*" and "*Let not thy right hand know what thy left hand doeth*"; or again, "*When ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do who think they will be heard for their much speaking, but pray to the Father in secret*"; and again, "*But when thou prayest enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut to the door pray to thy Father,*" &c. &c. Again, they tell us that the "burning of candles is necessary in order to remind us of the 'wonderful' side of nature;" but surely if the sun were allowed to stream in through the darkened windows the same effect might result; for what object can possibly be gained by worshipping God in darkened churches and with lighted candles in broad daylight? And surely this kind of religious pastime can only find votaries among the very young or mentally weak? Lastly, we are told by them that the Lenten fasts should be carried out to the letter; and in a recent book, purporting to give definite and orthodox instructions on this subject, and which was brought out in aid of the spirit of "*Catholic Revival*," we read the following instructions: "No food is to be taken up to twelve o'clock noon; after that, two meals only are allowed in the day. On Ash Wednesday and the last three days of Holy Week nothing of an animal nature—not even eggs, butter, milk, or cheese—may be taken at the first meal, which may be a full one—that is, restricted in quantity. Those who require it may take a small cup of tea, coffee, or cocoa, without milk, in the morning. It is not intended (it goes on to say) that we should benefit pecuniarily by this abstinence;" and it then proceeds to give the wise (if Judasaical) advice that we must "give the equivalent to the funds of the Church." The writer of this book tells us that it was written by him in consequence of the large number of questions put week by week, to the Editor of the *Church Times* upon simple matters of ritual and worship.

If this kind of teaching is not Roman Catholic in everything but the name, in the name of reason *what is it*, or in *what way does it differ from it*? Dr. Horton, who is no mean authority, warns us in a recently issued pamphlet of the real danger the Church of England is in at the present time from some of her more advanced "High Church clergy." "There are (he says), though not generally known,

hundreds of the clergy of the establishment who, not believing in the validity of their orders, have applied for direct, and obtained orders through a papal channel." And it is interesting also here to note that the *Recue des pères Jésuites* discusses gravely the answers of the Pope, from his own lips, to the questions of some of the English clergy (who did not believe their orders to be valid), and, quoting from the 30th volume of the *Acts of the Holy See Rome*, says, "At ordination they ought to have touched the host, chalice, and paten; but one priest had touched only one of them, and another had touched them only for a moment, and had let them go too soon," &c. &c. Can we conceive of the Apostles doubting their sincerity because of such childish trifles, or of their gravely discussing such matters?

And if this is not sufficient to show the danger the church is in from the so-called "Catholic Revival," the following facts may help to do so. During the late celebration of Holy Week, the service of "Tenebræ" was held in the Church of St. Mark's, Marylebone, and on one of the members objecting to the service as a Protestant, he was told by the vicar that it was with the direct sanction of the Bishop of the diocese that it was held. This service is a common one in the Roman Catholic churches, and the "Tenebræ Service" as laid down in the "Office of Holy Week according to the Roman Missal and Breviary," (Dublin, H. M. Gill & Son), coincides almost entirely with the service held in the particular Church in question. This is the Church from which the "Station of the Cross" has been ordered to be removed. In Lauds, the Song of Moses and the Benedictus were recited, and a candle was extinguished at the end of each Psalm. In front of the altar was a large triangular stand, on which were fourteen lighted candles. The service consisted in reading a number of Psalms, a candle being extinguished from time to time, until the whole were put out. The gas was then turned out entirely, saving two jets, leaving the Church in almost total darkness, during which the service was concluded. In another London church a similar kind of service was held at which the words "Let us pray," and "Through Jesus Christ our Lord" were mumbled in an inaudible voice, (as is the custom in the Roman Catholic churches) and these prayers being ended, the officiant took off his cope, and "vested" in an alb, and, wearing a richly embroidered stole, approached the altar, removed the Crucifix, and said, "Behold the wood of the Cross," to which the people responded, "Let us adore it." The congregation then came up, two and two, and after repeating two genuflections, stooped and kissed the Cross. One of the Protestant congregation protesting against the illegal and idolatrous practices he had witnessed in the Church of the Establishment was arrested by the police.

In connection with the above the subjoined memorial was prepared and presented in March last to the Bishops of London, St. Albans,

and Rochester, by the honorary secretary who drew it up, "We the undersigned clergymen and laity of the Church of England in your Lordships' dioceses, have learned with pain and sorrow the scandals caused to the Church of St. Ethelburgha and elsewhere, and we very respectfully and most earnestly trust that your Lordships will see your way to take such steps for the suppression of illegal practices in Churches in your dioceses, that provocation for the repetition of such scandals may be removed." Again at St. Cuthbert's the officiant, who wore a cope, intoned a series of services, collects, and prayers for the Church, and "for all heretics and schismatics!"

And if the foregoing do not constitute sufficient evidence of the idolatry in our midst, the following evidence given by an eye-witness may help to do so. The eye-witness is himself attached to the Roman Catholic Church, and his evidence therefore cannot be taken in any way as a bigoted one. He is obviously closely familiar with the doctrine and ritual of the said Church, and duly qualified to describe it well.

"The chief impression, after witnessing the service, is the way the Anglican communion service resembles the Roman Catholic mass." "The communion service in the English Church until recent years was a service of prayer and praise, and only those going to communicate remained to the end of the service. But in the churches of which I am now speaking the main object of the service appears to be that of 'offering a sacrifice,' and everything is done to give that impression." There are often no communicants at all, or only one or two out of a large congregation. "There are roughly two classes of churches, those which follow that which is supposed to be the mediæval 'Salisbury or Sarum rite,' and those in which the observance seems to follow with more or less exactitude the ceremonial and ritual at present in use in the Roman Catholic churches." "A typical example of the former class is to be found in St. Magdalen's, Munster Square." "At this church the use of 'Sarum' is strictly used, and the result is, the ceremonial is more elaborate than in an ordinary Roman Catholic church." "As regards the outward appearance of the church there is nothing but the absence of a tabernacle and the absence of holy water to differentiate it from the Roman Catholic churches." "The choir were followed by two laymen wearing copes, and after the choir came three officiating ministers, preceded by the 'thurifer,' with the censor for the incense, a boy carrying the incense in a vessel known as the boat, two servers carrying candles, and the acolyte. All these except the clergy were vested in albs and amices, the usual dress of the attendants at mass in the Middle Ages. The celebrant wore an alb-stole, amice, and cope, and the attending clergy wore a dalmatic and a tunicle, these being the usual vestments worn by the deacon and sub-deacon at any Roman Catholic High Mass. After the service it was evident that the clergy at the altar beat their breasts at the Confession in accordance with the instructions of the Missal. They then ascended the altar, and the celebrant blessed the incense and proceeded to cense the altar in what would have been the correct Roman manner, his chasuble being held up by the two other ministers. After the service the acolyte once more assumed the humeral veil, and solemnly carried the chalice and paten into the vestry, accompanied by the candle-bearers as far as the chancel gates. . . ."

Again, in one of our Westminster churches there are at present three communion tables, while on a fourth which is specially reserved for a "Children's Mass," are placed six candles (four of them lighted). This "Children's Mass" takes place every Sunday at half-past nine; and a foreigner entering the church during the service would undoubtedly believe that a Roman Catholic service was being conducted.

The Archbishop of Canterbury recently called attention to the great falling-off of the candidates for confirmation, but cannot this falling-off be reasonably accounted for in the growing distrust of the parents to the instruction given to their children in their preparation for this rite? So long as they were taught the plain truths of scripture nobody could object; but now we are told the clergy in a large number of cases use this opportunity to inculcate into the minds of the young that "Auricular Confession" is a necessary preliminary to their receiving the Sacraments, and also to train them in a system of adoration that is simply "worship of the elements." They are in some cases urged to come to communion fasting on doctrinal grounds that simply imply "transubstantiation;" and so they prefer their children to go without confirmation sooner than be initiated into such doctrines. Is it not indeed time that the bishops should keep the refractory clergy in order and insist on the cessation of these Ritualistic practices, which can be of no possible use, and serve merely to disturb the peace? On the afternoon of Good Friday we read of a procession of clergy with a surpliced choir struggling through the streets of Fulham, and supposed to have been preaching the "Stations of the Cross." Is a puny and pitiful kind of parade like this to be regarded as expressive of a desire on the part of certain of the Anglican clergy to retrograde to the services and practices of the degenerate countries of Spain and Italy? If so, it is surely high time that all Protestants of all denominations should speak out with no uncertain voice. People talk slightly of the poor benighted heathen, but we must remember they do not know God. But how much worse is idolatry in our own churches, where idolatrous hymns such as "Sweetest Wood and Iron" are sung; and where *even Roman Catholics themselves* are unable to distinguish any appreciable difference in the services from that of their own churches?

Then, too, note the Lenten services about which so much fuss and mystery is made, and observe how different it all is to our Lord's own fasting. Their forty days' fast is purely a man-made institution, while His was a fast *in the spiritual sense alone*. He spent it alone with His thoughts in the desert, and was wrestling in His mind with the powers of the world (which were prompting Him to permit Himself to be crowned king of the world). How different to

these present-day ritualistic and hollow Lenten fasts, carried out in the most ostentatious way possible "to be seen of men," was that of our Lord, Who taught that when we fasted we were not "*to appear unto men to fast.*" And it would really appear as if the present-day Lenten fasts were specially introduced just to satisfy those who are always on the look out for some new excitement, as a variety in their monotonous lives, even if it be but a religious one. Our good Queen sets all a good example in refusing to lend her countenance to all this modern fuss about Lenten services. This is what is called the great "Catholic Revival" movement, with its lights and its churches filled to overflowing with crowds of fashionable communicants, and which is referred to by the bishops as "a wonderful outpouring of grace and of the Holy Spirit." But it is a question whether it is worth anything more than the Sunday parade in Hyde Park. They are both "the fashion," and nothing more. And who is the most ridiculous, the lady who goes without the second lump of sugar in her tea because it is Lent, or the gay young curate who smokes *one* only, instead of his usual two daily cigars? Are they not both ridiculous? And is it not a travesty on our Lord's religion, Who taught us plainly enough that pure religion consisted solely in good deeds, such as "visiting the fatherless," and "keeping ourselves unspotted from the world"; and Who laid all His emphasis on such things as "feeding the hungry," "visiting the sick and in prison," and on the following of His example of "going about and doing good."

It will be interesting here to compare this kind of religion with that of our Lord's. *Theirs* is one in which the chief aim appears to be "to be seen of men," and whose doctrines were established mostly at the Council of Nice; and confined largely to a certain class. *His* religion was hated most of all by the scribes and doctors of law, and other religionists, who did their works "to be seen of men."

*Theirs* is practically one of many sects, all as divided among themselves as they well can be. *His* was not divided, but was open to the "whole body of all believing Christians." *Theirs* deals with that which is without, and is largely a thing of churches, chapels, and grand services. *His* dealt entirely with that which is *within*.

*Theirs* deals largely with wealth, in fact, makes it a *sine qua non*, and openly declares "that the Church cannot get on without money," but would "promptly fall to pieces without it." *His* ignores wealth altogether. *Theirs* teaches many strange doctrines. *His* simply taught the way of God in truth. *Their* religion is briefly a religious pastime of the present which has the form but denies the power of godliness. *His* religion reveals the unsearchable riches of the future, and is a power within for the present. And truly, as Carlyle has said, "The religion that cannot get on without its £4000 per annum

must give way to one that can." This, too, was the religion of which John Bright spoke, and which he described as "an ecclesiastical hierarchy hiding with its worldly pomp that religion whose first virtue is humility." Christ's religion was surely simply one that curbed the tongue, denied the will, and restored men to God, Who told us plainly enough in the Old Testament that all that was required was "to walk in the ways of the Lord, and to do justly." And for His religion neither cope nor candle, pope nor priest can ever be necessary.

It has been said that it is an impossibility for a man to be a real follower of Christ in the Church of England, for he would simply be laughed to scorn, or put down as a madman, and it would really appear as if His religion is not wanted in some of our churches to-day. These are too well contented with the Christ of the past, Who has been made *a sort of mummy to talk about and analyse.*

It has been said, and is probably true, that "if Christ came to our earth to-day, no single community would vote for Him to rule over them"; and a good many Churches would find His presence most inconvenient. Though ready to welcome with jubilee honours any earthly potentate, they would have none for the "Prince of Peace." *They do not want a religion like His,* just as it was not wanted in His own day by the religionists of that time. Would it suit our Ritualistic Churches any better to-day? We cannot but see the great difference between some of the present churches of the Establishment and His Church. As opposed to all the show and pomp of theirs, the "quietness of Christ's religion stands out most prominently." For the hours in which He made His deepest mark in the history of this world, were those in which He *said nothing and did nothing.* All the action of that time was a *mental one.* But among a great mass of "Church-going" people, the idea of being righteous is exclusively associated with attendance at a given number of services, and of there having the devotional emotions regularly and decorously stimulated, while that of being irreligious is linked in their minds with the neglect of all this. But in Christ's religion no emphasis whatever was put on attending so many services and rites as being an essential thing. All His emphasis was placed on "states of the mind," "lowliness," "peaceableness," "thirsting after righteousness," and actions such as "feeding the hungry," "clothing the naked," and on "service to God through our neighbours." Humility and charity, too, were things He put more emphasis on than anything else, and yet the Church of England has little real sympathy with an institution like the Salvation Army, which has done, and is doing, more real good in elevating the masses and raising the outcast and miserable, than any other religious body in England. And by what right can any Church refuse

sympathy to any body of Christians, who show the slightest resemblance to Christ and His teaching? Do they then pretend that the Salvation Army works *contrary to His teaching*? Not so; the reason is a more selfish one; for they fear the effect on the Establishment of encouraging dissent. So, too, is it in matters of charity outside their own Church. Asked to support a charity outside the Church, the first question they ask is never, "will it help mankind?" but "will it affect the Establishment as such, and will it help dissent, or will it be countenanced by our superiors?" In the end the answer is generally the same—viz., "We do not think it *prudent* to help!" As Cardinal Newman said: "*The bishops think too much how to keep their Church together, as if that were the main thing that their establishment should continue. Let them first think (said he) how to bring God's kingdom to this earth and the Church will very easily take care of itself.*"

But directly the subject of Disestablishment is raised, an immediate cry arises that "the Church is in danger." But what does this cry really mean, that the Church of Christ will suffer? Not so, for that is impossible, for it would probably thrive as it has never done or can do while allied to the State; but what it really means is that "the Establishment" is in danger, and that there may be a loss of temporal Peers, and that there may be deaneries without Deans, and Pastors without legal pay; and that their Church may be merged into one of many, instead of remaining as of old the favoured Church with its special privileges. Another cry which is immediately raised, directly the subject of disendowment is spoken of, is, "the Church will be robbed of her money." But can there be a "shadow" of truth even in this cry in reality? It is no great length from Christianity to Charity, and our Divine Master left us more examples of "doing good," than He did of endowing wealthy Churches and Chapels. He Himself, we are told, "continually went about doing good;" and it is certain that He taught us to think more highly of compassionate deeds than of doctrines and creeds; and His own life simply *teemed* with good deeds to the poor and wretched. And it is quite clear that He left no instructions about the necessity of keeping up a huge established system, which to many appears to have been devised more in the interests of a clerical livelihood, than it was in His interests. Would it be stealing money to devote it to these objects for which He lived and died?

And truly, this question of Disestablishment or Reform, is fast becoming a question ripe for solution; for if we are to believe the statistics given during the last few years, by the several churches themselves, we must come to the inevitable conclusion that the Established Church is the Church of the majority no longer. The

latest statistics given are as follows :—Dissenters, 7,680,003 ; Church of England, 6,778,268. But if we now examine the religious Census of 1851, we find the following statistics given—viz., Church of England, 5,317,915 ; and all other denominations, 4,894,648, while in the year-books for 1896 we find Church of England 6,718,288, and “ten other denominations” 7,610,003. Accepting these figures as true we cannot but see how pressing becomes the question of reform, or if this be not possible, of disestablishment, for it is difficult to see how the State can be justified in keeping up an Established Church at the expense of the majority *when it is the Church of that majority no longer.*

*Is then Reform possible?* This must be a difficult question at the outset, for, who is to reform the Church, the Bishops? But would this suit the clergy themselves? We are told by these often enough in the Church papers that where the bishops are patrons the livings are bestowed by them on relations and subordinates without regard to worth, and so the clergy are not likely to care much about reform by the bishops. And again, who is to reform the bishops? is it to be the Prime Minister, or the Lord Chancellor, and if not, then who is it to be?

This leads to the inquiry whether *reform* or *disestablishment* is the most desirable in the interests of religion. There is no evidence whatever of Christ having ever given a hint even, of the necessity for an Established Church. On the contrary, He himself was a reformer of the Established religion of His day, nor can we conceive of His consenting to the State control of His religion. It is simply inconceivable, nor can we imagine Him by any stretch of the imagination belonging to a Church which was liable to be dictated to by the Government of the day. And what kind of history have State-religions in the past? It was the *State Church of Rome* that persecuted the early Christians. It was the *State Church of Judaea* that put our Saviour to death ; and it was the *Jewish priesthood* that killed the Saviour of the world for attempting to reform the religion of His country. Does any one even attempt to deny these things? Who can be found to deny that persecutions have always and everywhere followed State religions? Who persecuted Wickliffe and his followers? It was the *Popish priesthood*. Who persecuted the English dissenters until within the last few years? It was the “*English Priesthood*,” and it is only during the last few years that Protestant dissenters have been permitted burial in churchyards of the Establishment. Was this on account of their Faith or was it the fault of the Establishment? And although there is now no longer any fear of persecution, it is generally conceded that this comes from a general distribution of more liberal feelings all round than from established religions being any more tolerant. It is the

nature of all established religions to be against all civil improvements in the social status of the people, for it becomes a vital necessity to them that the State should remain as it is, as, otherwise, their own supremacy might be endangered. Then, too, the State must necessarily appoint to vacancies which occur, those holding similar views to themselves, and though the ideas of those they appoint must be *uniform*, they need not necessarily be *true*. And again, unlike other professions, the Established Church does not offer the same inducement to a subsequent zeal that other professions do. for the clergyman of the Church of England, whether he be diligent or not matters little, for he still retains possession of his living, nor can he be dispossessed for aught but immorality. What other effect can all this have on any religion, but tend to degrade it and make its ministers hypocrites, while preventing at the same time many good men joining her service? And too, to a great extent the State connection is responsible for the scandals in connection with the sales of advowsons, and which are now generally condemned. These are now regarded as "real property," and we are told that the traffic in these is conducted as a regular branch of agency business. Advertisements are placed in the papers offering these for sale in such terms as the following: "Good trout fishing may be obtained," "no charities to support," "weekly attendance at Church small," and so on. In fact a man buys an advowson as he would an estate, and cares little or nothing for the spiritual consequences of his purchase. This kind of thing in a State Church drives men into downright infidelity. Did the Apostles ever preach the Gospel on such terms as these? and yet, these very men would have us believe that they are their *successors*. It would look, indeed, as if these were the followers of one only—viz., the one who kept the bag. It is quite true what Max Müller has said, "If the Christianity of the nineteenth century does not win as many hearts as it should, we must remember it was the Church of the first century in all its dogmatic simplicity and with its overpowering love of God and man, that conquered the world and superseded religions and philosophies."

And if any one should think that the Church has anything to fear from Disestablishment as regards the falling-off of her revenues, we need only refer him to the recent report of the representative body of the Church of Ireland. This report says: "During the twenty-eight years since the Disestablishment, contributions from voluntary sources were £5,021,632. The income of the Church in 1897 was £566,572, and expenses were £420,635, thus leaving a balance of £144,937 to add to the capital. The total assets of the Church on December 31, 1897, were £7,975,976, in 1896 it was £7,947,335, thus showing an increase of £28,641." The above points to the conclusion that the Church would lose nothing by

disconnection with the State in the falling-off of her revenues. Then, too, in America the plan of placing all religions on an equal footing has been found most successful, and has effectually secured the peace of the community, and at the same time promoted the interests of truth and virtue.

If, therefore, it be found that a State religion has not been a success in the past, and its disconnection with the State at the present day would hurt neither it nor the State; but, on the other hand, would "give a greater stimulus to the religion of Christ, and help greatly to preserve peace and unity in the religious world," what good reason can be advanced for keeping up any longer the connection with the State?

And lastly, what kind of Church would take the place of the old State Church, and would a great revolution be necessary to find a new one? Not so, surely, for it is already here in our midst to-day. What could it be other than the same originally founded by Christ Himself, namely, the whole body of His followers? This Church need have no fear of perishing from lack of means, and all she need concern herself with is the necessity of being perfectly free from the demoralising influences of an alliance with the Government of the day, with all its worldly and paralysing consequences. The motto of the new Church will be "Faithfulness to Christ." Founded on no priesthood, with its attendant pomps and ceremonies so hateful to her Founder, and the necessity for which entirely passed away with His own great sacrifice; and, in obedience to His own instructions, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice," she will be a "spiritual Church," without distinction of sect or creed, as no State pampered Church could ever be. The old school of "Tradition" will be left behind, and the new one joined which teaches "free enquiry" and "absolute freedom and supremacy of the conscience." No episcopal hierarchy is needed, for are not the whole body of Christ's followers His own appointed ministers? and the need for an established religion will have passed away together with its pomps and ceremonies, and its "sacrificing priests," and all of which will fall into a well deserved oblivion. The foundations of the former Church were built on the sands of "pride, self-assertion, inertia, and death"; the foundations of the new Church will stand firm on the impregnable rock of "meekness, repentance, activity, and life." "No need for lighted candles, or any mystic rites or ceremonies; no need either for darkened churches, with their sham Lenten fasts, and their hollow Easter joys; and no need for State pay as a *sine qua non* for preaching the Gospel; for the love of humanity alone will be sufficient 'test' of ordination, and the possession of Christ's own heart will be sufficient 'title' to enable a man to preach the Gospel of Christ, if he will; and

without the possession of which, as Henry Ward Beecher has well said, *no man has any right to preach though all the bishops in Christendom ordain him.* The whole idea and meaning of a State Church may be said to have entirely changed in regard to the religion of Christ, and what is now wanted is not that the State should choose out one particular sect of the Protestant religion, and endow that alone, but that it should do all in its power to help and uphold the entire religion of the whole country.

And is it too much to hope that we may have this new Church, in which Christ alone is the supreme Head, as the acknowledged Church of the land, in the early days of the new Century about to dawn?

DUDLEY S. A. COSBY.

# ON SOME SUGGESTED IMPROVEMENTS IN THE THEORY OF NATURAL SELECTION.

PROFESSOR EIMER'S VIEWS.

WHEN we study the works of the present-day writers on natural selection, we are chiefly struck with the amount of divergence from the original view as laid down by Darwin. But this is not so much that individual writers have diverged widely—though some have gone a considerable distance—as that *all* have diverged in *different directions*. All have found some weak points in the theory, but none have agreed as to where these weak points are. Their *united* testimony is that there is scarcely any sound part left; and yet each retains so much that he is still able to call himself a Darwinian, and fight under the banner of Darwin.

Again, we are impressed by the fact that each in pointing out the weak point, or difficulty, in the original view prove his point to the hilt—he carries us with him all the way. While of each alternative hypothesis, each prop of argument to support the structure they have *proved* to be falling, we can only exclaim: “*O plumbeum pugionem!*” “*Telum imbelie sine ictu!*”

Professor Eimer's *Organic Evolution*, in which he has recast the Darwinian scheme, illustrates these points. In the first place, Professor Eimer tells us that the conception—we had thought it was the ascertained facts—of variation, as held by Darwin and others, is wrong. Variation is not indeterminate and occurring in almost all directions, but in a few determinate ones.

“I was able to demonstrate,” he writes, “that variation everywhere takes place in quite definite directions, which are few in number.”

Other observers—as Dr. Wallace—have demonstrated that variation takes place in almost every direction. But demonstration as understood by these gentlemen is not that of Euclid: it seems more akin to that present in the mind of Jack Cade, when he said: “It hath been *already proved*, and will go nigh to be thought so presently.”

In most theories of evolution the *causes* of the variations which

supply the materials on which selection acts have been only touched upon incidentally. It has been considered enough to show that they are there, however they may have been brought about. With regard to Professor Eimer's views, however, his conception of the cause of variation has to a large extent moulded his theory of the course of evolution. Possibly, however, the real connection is a reverse one, and it may be that the theory of evolution has suggested the assumed cause of variation. Professor Eimer's conception is, that every individual organism is modified by the chemical and physical forces to which it is subject. The alterations thus produced in it are transmitted. Or, to give the *verba ipsissima* :

(1) "The causes which lead to the formation of new characters in organisms, and in the last result to their evolution, consist essentially in the chemico-physiological interaction between the material composition of the body and external influences."

(2) "According to my conception, the physical changes which organisms experience during life through the action of the environment, through light or want of light, air, warmth, cold, water, moisture, food, &c., and which they transmit by heredity, are the primary elements in the production of the manifold variety of the organic world, and in the origin of species. From the materials thus supplied the struggle for existence makes its selection. These changes, however, express themselves simply as growth."

Thus we see that Professor Eimer, in direct opposition to Weismann and so many modern biologists, believes in the inheritance of acquired characters, and the inherited effects of use and disuse: he is, in fact, an advocate of neo-Lamarckism. The changes wrought in the individual are passed on to the offspring. With regard to evidence there is some as to the transmission of scars, &c., of the kind which Weismann has discussed and disposed of, but which Professor Eimer believes to be fully authenticated. But, apart from the evidence for particular cases of such transmission, does not the very rarity of examples bear witness in favour of Weismann? For if such things as scars and mutilations were ever transmitted, would they not always be? Or making allowance for the fact that the character of one parent alone may sometimes appear in the offspring, at least, in a great number of cases. Professor Eimer himself goes so far as to believe in the transmission of such acquired characters as handwriting, and cites his own case in evidence. Although he left home at a very early age, yet his matured handwriting resembled that of his father. Unfortunately Professor Eimer does not tell us at *what age* he left home, or anything about the handwriting of the people with whom he lived. If he had given specimens of his own writing, his father's, his teacher's, and that of the people with whom he lived, we should have been in a better position to judge this very interesting case. Meantime most of us are convinced that we have not inherited the paternal handwriting unless by conscious, or unconscious, imitation. \*

Transmission of acquired characters, in fact, is one of the foundation stones of Professor Eimer's theory :

\* "All organisation, and above all, the first development of organs, and further, all higher physiological evolution depends on use, is to be traced to the inheritance of acquired characters."

And one of the chief arguments running throughout his book consists in dwelling on the difficulties of explaining the facts of nature on the theory of their non-inheritance. To suppose it in a case he is discussing is "to make no less a demand on our understanding than miracles," which in his view is apparently a climax. And no one who has carefully followed these particular arguments, or has thought over the matter for himself, will be disposed to deny this. The difficulties in the way of the theory of natural selection are *immensely increased* if we reject the assistance of the transmission of acquired characters—if indeed the theory is not rendered impossible. The position then is this:

Weismann has shown in a most conclusive way that there is no such thing as transmission of acquired characters, and has convinced many biologists, admitting at the same time that he has *vastly* increased the difficulties for natural selection. On the other hand, Professor Eimer, and others, show in an equally convincing way that the theory is impossible without such transmission. If we accept both—and we see no escape from either—we come to a deadlock.

Another peculiarity of Professor Eimer's views is that he minimises the powers of natural selection in accumulating small variations, and believes that species can be evolved without its aid :

"Sexual combination can lead to the production of quite new forms without the assistance of selection."

And again :

"Changes in the characters of the body appearing suddenly through correlative growth may lead to the formation of new species without the assistance of selection."

Another factor contributing to the separation of forms into species without selection is, "that any new character *may* produce such a correlative change in the composition, or even the form of the sexual products, that sexual crossing between the forms concerned is no longer possible." This is something like the physiological selection of Dr. Romanes.

Darwin fully accepted the old canon of natural history as applied to evolution, and supposed species were the result of the *slow* accumulation of *minute* differences. Professor Eimer, on the other hand, in common with several other modern exponents of evolution, believes in *per saltum* evolution—development by leaps and bounds. In his own words :

"As soon as something or other in the original state, in the original arrangement of the parts of the organism is changed, other parts also are set in motion, all arranges itself into a new whole, becomes—or forms—a new species, just as in a kaleidoscope, as soon as on turning it one particle falls, the others also are disturbed and arrange themselves in a new figure—as it were recrystallise."

The figure of crystallisation is again used in another passage :

"And there are forms of which we can say with all the required certainty, that their bodily shape must depend not on adaptation, but on a crystallisation, resulting from the physical and chemical action of external agents on the materials of the organism subjected to them."

Possibly these figures of the kaleidoscope and crystallisation convey to Professor Eimer some definite idea of how he supposes the change of species to take place, but it is doubtful whether they will be any help to others. Nor are we prepared to admit that the suggested analogies are allowable. By means of this *per saltum* evolution the difficulty of the absence of intermediate forms disappears: they have in many cases never existed :

"In the formation of new species the animals have by no means necessarily passed through all the conceivable intermediate stages."

And thus, like others who bring forward evidence of the possibility of rapid evolution from the facts of variation and the development of the individual, Professor Eimer thinks he has removed a difficulty, and rendered the theory more probable. Like others, again, he seems to labour under the delusion that Darwin believed in the slow evolution of species by selection of minute variations *because* he was unfamiliar with this evidence. This, however, is not so. Darwin deliberately chose the small variations, and the slow development, as presenting the fewest difficulties. For example, it furnished the often given answer, There has not been time, to those who objected that no change of species had taken place within historic times. Moreover, the *slowness* of evolution was brought forward as a reason of the *stability* of natural species as compared with artificial varieties.

Those who believe in *per saltum* evolution, and evolution by selection of large variations, can no longer avail themselves of these explanations. If they have avoided certain difficulties, they have run their heads against others equally destructive. It is the old story of Scylla and Charybdis, for the hard rocks of fact through which the bark of natural selection must sail leave but a very narrow passage.

It is somewhat difficult to criticise Professor Eimer's views, as he goes into no details as to how he supposes a species is evolved, nor attempts to prove that evolution will take place on the lines he suggests. Beyond certain facts of variation, and development in the individual, all is assumption and opinion. The cardinal point

in Professor Eimer's view is that the course of development in the species must follow that of the individual :

"The highest animals briefly repeat in their ontogeny the whole series of their ancestors as stages of growth."

But he gives no reason for this assumption, seeming to look upon it as a necessary result of what he calls the "unity of nature." This supposed necessary parallelism of development between individual and species, however, if pushed to its logical conclusion would lead to forms of evolution apparently undreamt of in the philosophy of Professor Eimer. To give an example, it would lead to the belief that the highest organism should be followed, *per saltum* without a single intermediate stage, by the lowest, to be succeeded through most gradual insensible stages by the highest again. It would also certainly show that the gradual evolution of Darwin was more common than the *per saltum* form. In fact, the analogy unless carefully trimmed and pruned, restricted here and expanded there to order, is a worse than useless guide to a man with a theory : it is capable of yielding support—and condemnation—to any and every theory of evolution yet invented. While it holds out one hand to help, it knocks down with the other. And in the hands of different individuals it has led to very divergent views, as, for example, regarding the supposed ancestry of the vertebrates. Those who regard the development of the individual as the history of the race admit that whole pages of this history are often wanting, others interpolated, and others written in shorthand. There are even some, we believe, who can detect glosses and corruptions of the text. Of those who found their systems of evolution on this supposed analogy we can only say :

"The happy whimsey you pursue  
Till you at length believe it true;  
Caught by your own delusive art,  
You fancy first, and then assert."

A character shared by Professor Eimer with so many other evolutionists is a dissatisfaction with the theory of natural selection as expounded by Darwin. There is one great question, he tells us, which "neither Darwin nor any other inquirer" has answered in a satisfactory manner. The question, viz. :

"What causes have brought about a separation of this organic world (whose forms of their own accord would be united by imperceptible transitions) into different members, into kinships, into species, genera, &c."

As a matter of fact the question has been answered by every prominent writer on evolution, each in accordance with his own particular view, and to his *own satisfaction* if not to that of Professor Eimer. But while we ourselves fully agree with Professor Eimer as to the unsatisfactory nature of the answers which have been given to

this question, we must demur to his further assertion that it has "hitherto scarcely been seriously taken in hand." And we must further say, that we have found none of the answers *less satisfactory* than that given by Professor Eimer himself. And this is not only that it is inefficient as an explanation, but it is exceedingly difficult to understand what it really implies. The obscurity of the subject, and the Germanic indirectness and diffusiveness—which have not disappeared in the translation—emphasise the difficulty. The process is called *genepistasis*, that is literally a standstill of the race. And the idea seems to be that one variety having reached the stage *a*, stops there, while another part of the species goes on to *b*, and so forth. In Professor Eimer's own words:

"We have then before us a graduated evolution, and the essential cause of the separation of species is seen to be the persistence of a number of individuals at a definite lower grade of this evolution, while the rest advance farther in modification."

But unless it is explained why a part of the species has stopped at the earlier stage of the evolution, while the rest advanced, it seems to amount to saying they are separate *because they are separate*. It seems to account for the absence of the connecting links by the supposition that they were never there. Nor does it tell why the variety *a* keeps separate from the other varieties, and the parent stock. Now, whatever be the faults of the various other answers to the question of how such things as separate varieties came to exist, they all appealed more or less to facts, or supposed facts. Darwin and Wallace have relied on the weeding out of intermediate forms by natural selection, and the inclination of varieties to keep separate in breeding; Romanes appealed to the existence of cross infertility in varieties with the parent stock; all have relied on geographical and other forms of isolation. Professor Eimer seems to assume that a part of a race stops short at a certain stage of evolution, while another advances *per saltum* to a stage higher to constitute a new species without leaving any intermediate forms. It does so, as far as we can gather, from the same reason as an individual tadpole becomes a frog, or a caterpillar a butterfly. Which seems to us to be no explanation at all, but simply an assertion.

As regards the development of instincts, again, Professor Eimer differs somewhat from most other naturalists. In the first place, he thinks the mental powers of animals have been greatly underrated. And certainly, if he is right as to the method of the development of instinct, no one has yet given them their due. For he believes that each instinct is the development of an original intelligent action. Let us take a particular case to illustrate this point. We have all, probably, wondered at the marvellous instinct of the sand wasp, which enables it to sting the spider or caterpillar in the exact spot so as to paralyse without killing it, and so provide fresh food for its

young. This wonderful instinct has been explained in various ways by different evolutionists. Professor Eimer explains it thus :

"What a wonderful contrivance ! What calculation on the part of the animal must have been necessary to discover it ! The larvæ of the wasp require animal food. Dead food enclosed in the cell would soon putrefy, living active animals would disturb the egg, and accordingly the wasp paralyses grubs and packs them like sacks of meal one after another in the cell. How did she arrive at this habit ? At the beginning she probably killed larvæ by stinging them anywhere and then placed them in the cell. The bad results of this showed themselves ; the larvæ putrefied before they could serve as food for the larval wasp. In the meantime the mother-wasp discovered that those larvæ which she had stung in particular parts of the body were motionless but still alive, and then she concluded that larvæ stung in this particular way could be kept for a longer time unchanged as living motionless food.

"She must have drawn a conclusion by deductive reasoning. In this case it is absolutely impossible that the animal has arrived at its habit otherwise than by reflection upon the facts of experience."

We are probably meant to infer that all, or at least many, sand wasps reasoned in this way. To those who do not object to the ascription of so much *reasoning* power to a *mere* insect, there may seem to be something in this explanation. It leads us to expect some day to meet a party of young sand wasps listening to a lecture on anatomy and logic, or to find those of more mature age filling up the pauses in their clever butchering with discussions on fate, foreknowledge, and free-will. Darwin would explain the marvellous instinct of the sand wasp somewhat as follows :

The wasp, which was in the habit of killing larvæ by stinging them, chanced, owing to some mental peculiarity, or by mere accident, to sting one on the nerve which governs muscular action. The individual which did so left more vigorous offspring—an advantage in the struggle for existence was obtained. Then the habit was inherited, and those which did not acquire it were weeded out. By the school of Weismann, again, it would be supposed that the mother wasp stung the caterpillar in the right place owing to some mental peculiarity resulting from some variation in the germ plasma. This peculiarity would be transmitted to the offspring, which would do the same. The development would then proceed as in Darwin's explanation, those which did not vary in the right way being weeded out. All these explanations start with a common assumption—viz., that at first the wasp *killed* the grub with which it fed its young. Now it seems strange that the following considerations did not present themselves to the authors of the above explanations. It is a well-known fact that many animals habitually feed and thrive on partially decayed meat. May we not suppose that the digestive apparatus of such animals is specially fitted for such nutriment, and that they thrive better on it than on fresh meat ? And there is a wide difference between meat absolutely decayed and meat not only

fresh, but living. If, then, the digestive organs of these young sand wasps were fitted—as we must surely suppose they were—for the assimilation of “high” food, it seems doubtful whether they would benefit by the abrupt substitution of living meat. But this is of course a detail, and of no importance. Take care of the general assertions, and the details of facts will take care of themselves, is the motto in these matters.

Professor Eimer dwells on the large part played by *chance* in the Darwinian scheme:

“The origin of species, according to the Darwinian explanation, is left entirely to chance.”

This Professor Eimer objects to, and thinks incapable of the work required. Yet we cannot find that our author attributes the origin of the organic world to any other cause. For, taking the ordinary meaning of the word *chance* the organic world must be as it is either by chance, or by design. And, as far as we can gather, Professor Eimer holds design in holy Darwinian abhorrence. But on reading further we find that he is merely breaking his intellectual shins over that troublesome word “chance.” For he says:

“If, as I acknowledge, the principles of Darwinism are true because they can be shown to follow from natural laws, then it was to be expected that obedience to laws would also be discovered in that province which Darwin had surrendered to chance.”

Which shows a complete misunderstanding of Darwin, who surrendered no province to *chance* in the sense of *lawlessness*, being careful to explain that by chance variations he did not mean variations not subject to law, but merely variations of which we do not know the cause, and not *designed* to lead to any particular form of organism. Darwin's chance was *chance* as opposed to *design*, not *chance* as opposed to *law*. Indeed, there is no such thing as chance in the sense of lawlessness. If I put my hand into a bag containing ten red and five white balls, and take one out, the *chances* that it is red are two to one, but the actual event is determined by *law*.

It is common in controversy to find an opinion attributed to the other side and triumphantly demolished, which the other side never really held. Professor Eimer illustrates this when he asserts that

“cessation of natural selection can as little cause the retrogression of an organ as natural selection can cause it to develop.”

But we believe no advocate of natural selection ever said that it could. Darwin certainly never advanced any such view. All he attributed to natural selection was the selection of those individuals in which the organ was best developed, the suitable variation must first be present. And cessation of selection only led to retrogression by permitting those to live in which the organ was less developed.

Weismann, it is true, is not very careful as to the language he uses on this point, and might be misunderstood, but he cannot be supposed to mean anything more than this.

Professor Eimer seems to have been led to the adoption of his peculiar views by the exigencies of monism—his conception of the unity of organic nature. In his own words :

“The fundamental conception from which all my views arise—the doctrine of the unity of organic nature.”

Again :

“My view of the causes of the origin of species is nothing but the logical application of that conception [the unity of organic nature] to the manifold variety of the living world.”

It is probably this conception which leads Professor Eimer throughout to refer to the growth of the individual as if it had been *proved* analogous to the development of species. The *assumption* that it is so is all he has to offer in support of many of his views.

G. W. BULMAN.

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

### SCIENCE.

It has long been known to geologists that the level of the land is subject to continual change, while that of the sea is, on the whole, uniform. It is only of late years, however, that an accurate record has been kept of the movements of the earth's surface, especially those rapid movements popularly known as earthquakes. These have always been a favourite subject for theories; but the data upon which such theories were based have until recently been very scanty. Methodical records of earth tremors are now being kept in most civilised countries, and when sufficient evidence has been collected we may hope for some elucidation of the causes of phenomena which have always deeply affected mankind. Foremost among the workers in seismology is Mr. J. Milne, whose numerous observations during a long residence in Japan have contributed materially to a better understanding of earth tremors. The results of these observations are embodied in an interesting work on *Seismology*,<sup>1</sup> which has just appeared as one of the "International Scientific Series." In this book Mr. Milne has collected a large number of data regarding earthquakes, and describes fully the apparatus used for recording earth tremors. Many of the seismographs are of very ingenious construction; but there appears to be still an opening for invention in this direction. The records when obtained are anything but clear, and in the case of violent earthquakes the instruments fail to act. On June 20, 1894, for instance, there was an unusually severe earthquake at Tokyo, during which only one seismograph of simple construction gave a record, all the others were thrown out of action by their pointers being projected beyond the recording surface. Mr. Milne gives many valuable hints on the best methods of constructing buildings in order to minimise the effects of earthquakes. Although there are a few general rules which hold good in all cases, yet it is extremely difficult to ensure absolute stability in a building because earthquakes differ so much both in the velocity and direction of their motion. Many of the phenomena accompanying earthquakes are still unexplained, for instance, the magnetic perturbations which are nearly always

<sup>1</sup> *Seismology*. By J. Milne. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. 1898.

noted in seismic regions. As to the origin of earthquakes no one has devoted more time and thought than Mr. Milne himself, and his opinion is that most of these disturbances are the result of the sudden fracturing of the rocky crust under the influence of bending. Why this bending of the earth's crust takes place in some districts more frequently than others has not yet been explained by geologists. Those who wish to speculate on the subject will find valuable data in Mr. Milne's interesting work.

In the United States, also, observers are busy recording the movements of the earth's surface. No. 1087 of the "Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections" consists of a very complete list of earthquakes on the Pacific Coast; the records of which have been collected by Mr. E. S. Holden.<sup>1</sup> In his introductory remarks the author shares the opinion of Mr. Milne as to the cause of earthquakes, which he considers are the result of faulting in the underlying strata rather than due to volcanic causes directly. Some parts of California are well suited to the study of seismic phenomena; there are not many places where 120 shocks can be observed in two months, as was the case at Monterey. Most of the shocks recorded are mere tremors, devoid of destructive effects, and not to be compared even with the artificial earthquake produced in San Francisco in 1892 by the explosion of 350 tons of dynamite and 150 tons of black powder at a distance of fifteen miles from the city. Many of the phenomena recorded in this list are based upon newspaper reports, and are not altogether reliable; but in such cases the origin is given, and the reader can judge for himself.

Another publication of the Smithsonian Institution, No. 1126 of the "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge,"<sup>2</sup> gives us a valuable addition to our knowledge of thermodynamics. A preliminary communication on this subject by the same authors was made to the British Association at Oxford in 1894; the present paper gives full particulars of the methods used, and is accompanied by illustrations of the apparatus designed for these researches. Like many other investigations destined to be of value to the physicist and chemist, these were carried out in the Physikalisch-Technische Reichsanstalt at Charlottenburg, part of the funds being provided by the Hodgkins Fund of the Smithsonian Institution. The experiments were carried out with considerable quantities of gas, the receivers being of about ninety litres capacity, and the apparatus for the measurement of temperature was of great accuracy, indicating  $0.01^{\circ}\text{C}$ .

<sup>1</sup> *A Catalogue of Earthquakes on the Pacific Coast, 1769 to 1897.* By E. S. Holden. Washington: Smithsonian Institution. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *A Determination of the Ratio of the Specific Heats at constant Pressure and at constant Volume for Air, Oxygen, Carbon Dioxide and Hydrogen.* By N. O. Lummer and N. E. Ringsheim. Washington: Smithsonian Institution. 1898.

The ratio for atmospheric air was found to be 1.4025 by the authors, Röntgen having arrived at the figure 1.4053 in 1873.

It is to be hoped that the National Physical Laboratory which it is proposed to establish in England will furnish equally valuable contributions to science.

Another work which we have received<sup>1</sup> reminds us that, while in physics observations of the greatest accuracy can be made and recorded in figures, there are other sciences or branches of knowledge in which accurate experiments are almost precluded, at any rate so far as others are concerned. As Mr. Titchener rightly remarks, the facts of the mind are never open to more than one person; the method of psychology is the method of experimental introspection. Under these circumstances it is necessarily extremely difficult to formulate the data of a science; all that can be done is to suggest lines of research for the individual. This Mr. Titchener does in the volume before us, and we have no doubt that any student who conscientiously carries out the experiments described will obtain much insight into the working of his own mind. Perhaps the day will come when biologists will throw more light upon what we may term the physical side of psychical phenomena. The need for light is pressing; insanity increases rapidly year by year, and until we can clearly understand the working of a healthy mind it is not likely that we shall be able to heal a morbid one.

Among the chapters which we have read with special interest are those on "Child Psychology" and on "Sleep and Dreams." The latter, especially, may be recommended for the perusal of those who imagine that dreams are the precursors of coming events instead of the effects of past ones.

Another volume of the "University Tutorial Series" has reached us,<sup>2</sup> being a compact little primer on chemical analysis. It is, of course, impossible to treat fully of so extensive a subject in a work of 128 small pages, but Messrs. Briggs and Stewart have condensed with much judgment, and the student will find their work a useful introduction to more extensive treatises.

*The Second Stage Mathematics*,<sup>3</sup> edited by Mr. Wm. Briggs, and published by W. B. Clive in the "Organised Science Series," will be found very useful by students. The book comprises geometry, algebra, and trigonometry.

<sup>1</sup> *A Primer of Psychology*. By E. B. Titchener. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *Chemical Analysis*. By W. Briggs and R. W. Stewart. London: W. B. Clive.

<sup>3</sup> *The Second Stage Mathematics*. By William Briggs, M.A., LL.B., &c. London: W. B. Clive.

## PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

DR. JOHN WATSON has brought out the new edition of his work published in 1895 under the title of *Comte, Mill, and Spencer*, with the new title, *An Outline of Philosophy*.<sup>1</sup> It appears to us an inconvenient arrangement to give a new name to a book already well known by another one, especially as this new edition is apparently an exact reprint of the first, with which it corresponds page for page and line for line. We should have supposed it printed from the same stereotype had not the author informed us that there are a few changes in it, which, however, we have not detected. To this original text there is added a considerable amount of new matter in the form of historical and critical notes, in which various points treated in the original text are further elucidated. The book will be useful to readers who wish to know Dr. Watson's latest thoughts on philosophical problems.

The late Dr. John Caird, Principal of the University of Glasgow, was in the habit of giving a lecture to the students at the beginning of each session, either upon some subject connected with their studies, or upon the work of some great author. A collection of these Addresses<sup>2</sup> has now been published; the volume contains twelve Lectures, the earliest dated 1874, the latest 1889. To these lectures are added two of a less elaborate kind, which the late principal delivered at the close of the sessions 1894 and 1897. The latter one, on the "Personal Element in Teaching," being his last public utterance. These addresses will not only be valued by the students of the University, to whom they are appropriately dedicated, but by admirers of Dr. John Caird, whether of the University or not. The subjects cover a wide range, dealing with Science, History, and Art; and the biographical addresses are on Erasmus, Galileo, Bacon, Hume, and Bishop Butler. All these addresses are eloquent and informing, composed in a liberal spirit and expressed in a masterly form.

All lovers of Sir Thomas Browne should hasten to secure a copy of the beautiful edition of the *Religio Medici*<sup>3</sup> just issued by Messrs. Bell & Sons. The medley of quaint piety and scarcely concealed rationalism of the Doctor will always be read with fresh pleasure, but the pleasure is increased when they are presented in such a noble setting of fine paper, large type, and handsome binding. A vignette of Sir Thomas Browne, Kt., M.D., serves as frontispiece.

The Broad Church revolt against dogmatic Christianity is not one

<sup>1</sup> *An Outline of Philosophy*. With Notes Historical and Critical. By John Watson, LL.D. Second Edition. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *University Addresses*. Being Addresses on Subjects of Academic Study delivered to the University of Glasgow. By John Caird, D.D., LL.D. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1898.

<sup>3</sup> *Religio Medici*. By Sir Thomas Browne. London: George Bell & Sons. 1898.

that attracts much attention, nor can it be expected to do so if the volume before us, by the Rev. Llewelyn Davies, is a fair specimen of its aims and methods.<sup>1</sup> It does not appear to be rationalistic, and opposes dogma by a more spiritual conception of religion. This is right enough, but in this volume the undogmatic view is very feebly set forth, and the theology offered as a substitute for the Athanasian Creed is scarcely vigorous enough for the purpose. Mr. Davies falls back upon St. Paul and the Fourth Gospel, but ignores the results of criticism. In his conception of the Church he tries to reconcile the Anglican idea with the Nonconformist idea, or the Church and the Churches, and in this connection he tells us that St. Paul may be said to be the theological exponent of the doctrine of the Church amongst the New Testament writers; and his account of the Church is chiefly to be found in the Epistle to the Ephesians. But where is the competent critic to be found who believes that St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Ephesians? Mr. Davies' account of the Trinity would not satisfy a Catholic theologian.

It is with unusual pleasure we have read Mrs. Bryant's book on the *Teaching of Christ in Life and Conduct*.<sup>2</sup> It appears to us to be the very thing that is wanted, not only for use in schools, but we think it deserves to be studied by ministers of Churches. It might remind them how much they miss and how much their hearers lose, when, as Mrs. Bryant says, the metaphysical interest of religion is allowed to predominate. This book, while not ignoring the fact that religion has its metaphysical side, concentrates the attention of the reader upon the ethical side of the teaching of Christ. This, no doubt, is often in some measure attempted, but Mrs. Sophie Bryant has succeeded in doing it with a clearness, force, and brevity, which gives to her few pages an extraordinary value. The care with which she has excluded every distracting element, and the success with which she confines attention to a single purpose, deserves the highest praise. We heartily commend this book to all teachers of the young, especially to those who want to learn how they should teach religion.

<sup>1</sup> *Spiritual Apprehension*. Sermons and Papers. By Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies, M.A., &c. London: Macmillan & Co. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *The Teaching of Christian Life and Conduct*. By Sophie Bryant, D.Sc. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1898.

## SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS, AND JURISPRUDENCE

*Russia's Sea-power, Past and Present; or, the Rise of the Russian Navy*,<sup>1</sup> by Colonel Sir George Sydenham Clarke, is not only interesting historically, but contains a political moral which people in this country are slow to learn. An inland State, Russia when her power was consolidated, instinctively felt the need of a seaboard, and the attainment of this object has been the basis of Russian policy for two hundred years. As the author rightly says, the expansion of Russia has only conformed to a universal law, and the antagonism between her and this country is hard to explain. As it is impossible for us to stop this or even to momentarily check her advance, and as until quite recently we were nowhere in direct conflict of interests, it would have been a wiser policy to have found some better *modus vivendi* than that which we have usually adopted. And it is the more strange since there has always been a large body of opinion in this country in favour of settling a direct agreement with Russia, and this has been especially marked in the Liberal party. Russia has frequently been our ally, and the Russian navy has been largely the creation of British seamen, in fact such victories as it has achieved have been won by Englishmen or Scotchmen as commanders. And as the author points out, our policy of resistance to Russia has met with absolute failure all along the line. To thwart Russian aspirations has been the principal object of our diplomacy. But British diplomatists are no match for the semi-barbarous Russian, and they have been hopelessly defeated in every diplomatic bout. And has not our present Prime Minister told us that in 1854-5 and in 1878, "we put our money on the wrong horse?"

We are delighted to find a man in Sir George Clarke's position speaking out so clearly in this matter. For all Lord Salisbury's declarations we fancy the original sin is too ingrained to be got rid of by cheap metaphors. The policy that Russia is our national enemy and Turkey our natural ally has cost us millions of gold and oceans of blood, and all for absolutely nothing. As Sir George says "Russia has not occupied a square yard of territory which is now or has ever been desired by Great Britain. This cannot be said of France, of Germany, or of the United States." We have not yet forgotten Siam, Tunis, or Madagascar. We have failed to find any maps as stated on the title-page.

We confess that we do not find Mr. De Thierry's *Imperialism*<sup>2</sup> so remarkable as Mr. Henley's advertisement of it would lead us to

<sup>1</sup> *Russia's Sea-power, Past and Present: or, the Rise of the Russian Navy*. By Colonel Sir George Sydenham Clarke, K.C.M.G., F.R.S. With Maps and Illustrations. London: John Murray. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *Imperialism*. By C. de Thierry. With an Introduction by W. E. Henley. London: Duckworth & Co. 1898.

suppose, unless it be so for its mis-statements, perversions, and omissions. To attribute the origin of Imperial unity to Lord Beaconsfield, the man who regarded the colonies as so many encumbrances, is absurd. We make no special claim for the Liberal party in their retention, but it is a matter of history that, but for the advocacy of local self-government, both at home and abroad, by statesmen such as Mr. Gladstone, we should now possess very few colonies to talk about. And from first to last, and the struggle is even not yet over, the Conservative party, as a whole, has resisted the principle with all its power of dogged persistence. We have no more sympathy with the small section of Little Englanders, to be found in the ranks of the Liberal party, than we have with the blatant Jingo of the Primrose League who regard Dr. Jameson's egregious and blundering Raid as an heroic exploit. We deplore such statements as the following: "Americans always have been and will always be England's most bitter and persistent enemies." Such a statement, even if true, could serve no useful purpose, and, as we believe it to be utterly false, it is mischievous. And the recent outburst of kindly feeling from the States towards this country would seem to indicate that Mr. De Thierry is but a poor hand at prophecy.

No one desires to see Imperial unity consolidated more than we do, but this is a question which should be outside party politics, and Mr. De Thierry has ruined the object of his little treatise by making it the subject of extreme partizanship. He forgets that Liberals are Englishmen first, and Liberals second, and just as ready to fight, if need be, for the Empire and England's honour as any loud voiced Jingo of the Primrose League.

A more delightful politic skit than *The Chamberlain Birthday Book*<sup>1</sup> it would be difficult to conceive. A more complete volte-face has never been achieved by any public man of Mr. Chamberlain's standing than has been executed by this statesman. It is true that Mr. Gladstone started political life as a Tory, and Mr. Disraeli as a Radical, but this was in their callow days. But Mr. Chamberlain has repudiated almost every one of the principles of his mature manhood, and by which he gained his reputation. We commend this booklet to all good Tories, and in especial to their revered chief Lord Salisbury. They will find here Mr. Chamberlain's opinions of them and of their leader. If they were not true then, Mr. Chamberlain was a mere party hack. If they were true then, they are no less true to-day, because political exigencies of Mr. Chamberlain's own making have made him a Minister of a party he once denounced and which he now seeks to lead.

We have not the patience to criticise *The Woman Suffrage*

<sup>1</sup> *The Chamberlain Birthday Book.* Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd.

*Movement in the United States: A Study by a Lawyer,*<sup>1</sup> and can only regret that a member of the learned profession should leave all his wits behind him, who bases his whole argument against granting further political rights to women upon the infallibility of the Scriptures, and who fails to apply those rules of evidence which he would be the first to maintain in any matter affecting his own interests or those of his clients. The booklet is utterly worthless.

The twenty-ninth volume of the *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute*,<sup>2</sup> edited by the Secretary, is an even more valuable and interesting number than its predecessor, and free from those partisan utterances which we pointed out on the last occasion. The paper dealing with the Railway System of South Africa, by Sir David Tennant, Agent-General for the Cape Colony, is especially valuable, as showing the advantages of State railways, and the adoption of the betterment principle. It is interesting to note that the Act of 1857, which sanctioned the Cape Town and Wellington line, "provided that in consideration of the advantages that would accrue directly and indirectly to the owners of property through which the railway was to run, such properties should be rated to make up one-half of any amount which the Colonial Government might be called upon to pay in virtue of its guarantee." Another interesting discussion is that on the West Indian Sugar Bounties Question, which is well argued on either side. A valuable paper by Lord Brassey on "Recent Social and Political Progress in Victoria" concludes the book.

*Democracy and Social Growth in America*,<sup>3</sup> by Dr. Bernard Moses, consists of four lectures dealing with the tendencies of the age towards an undemocratic spirit due, as the author considers, to that extreme individualism which is especially strong in the States. This spirit of individualism, which took its rise in the Great Reformation, after acquiring for mankind religious and civil liberty, has operated as a disintegrating force on society. "It has," says Dr. Moses, "tended to make the individual man forgetful of everything but his claims. It has encouraged his natural selfishness and made his relation to organised society conspicuously a relation of personal profit." It has in recognising rights disregarded correlative duties, and consequently as a sole motive power it is not only inadequate, but positively dangerous to organised society and only makes for anarchy. With all the author's conclusions as to efficacy of religion we cannot agree.

We have received the fourth edition of Dr. Hugh Fraser's *Law of*

<sup>1</sup> *The Woman Suffrage Movement in the United States. A Study by a Lawyer.* Beacon Library Series. Boston: Arena Publishing Company. 1895.

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute.* Edited by the Secretary. Vol. xxix. 1897-98. London: The Institute. 1898.

<sup>3</sup> *Democracy and Social Growth in America. Four Lectures.* By Bernard Moses, Ph.D. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1898.

*Torts*,<sup>1</sup> which we can thoroughly recommend as an invaluable text-book for students of this branch of English law.

The action of the Licensing Committee of the London County Council, in attempting to do the work of the Working Man's Lord's Day Rest Association, by putting in force the Lord's Day Act of 1781 against the Queen's Hall Sunday Concerts gives point to the evidence of the Honorary Secretary of the Sunday Society before the Select Committee of the House of Lords.<sup>2</sup> All interested in the observance of Sunday should read the very full evidence given by Mr. Mark H. Judge, and now published by the Sunday Society.

We have received the eleventh revised edition of the excellent *Handbook to London*, and the thirteenth edition of the *Guide to Paris*,<sup>3</sup> by Karl Baedeker.

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

*The Whiteford Papers*<sup>4</sup> is an important contribution to history. Sir Walter Scott apologised on one occasion for mis-spelling the family name of Whiteford, as he left out an "o." This mistake, which occurred in *Chronicles of the Canongate*, he corrected in subsequent works. The name, however, is spelt in at least twelve different ways in authentic documents. The correspondence in the volume throws much light on Scottish life and history a hundred years ago. The anecdotes of Sterne are also very interesting.

The volume on *Robert Louis Stevenson*,<sup>5</sup> in the "Famous Scots Series," is unpretentious, for the writer of it, Margaret Moyes Black, modestly says in her preface that it is "only a reminiscence and an appreciation by one who, in the old days between 1869 and 1880, knew him and his home circle well." Of course, Mr. Sydney Colvin's, *Life* now in preparation will cover a larger field, but in the meantime this little book about one of the most gifted English novelists will be read with intense pleasure. The influence of heredity in moulding Stevenson is rightly emphasised. His descent from Robert Stevenson, who planted the lighthouse on the wave-swept Bell Rock,

<sup>1</sup> *A Compendium of the Law of Torts*. Specially adapted for the Use of Students. By Hugh Fraser, M.A., LL.D., Barrister-at-Law. Fourth Edition. London: Sweet and Maxwell, Ltd., and Reeves & Turner. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *Mr. Mark H. Judge, Hon. Sec. Sunday Society and the Lord's Day Act.* 40pp. 8vo. Sunday Society. 7 Pall Mall.

<sup>3</sup> London: Dulau & Co.

<sup>4</sup> *The Whiteford Papers*. Edited by W. A. S. Hewins, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

<sup>5</sup> *Robert Louis Stevenson*. By Margaret Moyes. London: Oliphant & Ferrier.

must have tended to generate a love of manly and heroic deeds in young Stevenson's mind. Certainly the life-work of Robert Louis Stevenson was imperfect, but great in its promise. He was, alas! another of the "inheritors of unfulfilled renown." He might have outstripped Scott, and he was, as far as style and literary instinct are concerned, a better artist than Scott, but a fragile physique precluded him from living long enough to write greater and more immortal works.

The *Life of Marie Antoinette*,<sup>1</sup> by Clara Tschudi, is a very fine specimen of biography. The work has been translated from the Norwegian very carefully by E. M. Cope, and thus it will soon, we hope, be familiar to English readers. The view taken of the unfortunate French Queen was that, though frivolous, she was free from immorality or vice; that she was at heart a good woman, and that she died bravely. We are not quite sure that this is exactly a correct estimate of Marie Antoinette's character. However, the biography will certainly repay perusal.

The volume on *Thomas Reid*,<sup>2</sup> in the "Famous Scots' Series," does full justice to the author of what has been called the "Philosophy of Common Sense." In spite, however, of Mr. A. Frazer Campbell's reasoning, we cannot agree with him in assigning a distinguished place amongst philosophers to Reid. The appeal to "common sense" is only another form of empiricism, and Reid's contribution to true philosophy is insignificant, if not absolutely worthless.

The *Study of Mary Wollstonecraft*,<sup>3</sup> by Emma Rauschenbusch-Clough, Ph.D., is written with a masterly grasp of the subject. No more interesting subject for either a biographical narrative or a psychological analysis could be found than the gifted wife of Godwin. The sufferings of Mary Wollstonecraft led her to philosophy, just as the "path of the passions" has led others to the same goal. Nothing can be more worthy of serious consideration than the views propounded by this vigorous-minded woman on female education. The present work places Mary Wollstonecraft on a pedestal, and deservedly so, for, to quote the closing words of the book, "*her Vindication of the Rights of Women* may be considered to have marked an epoch in the history of civilisation."

We must congratulate<sup>4</sup> Mr. R. F. Sharpe upon his interesting biographical sketches, entitled *Makers of Music*.<sup>4</sup> The sketches are necessarily short, as eighteen biographies, beginning with Bach and ending with Grieg, are compressed into 336 pages. The interest of the book is considerably augmented by facsimiles of their compositions,

<sup>1</sup> *Marie Antoinette*. By Clara Tschudi. Translated from the Norwegian by E. M. Cope. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *Thomas Reid*. By A. Campbell Frazer ("Famous Scots" Series). Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier.

<sup>3</sup> *A Study of Mary Wollstonecraft and the Rights of Women*. By Emma Rauschenbusch-Clough, Ph.D. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

<sup>4</sup> *Makers of Music*. By R. F. Sharpe. London: W. Reeves.

some of which are reproduced for the first time from MSS. preserved in the British Museum, and a chronological summary of their works. The frontispiece is a reproduction of Chesterman's portrait of Henry Purcell. This charming book should be in the possession of every lover of music.

A timely new edition of *Prince Bismarck*<sup>1</sup> in the "Statesmen Series" has been published by Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co.

We are pleased to see a thirtieth edition, in one volume, of Lord Roberts of Kandahar's delightful reminiscences.<sup>2</sup> That the book has run into thirty editions, including an edition in Braille type for the blind, in the short space of two years, is a proof of its very just popularity. It contains forty-four illustrations, including a portrait of the author.

Sir Benjamin Brodie died as long ago as 1862. He was then seventy-nine years of age, so that none of his friends who were of his own age are now living. But there are some who remember him in his old age, and among these is Mr. Timothy Holmes, who has followed in his footsteps by climbing up from the position of student in St. George's Hospital to its highest surgical appointment. In this aspect, therefore, Mr. Holmes is well qualified to write the life of Brodie for the "Masters of Medicine Series." He has, indeed, other qualifications as a scholarly and accomplished teacher and practitioner of surgery, an academical training (he is M.A. Cantab.) and a facile pen. Still his long connection with St. George's Hospital naturally gave him a special interest in his great predecessor, and is, indeed, the cause of what is almost a defect in his work.

Sir Benjamin Brodie left an autobiography, and in taking up the new memoir we had hoped to have found that work more fully supplemented. We find, however, that other materials accessible to Mr. Holmes were so scanty that he has had to draw upon the autobiography itself. The result is that we get less of Sir Benjamin than we looked for—in truth, it is difficult from this Memoir to obtain an adequate idea of his personality. Mr. Holmes makes up for this as far as he can by an account of his hospital career, and being himself a sturdy son of St. George's may be excused if he sets his *alma mater* in too conspicuous a position, for there were other schools equal, and we may say even in advance of St. George's. The success of Brodie however, gave him unbounded influence, which was always used for what he held to be—sometimes we fear mistakenly—the best for his hospital and his profession.

Brodie for many years was the unquestioned head of the surgical world. On the formation of the Medical Council he was chosen the

<sup>1</sup> *Prince Bismarck*. By Charles Lowe, M.A. London: W. H. Allen & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *Forty-one Years in India*. By Lord Roberts of Kandahar, V.C. London: Macmillan & Co.

<sup>3</sup> *Sir Benjamin Collins Brodie*. By Timothy Holmes, M.A., F.R.C.S. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1898.

first president—a most appropriate selection, as he had always evinced the greatest interest in medical education and reform. Within a week of this honour, he was elected President of the Royal Society, a seal, as it were, of his high position in science. About this time it was confidently anticipated that a peerage would be conferred upon him, but the Government of that day seems to have faltered at the thought of ennobling one who, though he had reached the highest popularity and attained the highest position of a scientific man, was, after all, a practising surgeon; it was left for our day to honour the peerage by the introduction of a representative of the medical profession.

Brodie may well be considered as a many-sided man. Throughout a very active career as a surgeon he kept himself abreast of most branches of science, and gave much time to experimental physiology. Moreover, the best literature, both ancient and modern, attracted his admiration, and afforded him some recreation from his more practical work. From an early period he showed a predilection for philosophy, and he evidently thought over its problems for many years. At length he published his *Psychological Inquiries*, at first anonymously, and when the authorship was avowed, there were many who were amazed that a man so busy in various other departments of knowledge, as well as in extensive surgical practice, could have found time to produce such a work. That book took the form of a dialogue between three interlocutors.\* It reminds the reader of *Alciphron*, though it is scarcely fair to compare it with that production. Still less does it pretend to be a formal treatise on its subject. The work, however, has long been before the public, the second part having been issued in the year the author died, 1862. Mr. Holmes gives a very fair account of it in his concluding chapter, and those who have not read the *Inquiries* will gain from this chapter an appreciative criticism and an insight into Sir B. Brodie's metaphysical views.

*The Bible of St. Mark.*<sup>1</sup> With this heading Dr. Alexander Robertson, of Venice, wrote a splendid monography of St. Mark, which recommends itself to three different classes of people—to wit, the admirers of St. Mark's, the lovers of beautiful and genuine art beautifully and faithfully described, and to the lovers of Holy Scripture. This book is a superb description of that unique Church, and it presents a bird's eye view of the principal fine art works therein gathered in the course of the centuries. At the same time, it gives an interesting description of Christianity as it was understood and interpreted by the Venetians before and after the Reformation.

St. Mark's, as it is now presented to us from the able pen and

<sup>1</sup> *The Bible of St. Mark—St. Mark's Church. The Altar and Throne of Venice.* By Alexander Robertson, D.D., author of *Fra Paolo Sarpi, Through the Dolomites*, &c. With Eighty-two Illustrations. London: George Allen, Ruskin House, Charing Cross Road. 1898.

deep conception of Dr. Robertson, is a living Bible, and fully justifies the title the author has given to his work. The title-page, as the author calls the façade, speaks of these three things: of Christ, of St. Mark, and of the Venetians. What it says of the Venetians is highly interesting. The atrium is entirely devoted to the Old Testament, and the interior to the New Testament. Each portion of the Bible is represented by the effigy of its writer, and by a characteristic illustration of the principal facts therein narrated. Very interesting are the illustrations and description of the two principal archivolts, one being the Venetians' interpretation of the twelve months of the year, and the other is an interesting description of the various trades with which Venice prospered and became powerful.

The author's obvious object was to show that the centre of the Venetians' Christianity was Christ Himself, and whosoever reads his book cannot come to any other conclusion.

In this, the tenth volume, Dr. Kingsford concludes his *History of Canada*, and adds the bulkiest work yet written on a colonial subject to the list of standard works of reference. His industry and critical faculty make his History one to be consulted with a full reliance upon finding within its pages every matter of importance treated with a multiplicity of detail that almost forbids more than a cursory study. Having commenced his labours with the intention of tracing the history of British rule in Canada since its conquest by the French, and of relating the series of events which led to the present Constitution under which the Dominion is governed, Dr. Kingsford devoted the first four volumes to the history of Canada under French rule, and gave us a more than interesting account of events that were often of a highly romantic character. But in the latter volumes we have lost this charm, and have to rest content with a narrative, often interesting, but much more prosaic, and sometimes very dull. This heaviness is in some measure attributable to the learned writer encumbering his pages with accounts of affairs that one not a Canadian cannot help regarding as of a trifling character. He, however, warned us what to expect when he told us that he should strive to embrace within his narrative "all that may legitimately belong to it." Had he exercised more his power of condensation, his latter volumes would have been more generally read, and the style of the narrative would have been materially improved. We, however, cordially congratulate him upon the successful completion of his labours, and can only trust that he may yet find time and energy to give us an abridgment of his vast work, for no one living can prove so competent to the task as he himself should do.

<sup>1</sup> *The History of Canada*. By William Kingsford, LL.D., F.R.S. (Canada). Vol. x. With Map. Toronto: Rowse & Hutchison. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1898.

In this last volume, dealing with the years 1836 to 1841, we are taken through the minutest details of the events that led up to the two trifling outbreaks of rebellion in 1837 and 1838. It must never be forgotten that the close of the first outbreak was brought about by the exercise of the utmost clemency on the part of the Government, not a single execution taking place. The authorities did their best to throw a veil over the past, and an amnesty was granted more generous in its nature than similar circumstances had ever before received. Sir John Colborne's influence was largely conducive to this happy result. When, therefore, the second rebellion broke out in 1838, a feeling arose that the law must be vindicated, in order that the lesson should be taught that the peace of the country could not be disturbed with impunity. Colborne met the emergency with decision, and nipped in the bud by his firmness what might have dragged out into an unnecessary and lamentable loss of life and property. But even in this case no more than twelve executions took place. Six of those who suffered death were proved to have committed murder, cold-blooded and unprovoked, for political purposes. The other six had been active leaders in the revolt, and had shown themselves indifferent to the amnesty that had been granted them in the previous year. Had there not been a foolish hope that aid would be extended from the United States to the malcontents, it is certain that there would have been no actual fighting in the field. As it was, the trifling skirmishes that took place in the neighbourhood of the international boundary line were not worthy the name of battles, the struggles lasting but a very brief period, and terminating with little bloodshed. Within one week the whole affair was over. Commencing on November 4 at Napierville, when the misguided Robert Nelson declared himself president of the republic of Canada, the whole rising "fizzled out" at Beauharnois on the night of November 10 in the miserable retreat of the duped followers of Messrs. Nelson and Cardinal. Had it not been to the interest of certain party politicians of Great Britain to make the most of all that could be used against the administration of the British Government, there would never have been "a Canadian rebellion." We can only hope that the obscure details so fully set forth by Dr. Kingsford will remove once for all the idea that prevails in certain quarters that at one time British rule was so oppressive as to lead to armed revolt on the part of her colonists. Such is not the fact; least of all can it be said that it occurred in Canada.

It goes without saying that so dispassionate and careful a student as Dr. Kingsford should do Lord Durham full justice. His lordship has left a name admired and beloved by Canadians. We can only regret that Dr. Kingsford did not think fit to publish in full the famous Report of Lord Durham upon the Union of the Provinces.

It is one of our most famous State papers, and would have added materially to the value of the present volume.

The map and appendices are as useful as those published in preceding volumes; and the index, extending over thirty pages, which refers to the contents of the last six volumes comprising the period of British rule, contains the names of every actor of importance, and of every historical event dealt with by the author.

### BELLES LETTRES. .

*The Clearer Vision*,<sup>1</sup> by Ethel Colburn Mayne, may be described as the fantasies of an impressionist. The first story in the book, "Herb of Grace," has for its sub-title "The Study of an Emotion." The cleverness of these sketches is marred by a self-consciousness amounting to vulgarity. Not one of these studies in modernity has in it one grain of naturalness. Every note is falsetto. Still, they are all clever after a fashion.

*The Making of a Saint*,<sup>2</sup> by the author of *Liza of Lambeth*, is a novel which is far above the average. It is a far cry from the Lambeth of to-day to the Italy of the fifteenth century; but Mr. Maugham is an artist, and projects himself into the past in the same spirit with which he tries to realise the life of his own day. The book has now reached a second edition, and is evidently having a large and rapid sale.

*A Dialogue on Moral Education*<sup>3</sup> is pleasantly cast in such a form as to be more interesting than many novels. There is much sound philosophy in the book as to the training of young children.

~~The~~ *Introduction to the Herbartian Principles of Teaching*,<sup>4</sup> by Catherine I. Dodd, will be read with much interest. The short introduction by Professor Rein, of Jena, does not seem to be well translated. The "feelings of the mind" is an unhappy phrase, and has not much meaning. The curious idea that a child's education should be on parallel lines with the education of the human race is shared by Herbart with Herbert Spencer.

Number IV. of *The Political Life of W. E. Gladstone*,<sup>5</sup> illustrated from *Punch*, is very interesting, owing to the contrasts between Mr. Gladstone and his great rival, Disraeli, which *Punch* knew so well how to bring out pictorially. There is an admirable parody in this

<sup>1</sup> *The Clearer Vision*. By Ethel Coulburn Mayne. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

<sup>2</sup> *The Making of a Saint*. By Willsom Somerset Maugham. Second Edition. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

<sup>3</sup> *A Dialogue on Moral Education*. By F. H. Mathews, M.A. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

<sup>4</sup> *Introduction to the Herbartian Principles of Teaching*. With Introduction by Professor Rein (Jena). By Catherine Dodd.

<sup>5</sup> *The Political Life of W. E. Gladstone*. Illustrated from *Punch*. London: *Punch* Office.

number on Mr. Swinburne's "Hymn to Proserpine" under the title "Hymn over Disraeli."

*The Romance of a Midshipman*<sup>1</sup> is a charming story. Mr. Clark Russell has perhaps never written anything better. The description of the old town of Bouville is admirable in its quaintness and fidelity. Many passages in the story reminded us of Nathaniel Hawthorne ere we discovered that the name of that great American writer of romance had been given by Mr. Clark Russell to a ship in the course of the narrative. The story is told in the first person, and reads like a record of fact, which, however, we cynically suspect is not the case.

*The Duenna of a Genius*<sup>2</sup> is another specimen of the musical novel. Compared with *Evelyn Innes* it is poor, but M. E. Francis (Mrs. Blundell) is an artist, though she plays in a minor key. The character of Margot is well and clearly limned. She is the most finished portrait in the book.

Mr. Louis Becke displays real power in *Rodman the Boatsteerer and Other Stories*.<sup>3</sup> There is a certain amount of brutality in "Trouble with Jinaban" which lifts it out of the region of art. Such stories are rather revolting. "A Man of Impulse" is almost as bad. Mr. Becke seems to like dealing with the brute in man.

The double section of the *Oxford Dictionary*<sup>4</sup> issued on October 1 consists of 120 pages. The section contains 1971 main words, 516 combinations explained under them, and 675 subordinate entries. The Romanic element figures largely in this section, including such words as *gallant*, *gargoyle*, *garland*, *gauntlet*, *gazette*, and *genteel*. The definitions given of a "gentleman" in the section all appear to us inadequate. It is rightly pointed out that the adjective "genteel" is now mainly used sarcastically.

*Tante Bébé*<sup>5</sup> is a charming book with a charming, enigmatic, tantalising heroine. Her capricious temperament is thus described by herself: "Je suis ainsi fabriquée: dès que l'on me défend quelque chose, je desire le faire, c'est plus fort que moi." The book is light and, to ordinary readers, may appear frivolous, but a rich vein of true life-philosophy runs through it. We must congratulate M. George Mareschal de Bievre on having produced such a delightful novel.

*A Key to the Waverley Novels*<sup>6</sup> will be found very useful. The chronological order is adopted, and the system of giving a list of

<sup>1</sup> *The Romance of a Midshipman*. By W. Clark Russell. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

<sup>2</sup> *The Duenna of a Genius*. By M. E. Francis (Mrs. Francis Blundell). London: Harpers.

<sup>3</sup> *Rodman the Boatsteerer and Other Stories*. By Louis Becke. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

<sup>4</sup> *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Edited by Dr. James A. H. Murray. Gairdner—Germanising. Vol. iv. By H. Bradley, Hon. M.A. Oxon. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

<sup>5</sup> *Tante Bébé*. Par Georges Mareschal de Bievre. Paris: Librairie Plon.

<sup>6</sup> *A Key to the Waverley Novels*. By Henry Grey. London: John Long.

the *dramatis personæ* in the reference to each novel, though obvious, is highly convenient.

The *Latin Dictionary*<sup>1</sup> published by W. B. Clive in the "University Tutorial Series" has been arranged very carefully. It gives only scanty explanations of some words, but this was inevitable to avoid making a book for the use of students too bulky.

*Corleone*<sup>2</sup> is one of Mr. F. Marion Crawford's most charming stories of Italian life. This gifted writer, though not an Italian himself, has a very extensive knowledge of Italy. He sees virtues in the Italians which their own countryman, Gabriele D'Annunzio, cannot see. The character of Orsino and that of his brother, Ippolito, are most interesting studies. Vittoria is a beautiful type of female character. It may interest some people to be reminded that *Corleone* was the book which the Empress of Austria was reading just before her assassination.

In *Father Anthony*<sup>3</sup> Mr. Robert Buchanan has produced a good Irish story. The plot is rather artificial, turning on the refusal of a Catholic priest to divulge a secret revealed to him in the confessional even though by doing so he might save his brother's life. The character of Father Anthony is shadowy and by no means life-like. The young Irish girl, Eileen Craig, is, however, a fine creation, and Mr. Buchanan does full justice to the fascinating qualities of the maidens of the Emerald Isle.

*A Drama in Sunshine*<sup>4</sup> is a curious story. Mr. Vachell exhibits much grasp of the less obvious shades of character. He throws light on some odd phases of American life, and altogether the novel is well worth reading. We must confess that we are more than sceptical as to the accuracy of Mr. Vachell's Irish-American scenes. The story of Norah is not, in our humble judgment, drawn from life.

*Castle Ortol*<sup>5</sup> reminds us a little of Harrison Ainsworth, and a little of Dumas the elder. Mr. Hannan knows how to skim off the froth of history, and his mode of dealing with an aristocratic intrigue in the "good old times" is very felicitous. *Castle Ortol* is a very readable and pleasant story.

*Vie d'Hotel*<sup>6</sup>, by Henry Greville, is a book which will be read with real pleasure. The experiences of an invalid might be expected to furnish much romantic interest, but M. Greville is an artist in fiction, and has the power of fascinating his readers. We have rarely found more delight in reading any novel than we have found in the perusal of *Vie d'Hotel*.

<sup>1</sup> *Tutorial Latin Dictionary*. By F. G. Plaistowe, M.A. London: W. B. Clive (University Coll. Press).

<sup>2</sup> *Corleone*. A Tale of Sicily. By F. Marion Crawford. London: Macmillan & Co.

<sup>3</sup> *Father Anthony*. By Robert Buchanan. London: John Long.

<sup>4</sup> *A Drama in Sunshine*. By H. A. Vachell. London: Macmillan & Co.

<sup>5</sup> *Castle Ortol, or, the King's Secret*. By Charles Hannan. London: John Long.

<sup>6</sup> *Vie d'Hotel*. *Impressions de Cécile*. Par Henry Greville. Paris: Librairie Plon.

## POETRY.

*Ethical Songs*<sup>1</sup> is the title of a neat little volume containing 292 selections of verse from various poets, including Browning, Tennyson, Swinburne, and Matthew Arnold. The work has been compiled and edited for the Union of Ethical Societies, and its success is proved by the fact that it has now reached a second edition.

## ART.

Two monographs, on the earlier and the later work of *Titian*, by Mr. Claude Phillips, the Keeper of the Wallace Collection, have been bound up in one handsome volume, and form a convenient, interesting, and ornamental art-book sold at a moderate price.<sup>2</sup> It contains twelve really good inset plates, and fifty-four reproductions of pictures printed with the text. For a book of its kind and price such illustrations would have been impossible in the days of the old engraving before photo-processes were known, and when only long purses could hope to possess any visual information concerning the works of the great masters. This does not mean to say that such illustration is an adequate presentment of the masterpieces of painting in engraving, but that it is sufficient to give true ideas, so far as they go, of the composition, and even of the massing of tones in great pictures, along with some of the expressiveness of outline. Another advantage of such a book is that the examples have been chosen where possible from collections in the country, which may be accessible to those who first learn to know Titian from its pages.

The text is naturally more complete than the illustration, as might be expected from the known studies of the author. Even the student of Titian may consult his methodically arranged chapters with profit. Mr. Claude Phillips is, in fact, an enthusiastic worshipper. He begins by saying :

"There is no greater name in Italian art—therefore no greater in art—than that of Titian."

He carries out his idea in noticing the three great divisions of the Master's work—that which was designed to fill noble architectural spaces with the ceremonial paintings of religious or civil pomp, the portraits, and the landscape—in each of which Titian was a master in the true sense of the word.

"The sacred art of no other painter of the full sixteenth century—not even that of Raphael himself—has to an equal degree influenced other painters, and moulded the style of the world. . . . And, then, as a portraitist—we are dealing, be it remembered, with Italian art

<sup>1</sup> *Ethical Songs*. Second and Revised Edition. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *Titian*. A Study of his Life and Work. By Claude Phillips. With many Illustrations. London : Seeley & Co. 1898.

only—there must be conceded to him the first place. . . . In landscape his pre-eminence is even more absolute and unquestioned."

It is of good omen for the progress of the painter's art that respectful study of the old masters is again becoming the order of the day. It has always been so with the great moderns, such as Millet and Puvion de Chavannes. But the tone of much faddish criticism has often been like that of the decadent youth: "In my opinion Shakespeare is a much overrated man!"

Apart from its interest to art, the life of a man like Titian is full of instructiveness concerning a period of man's greatest mental achievements. He was born in 1477, in the decade which saw the births of the greatest Venetians, and he was the contemporary of the greatest masters in all Italian art. In the present reign of science and its practical applications, attention is seldom given to the fact that the well-being of civilisation and its mental satisfactions and possibilities come largely from the Renaissance and Italy, where thought indeed, but under the form of art, was supreme. Every page of this book on Titian is suggestive of some problem—the relations of his sensuality with the spirituality of his faith, and with received ethics; the everlasting conflict between design and colour, as represented by Michael Angelo and the Venetian artist; the contrast with Rubens of the North, and the influence of Spain in the days of her splendour, with other such questions of the *milieu* and the *moment*—the place of higher criticism, à la Morelli, in art, and the light its methods throw on recent Biblical methods; the Turks, Charles V., the plague, Aretino—*cæca dicendo*.

Our author's fulness of his subject is, perhaps, likely to prove one of the obstacles to the perfect enjoyment of his book by the cursory reader, but not to him who desires to knit together round the name of Titian all his associations with that wonderful century. Even the most heedless can scarcely turn the pages without carrying away some correct and fairly complete idea of the master. There is sometimes, for the uninitiated, a confusing use of different names to designate the same person, such as Lermolieff and Morelli, Paolo Veronese and Calangi. The re-naming of the picture commonly called "Sacred and Profane Love" (of which an excellent inset plate is given) stirs misgivings when we examine the reasons for the change. In his other pictures Titian keeps closely to the details described by the Latin poets, whenever his subject was found for him by the humanists of his day. But if the popular and unmeaning title of this painting is to be changed to "Medea and Venus," because of the text of Valerius Flaccus in the seventh book of his *Argonautica*, how are we to reconcile the painter's Venus with the poet's description?

" . . . Ecce thoro Venus improvisa resedit,  
Sic ut erat mutata, deam mentitæque pictis  
Vestibus, et magica Circei Titanida virga."

The new edition of Mr. Malcolm Bell's work on *Sir Edward Burne-Jones*,<sup>1</sup> in the convenient smaller form, brings the subject down to the death of our great English painter. To suit the scale of the book, a number of new pictures have been introduced in place of larger studies. It is a notable art-book, with its 128 pages of text interleaved with eighty-seven inset plates, handsomely reproduced from excellent photographs. Besides the list of illustrations, there is an appendix containing a chronological catalogue of finished pictures, a list of the unfinished pictures sold at Christie's in July 1898, a list of cartoons for stained glass windows, and a good index of everything mentioned in the text. The book is thus a handy and complete manual of the Master's art-work.

The painting of Burne-Jones lends itself more to illustration than the work of older masters, not only because it is "literature in two dimensions," as has been carpingly said, but also because of his peculiar handling of subject and colour. There is, indeed, an interest in his work which is quite as much a matter of poetry as of painting. We are not sure that even the student of contemporary psychology might not find a field for study in his faces. As the price of the book is only a few shillings, it should have the popularity which it so richly deserves.

*Wells* has now been added to the interesting series of monographs on English Cathedrals.<sup>2</sup> As is proper where there is such wealth of detail, the chief part of the book—140 out of 160 pages—is given up to the careful description of the glorious building itself, in its exterior and interior; thirty-nine well-chosen illustrations and a complete plan help out the text, which is unusually good, even in this well edited series. It is to be hoped that the recent death of one of the editors, Mr. Gleeson White, will not prevent the carrying on of the publication of books so national and artistic at the same time. There is nothing to be desired in the way of interesting detail in the present volume, even the many niches of the tiers being duly described. The writer has added the corrections of recent research to what was done so admirably by Professor Freeman, in a little book on this very Cathedral, "of which one can still say that no one can understand all that is contained in the word 'cathedral' unless he has read it." Freeman thought Wells "the best example to be found in the whole world of a secular church, with its subordinate buildings."

<sup>1</sup> *Sir Edward Burne-Jones. A Record and Review.* By Malcolm Bell. London: George Bell & Sons. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *Wells: the Cathedral and See.* By the Rev. Percy Dearmer, M.A. George Bell and Sons. 1898.

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